


✓ 100530



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
internet archive

<http://archive.org/details/nation162jannewy>

THE *Nation*

A LIBERAL WEEKLY DEVOTED TO

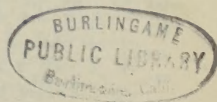
POLITICS, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE,
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, LITERATURE,
DRAMA AND THE ARTS

FOUNDED, 1865

102530

VOLUME 162

JANUARY 5, 1946, to JUNE 29, 1946



THE NATION ASSOCIATES, INC.
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7

THE
Nation

A LIBERAL WEEKLY DEVOTED TO

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE,
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, LITERATURE,
DRAMA AND THE ARTS

FOUNDED, 1865

VOLUME 165

JANUARY 2, 1946, to JUNE 23, 1946

THE NATION ASSOCIATES, INC.
20 VESKY STREET, NEW YORK 2

INDEX TO VOLUME 162

JANUARY 5, 1946, to JUNE 29, 1946

The following letters are used to indicate the type of article:

- A Art
Arc Architecture
C Correspondence
CH Chart
C Cartoon
D Drama
E Editorial Article
EP Editorial Paragraph
M Music
MP Moving Pictures
P Poetry
S Signed Article

Book reviews and reviewers are indexed separately in the Book Review Section.

Pages	Pages
1-28 January 5	385-412 April 6
29-56 January 12	413-448 April 13
57-84 January 19	449-492 April 20
85-112 January 26	493-520 April 27
113-132 February 2	521-556 May 4
133-160 February 9	557-584 May 11
161-188 February 16	585-612 May 18
189-216 February 23	613-640 May 25
217-244 March 1	641-676 June 1
245-272 March 8	677-704 June 8
273-300 March 15	705-732 June 15
301-328 March 22	733-768 June 22
329-356 March 29	769-796 June 29
357-384 March 30	

A	PAGE
AMG. See Allied military government	
A.V.C. See American veterans' committee	
Adams, Mildred	
Philippine aftermath; S.....	38, 95, 163
Poor young art of radio; the; S.....	544
Adamson, Ernie. See Committee on un-American activities	
Aeronautics. See Aviation	
Aftermath. L. MacGee; P.....	756
Agee, James	
Best films of 1945.....	81;
See also.....	205
Movie news.....	580
Reviews of motion pictures:	
At land.....	269
Bedlam.....	334
Bells of St. Mary's, the.....	701
Blue dahlia, the.....	701
Cluny Brown.....	701
Cornered.....	205
Days and nights.....	580
Deadline at dawn.....	516
Devotion.....	516
From this day forward.....	516
Green years, the.....	516
Her kind of man.....	701
Hymn of the nations.....	580
It happened at the inn.....	205
Kid from Brooklyn, the.....	636
Make mine music.....	516
Meshes of the afternoon.....	269
Murder, my sweet.....	205
Night in Casablanca, a.....	636
Open city.....	354, 443, 516
Portrait of a woman.....	580
Postman always rings twice, the.....	580
Reactor of the rose.....	765
Spiral staircase, the.....	354
Stranger, the.....	765
Study in choreography for camera, a.....	269
They were expendable.....	354
Three strangers.....	354
Vacation from marriage.....	354
Walk in the sun, a.....	24
Without reservations.....	701
Agencies, governmental. See United States; names of agencies	
Agriculture	
American wheat export program, the; E.....	772
America's responsibility for helping to feed the starving abroad. I. F. Stone; S.....	335, 361; see also.....
EP.....	193; E.....
Anderson, C. P., opposes rationing or mandatory restrictions to increase food shipments abroad; EP.....	414;
see also E.....	451
Case of the seasonal farm laborer, the. C. McWilliams; S.....	343;
see also C.....	582
Nature of farmers and farming, the. J. Hearst; S.....	508
Parity price and inflation. K. Hutchinson; S.....	427
Truman restricts the use of wheat in order to increase shipments to Europe and Asia. K. Hutchinson; S.....	196;
see also EP.....	181; EP.....
Air power. See Aviation	
Aitken, Webster. B. H. Haggin; M.....	25, 270, 354

Akers, Milburn P.	PAGE
Twilight of Boss Kelly; S.....	425
What are Stassen's chances? S.....	777
Alabama	
Primary elections; EP.....	585;
see also.....	648
Albencio trio, the. B. H. Haggin; M.....	25
Alcoa. See Aluminum company of America	
Alexander, Leon	
California labor school, the; C.....	411
Alexander, Raymond Pace	
Haiti's bid for freedom; S.....	534
Allied military government	
Officer of, rebuts "AMG — Innocents abroad" by S. K. Padover; C.....	27
Orders nazi-inspired books to be burned in Germany; EP.....	614
Altamira, Rafael, nominated for the UN international court; EP.....	57
Aluminum company of America	
Agrees to license its patents to competitors. I. F. Stone; S.....	90
Alvarez del Vayo, Julio	
Ciano diaries, the; S.....	74
Congress of the U. S. T. S.....	509
Czechoslovakia's political and economic recovery; S.....	129, 529, 570, 600
Dinner with Herriot; S.....	461
First impressions of France; S.....	262
France after de Gaulle; S.....	370
France moves to nationalize the electric gas industries; S.....	334
Franco's zero hour; S.....	279;
see also E.....	275
French attitude on the question of the Ruhr, the; S.....	317
French elections, the; S.....	691;
see also E.....	709;
French reaction to Churchill's speech at Fulton, the; S.....	317
Giral, J., proposes to enlarge the Spanish government in exile; S.....	18;
see also 346; EP.....	357
Hitler's testament; S.....	45
Interview with Francois Billoux; S.....	509
Mexico's right-wing press attacks his articles on the elections; S.....	101
New French cabinet, the; S.....	712
Peron's "descamisados" prepare for the elections; S.....	18
Placisite for Spain; S.....	197
Portrait of the Spanish pretender; S.....	101
Secretariat of the UN, the; S.....	423;
Socialism and Europe's fate; S.....	730
see also E.....	730
Trujillo's proposal to name a Dominican town "Franklin D. Roosevelt" is rejected by the State department; S.....	775
Western Catholic bloc, the; S.....	745
Who's who in the White press; S.....	656
Why Britain wants Franco; S.....	169
World federation of trade unions, the; S.....	101
Yankee dollar and Europe's trend toward socialism, the; S.....	679
America. See United States	
American culture; EP.....	679
American federation of musicians	
Petrillo, J. C., bans broadcasts of radio programs including music from foreign stations; EP.....	3
American legion	
Stelle, J., charges a breakdown in the Veterans administration and demands the removal of General O. Bradley; EP.....	155
Veterans new veterans' organizations. W. Price; S.....	623
American missionary association	
Institute of race relations to convene. C. S. Johnson; C.....	674
American relief for Europe; EP.....	27
Seeks clothes contributions. F. Gilliam; C.....	384
American tobacco company	
Its workers now on strike for higher wages. K. Korstad; C.....	240
Annual convention, the. J. S. Atlee; S.....	746
Attacked by W. Pegler; EP.....	246
Defends marines jailed for protesting the slowness of demobilization; EP.....	246
Its structure; program. W. Price; S.....	623
Amvets. W. Price; S.....	623
Anderson, Clinton P. See Agriculture	
Angell, Norman	
Leftism in the atomic age; S.....	564;
see also E.....	561;
Anti-Semitism. See Jewry	
Anti-trust laws. See Monopolies	
Antigone. J. W. Krutch; D.....	269
Arab league. See Pan-Arab league	
Arendt, Hannah	
French existentialism; S.....	226
Argentina	
And the Uruguayan proposal of collective intervention against regimes which threaten hemisphere security. F. Kirchwey; S.....	156; see also E.....

Argentine-Soviet rapprochement; EP.....	PAGE
Hidden German assets reported by the F.E.A. I. F. Stone; S.....	278
Memorandum of The Nation associates requesting its suspension from the UN; E.....	88
2. Nazi-fascist pattern, the.....	142
3. The impossible candidate.....	151
Nazi colony in the south turns "Swiss"; EP.....	413
New order, the. V. Prewett; S.....	685
Peron nationalizes the Central bank. F. Kirchwey; S.....	388; see also.....
Peron: South American Hitler. S. Ross; S.....	189; see also EP.....
Peron's "descamisados" prepare for the elections. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	101;
see also EP.....	57; 141
Report on the elections. F. Kirchwey; S.....	249, 277, 362; see also EP.....
United States blue book, the; E.....	212;
see also EP.....	495
Armour, Richard	
Next; P.....	16
Poor but honest; P.....	744
Remember? P.....	344
Army, United States. See United States—Army	
Arstark, Lester D.	
Comments on The Nation Associates' memorandum on Argentina; C.....	299
Art (articles by C. Greenberg)	
Exhibitions:	
American abstract artists.....	444
Beckmann, Max.....	610
Bloom, Hyman.....	109
Chagall, Marc.....	610
De Niro, Robert.....	532
Gauguin, Paul.....	532
Gorky, Arshile.....	176
Hare, David.....	109
Spiciter, Jacques.....	109
Motherwell, Robert.....	727
O'Keeffe, Georgia.....	444
Pollock, Jackson.....	792
School of Paris, the.....	109
Smith, David.....	294;
Weston, Edward, photography.....	518
see also C.....	241;
Whitney annual, the.....	327
see also C.....	24
Paintings brought here from German museums for safekeeping will not be exhibited.....	24
Associated American artists. T. Gale; C.....	327;
see also.....	241
Associated press	
Refuses to make its service available to the State department's Office of international information and cultural affairs; EP.....	88
Association of limb manufacturers, the	
Indicted for conspiracy to fix prices on artificial limbs; EP.....	2
At land. I. Agee; MP.....	269
At the Indian killer's grave. R. Lowell; P.....	752
Athletics. See Sports	
Atlee, John S.	
A. V. C. sets the pace; S.....	740
Atomic energy	
And atomic spies in Canada; E.....	247, 360; see also 336; C.....
And medical research. L. N. Ridenour; S.....	256; see also EP.....
Baruch, B. M. submits UN Atomic State plan for United Nations control; E.....	735
Civilian or military control? T. Coffin; S.....	187; see also 256; E.....
S.....	360; 436; EP.....
Leftism in the atomic age. N. Angell; S.....	564 see also E.....
Gromyko, A., submits the Soviet plan for United Nations control; E.....	771
United Nations report, the. L. F. Stone; S.....	390, 582; see also C.....
McMahon bill, the. I. F. Stone; S.....	454;
see also EP.....	677; 741
Recommendations of the Moscow conference. F. Kirchwey; S.....	314
Sleepless beauty. Low; C.....	5
State department report, the. I. F. Stone; S.....	390, 418
UN sets up an atomic-power commission. F. Kirchwey; S.....	116;
see also E.....	890; E.....
Atlee, Clement. See Great Britain	
Austin, Warren R., named to succeed E. R. Stettinius as U. S. representative to the United Nations security council; EP.....	707
Austria	
Economic and political life under the Allied control council; EP.....	275
Russia seizes control of industrial enterprises in the eastern region; EP.....	275

PAGE		PAGE		PAGE	
Aviation		Extension of OPA: E.....304;		Cluny Brown, J. Agee; MP.....	701
Air transport's growing pains. K. Hutchison; S.....	749	see also EP.....301; EP.....449;		Coal	
Anglo-American air-transport conference in Bermuda, the. K. Hutchison; S.....168;	209	EP.....493; 500; E.....523; EP.....559;		Britain's plan for nationalization of the mines. A. Vallance; S.....	69
see also EP.....		567; EP.....587; EP.....613; EP.....643;		Obstacles to a settlement of the strike: EP.....495; see also 528; EP.....559; EP.....585; E.....616;	617
B		E.....708; E.....736; 741; 774		Strike settlement; EP.....	677
Baizer, Ashur		A. Friendly; S.....	261	Coburn, F. W.	
Was at Lichfield; S.....	715	Is there a buyer's strike? EP.....	770	Comments on "Guide to the primaries" by R. Bendiner; C.....794; see also.....	648
Balanchine, George, choreographies. B. H. Haggins; S.....138, 297, 409		Statement by B. M. Baruch; EP.....	386	Coffin, Tris	
Balkan states		Wages and production. B. Fischer; S.....	223	Congress clears the calendar; S.....	741
Compromise at Moscow meeting of the foreign ministers. F. Kirchwey; S.....	5	What will your dollar buy in 1946? A. Friendly; S.....	13	Housing lobby, the; S.....	340
Ballet, russe de Monte Carlo. B. H. Haggins; S.....138, 297, 409, 673		Profits:		Labor fight on Capitol hill, the; S.....617; see also E.....680; 681; EP.....	733
Ballet theater. B. H. Haggins; S.....673, 728		In the steel industry. E. Jones; S.....119; see also	214	Murdering the OPA, by amendment; S.....500, 567; see also EP.....493; EP.....	559
Barrett, Jack		Stock-market boom. K. Hutchison; S.....73; see also EP.....	88	Save-price-control campaign, the; S.....	774
Crossword puzzles		World bank and fund. See International bank for reconstruction and development		Truman's lost weekend: his speech on the railroad strike; S.....	645;
36, 84, 112, 140, 180, 208, 244, 272, 300, 328, 356, 384, 412, 448, 491, 519, 555, 583, 611, 639, 675, 703, 731, 767, 795		Yankee dollar and Europe's trend toward socialism, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	169	Washington's atomic war; S.....	187
Barsky, Edward K. See Joint anti-fascist refugee committee		Byrnes, James F. See United States—State department		Cole, George	
Barlett, E. L.		C		Comments on C. Greenberg's review of the Weston exhibition; C.....518; see also.....	294
Comments on "The far north: international frontier" by D. M. Lebourdais; C.....179; see also	42	C.G.T. See France		Cole, Stewart G.	
Baruch, Bernard M.		C.I.O. See Congress of industrial organizations		University of Southern California and the Pacific coast council on intercultural education to hold summer workshop; C.....	492
Presents the United States plan for United Nations control of atomic energy; E.....	735	CRALOG. See Council of relief agencies licensed for operation in Germany		Commager, Henry Steele	
Statement on wages and prices; EP.....	386	California labor school, the. L. Alexander; C.....	411	Don't believe anything you read! S.....	463
Baxter, Rufus		Negro householders in Los Angeles contest restrictive covenants. C. McWilliams; S.....	690	Commerce. See Business	
Arabia Britannica; S.....	125	Primary elections. R. Bendiner; S.....	707	Committee on Un-American activities	
Beckmann, Max, exhibition. C. Greenberg; A.....	610	see also EP.....	742	Adams, E., attacks the National committee to combat anti-Semitism; EP.....	114
Bedlam, J. Agee; MP.....	354	Warren E., defeats R. W. Kenny for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. C. McWilliams; S.....	742	Adamson, E., protests the use of the word democracy to describe the American government; EP.....	209
Belgium		Camp in the Prussian forest, a. R. Jarrell; C.....	756	Calls G. L. K. Smith; EP.....155; see also EP.....	209
Election results. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	262	Canus, Albert, and the existentialist movement. H. Arendt; S.....	226	Launches witchhunt against the joint anti-fascist refugee committee; EP.....58; see also EP.....114; EP.....	209
Bells of St. Mary's, the. J. Agee; MP.....	24	Canada		Communist party	
Bender, Robert		Arrests Canadian citizens for revealing atomic information to Soviet agents; E.....247, 360; see also 536; C.....	554	And Browder's mission to Moscow. R. Spruille Braden; S.....	568
Browder's mission to Moscow; S.....	568	Far north: international frontier. D. M. Lebourdais; S.....42; see also C.....	179	Expels E. Browder; S.....	211
Guide to the primaries; S.....648; see also C.....	794	Literature today. R. L. Weaver; S.....	198	Murray, P., formulates CIO policy on Communists in the trade unions; EP.....	614
Spruille Braden; S.....	215	Candler, Demetrio. See Spain	487	Confédération générale du travail. See France	
Benes, Eduard. See Czechoslovakia		Cartels. See Monopolies		Congress	
Bethlehem Bach choir. B. H. Haggins; M.....	354	Cartoons		Clears the calendar. T. Coffin; S.....	741
Billaux, François. See France		Delegates arrive, the. Low.....	91	Elections:	
Black, Algernon D.		Haunted queue, the. Low.....	36	Primaries, the. R. Bendiner; S.....648; see also EP.....585; EP.....707; EP.....734; 742; C.....	794
Black, Hugo L. See Supreme court, United States		He prefers sand-castle. Low.....	95	In anti-labor mood. T. Coffin; S.....617; see also E.....89; E.....680; 681	
Blind leading the halt, the. R. Lowell; P.....	694	Pictures from the UN gallery; Low.....	260	Northwest's liberal bloc, the. R. L. Neuberger; S.....	309
Bloom, Hyman, exhibition. C. Greenberg; A.....	109	Resolutions for 1946. Low.....	70	Record of the first session; E.....	3
Blue dahlia, the. J. Agee; MP.....	701	Sleepless beauty. Low.....	314	Report of the committee on reorganization; E.....	305
Bogomolets, A. See Medicine		"Sticks and stones may break my bones." Low.....	318	Senate filibuster against the FEPC; E.....89; see also EP.....115; 158	
Born yesterday. J. W. Krutch; D.....	205	Temporary Elysia. Low.....	167	Congress of industrial organizations	
Bowles, Chester A. See Price administration, office of		Toward Anschluss.....	776	Murray, P., formulates policy on Communists in the trade unions; EP.....	614
Braden, Spruille		Case bill, the. See Labor—Strikes		"Operation Dixie"; EP.....	450
Calls for multilateral American action against regimes that threaten the security of the western hemisphere; E.....88; see also 116; 156; E.....212; 215		Chagall, Marc, exhibition. C. Greenberg; A.....	671	Political action committee:	
Profile, a. R. Bendiner; S.....	215	Chase, Stuart		Announces list of congressional campaigns in which it will play an active role; EP.....	585
Brady, General. See Veterans, war Bretton Woods monetary agreement. See World bank and monetary fund		Calling all social scientists; S.....538; see also C.....638; C.....	674	Southern Democrats charge it with attempting to take over the party; E.....	417
Britain. See Great Britain		Chicago		Connecticut	
British empire. See Great Britain		China		Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S.....	648
Broadcasting. See Radio		All parties accept an expanded state council as supreme governing body until the new constitution is adopted; EP.....113; see also EP.....	154	Conscientious objectors for amnesty formed. A. J. Muste; C.....	326
Brooks, Howard		Appeal for unity by a group of Chinese students; C.....	55	Conscription. See United States—Army	
Unitarian service committee's work in aiding war victims abroad; C.....	139	Civil war in Manchuria; E.....245; see also 331; E.....496; EP.....	769	Cooperatives	
Browder, Earl. See Communist party		Consultative council reaches an agreement on nationalizing the Kuomintang and Communist military forces; EP.....113; see also EP.....154; EP.....	274	Congress studies a proposal to tax them. P. Greer; S.....	40
Broz, Josip (Tito). See Yugoslavia		Marshall, General G. C., returns to try for a new Kuomintang-Communist understanding; E.....496; see also EP.....559; EP.....	769	Swedish co-ops' post-war plans. K. Hutchison; S.....	225
Bryan, Helen R. See Joint anti-fascist refugee committee		Nationalist government controls the distribution of UNRRA relief supplies. C. D. Lealtad; C.....	794	Corbett, Percy E.	
Buchanan, John		Papering for a settlement between the Kuomintang and the Communists; E.....	61	Can the UN keep the peace? S.....	336
Russia and Iran; C.....	582	Chrysler corporation, the		Corbett, J. Agee; MP.....	205
Budapest quartet, the. B. H. Haggins; M.....	25	Concludes wage negotiations with the United automobile workers; E.....	115	Council of relief agencies licensed for operation in Germany	
Budget, public. See Finance, public		Church, Roman catholic. See Roman Catholic church		New organization is authorized to make relief shipments to Germany; EP.....	302
Business		Churchill, Winston		Workers call general strike in effort to force postponement of the Greek elections; EP.....	358
British loan, the; E.....155; see also 169; EP.....181; 316; EP.....451; E.....560; 590		His speech at Fulton, Missouri; E.....303; see also 306; 316; 317; C.....490; C.....	491	Critic, the. J. W. Krutch; D.....	700
Fair distribution of income. K. Hutchison; S.....	261	Ciano, Galeazzo, his diaries. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	74	Crossword puzzles. See Barrett, J.	
Federal reserve board raises margin requirements for security purchases to 100 per cent; EP.....88; see also.....	73	City and country school		Comments on the exchange of letters between K. Martin and M. Lerner; C.....355; see also.....	251
Free enterprise in Tacoma. L. H. Gorett; C.....	411	New York police break up annual fair in gambling raid; EP.....	644	Czechoslovakia	
French loan, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....169; see also 289; EP.....385; EP.....	677	Close clan, the. M. Van Doren; P.....	290	Benes, Eduard, national leader. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	129
Great Britain seeks to increase its export market. A. Vallance; S.....	69			Political and economic recovery. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....129, 529, 570, 600	
N.A.M. launches an advertising campaign for public economy. K. Hutchison; S.....	345			Slovak problem, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	600
Prices:					
And the shortage of consumers' goods. K. Hutchison; S.....	43				
Bowles, C. A., given wider powers to enforce controls. P. Stone; S.....186,	214				
Department of agriculture proposes a price increase for butter; EP.....	59				

- D**
- D.A.R. See Daughters of the American revolution
- Dalton, Georgia. A. Stevens; S. 687
- Dance. (the articles by B. H. Haggin)
Balanchine, George, choreographies. 138,
297, 409
- Ballet russe de Monte Carlo. 138,
297, 409, 673
- Ballet theater. 673, 728
- Dance index. 728
- School of American ballet. 138
- Daniell, Raymond; reveals in dispatches to the New York Times that Nazis retain their grip in Bavaria; EP. 521
- Daughters of the American revolution
Annual convention, the J. M. Morse; S. 661
- Luce, C. B., leads fight against organization's "white-artists-only" policy; EP. 522;
see also 661
- Days and nights, J. Agee; MP. 580
- Deadline at dawn, J. Agee; MP. 516
- Dean, Vire Michéles
Four Germans, the; S. 281;
see also EP. 359
- Wanted: a plan for Germany; S. 402
- Dean of the gods, the, R. Jarrell; P. 402
- De Gaulle, Charles. See France
- Del Vayo, Julio Alvarez. See Alvarez del Vayo, Julio
- Democratic party
- Haganian versus the southern bloc; E. 417
- De Niro, Robert, exhibition. C. Greenberg; A. 610
- Denmark, Arnold
Comments on "Germany: political battle-ground" by F. Sternberg; C. 674;
see also 504
- Denver Post bought by E. P. Hoyt. R. Fleming; S. 780
- Devotion, J. Agee; MP. 516
- Diamond, David
Comments on the General Motors reply to the U.A.W. brief; C. 271
- Dirce and Hippocrene. R. Humphries; P. 378
- Dodd, William E., Jr.; his discharge from government service invalidated by the Supreme court; EP. 706
- Dominican republic
Proposal of R. Trujillo to change the name of Dajabón to Franklin D. Roosevelt is rejected by the State department. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 101
- Downes, Bruce
Comments on C. Greenberg's review of the Weston exhibition; C. 518; see also 294
- Downes, Donald
Cynicism wins in Italy; S. 12;
see also 10
- Italian elections, the; S. 598
- Draft, the. See United States—Army
- Drama. See Haggin, B. H., Krutch, J. W., Marshall, M. W., and Krutch; D. 54;
see also C. 140
- Dublin, Louis I.
National health council initiates program to help health societies; C. 271
- Duncan, Ethel M.
Comments on M. Marshall's articles on de Toqueville; C. 355; see also 130, 170
- Dunnigan's daughter. J. W. Krutch; D. 81
- E**
- East, far, middle, near. See names of countries
- Education
Bias in the New York colleges; E. 116
- Horace Mann-Lincoln School in New York city may close; EP. 247
- Race relations and taxation: the case of Washington university. C. McWilliams; S. 593
- Students support the campaign for world government. S. Smart; C. 411
- Egypt
Britain to withdraw all troops; EP. 587;
see also 682
- Fulcrum of the new pan-Arab movement. R. Baxter; S. 125
- Einstein, Albert
Comments on I. F. Stone's "Atomic pie in the sky"; C. 582; see also 390
- Eisenhower, General Dwight D. See United States—Army
- Elections. See Congress; names of states
- Employment. See Labor—Employment
- Encampment for citizenship. A. D. Black; C. 519
- England. See Great Britain
- Epstein, Eliahu
Hussein, I., returns to Palestine; S. 287;
see also C. 410; C. 554; 526
- Espionage
Case of "The Six" comes to a close; EP. 211
- Europe, votes; E. 709
- Event, Richard M.
Comments on "The myth of world government" by R. Niebuhr; C. 446;
see also 312; C. 447; 457;
C. 490; C. 491; C. 638
- Everybody's business (articles by K. Hutchison). 43, 73; 100, 128, 168, 196, 225, 261, 289, 316, 345, 374, 400, 427, 462, 543, 573, 601, 628, 663, 693, 721, 749, 785
- Evjue, William T.; supports R. M. La Follette's candidacy for the senate. M. McMillin; S. 367
- Exile's return, the, R. Lowell; P. 318
- F**
- FCC. See Federal communications commission
- FEA. See Foreign economic administration
- FEPC. See Fair employment practices committee
- Fair employment practices committee
Senate filibuster, the; E. 89;
see also EP. 115; 158
- Supported by Truman in his state-of-the-union speech. I. F. Stone; S. 118
- Far east. See names of countries
- Fay, Frank. See Friends of Frank Fay
- Fay, Frederic A.
Comments on "These men block housing" by N. Straus; C. 139; see also 6
- Federal communications commission
Issues report on public service responsibility of broadcast licensees. J. Spingarn; S. 368
- Federal reserve board
Raises margin requirements for security purchases to 100 per cent; EP. 88;
see also 73
- Films. See Agee, J., for reviews
- Finance, public
Manufacturers hold back on production pending changes in the excess-profits tax law. K. Hutchison; S. 43
- N.A.M. launches an advertising campaign for government economy. K. Hutchison; S. 345
- Race relations and taxation. C. McWilliams; S. 593
- Should cooperatives be taxed? P. Greer; S. 40
- Snyder, J. E., named Secretary of the treasury. EP. 705
- Truman's budget message. K. Hutchison; S. 128; see also 118
- World bank and monetary fund, the. K. Hutchison; S. 331, 374; see also EP. 707
- Fischer, Ben
Wages, prices, and production; S. 223
- Fleisher, Leon. B. H. Haggin; M. 354
- Fleming, Roscoe
Revolution in Denver: E. P. Hoyt makes some changes in the Post; S. 780
- Florida
Primary elections; EP. 585;
see also 648
- Food
America must act to prevent world famine; EP. 414; see also EP. 451;
EP. 493; E. 589; E. 772
- Haunted queue, the, Low; C. 365
- Meeting of the UNRRA council. I. F. Stone; S. 335, 361;
see also EP. 181; EP. 273; E. 359
- Truman restricts the use of wheat in order to increase shipments to Europe and Asia. K. Hutchison; S. 196;
see also EP. 181; EP. 273; EP. 359
- See also United Nations relief and rehabilitation administration
- Ford motor company
Concludes wage negotiations with the United automobile workers; E. 115
- Foreign economic administration
Reports on hidden German assets at home. I. F. Stone; S. 278
- Foreign ministers
Moscow conference:
Decisions on the far east. A. Roth; S. 8
- France asks some questions; EP. 29;
see also 5
- What it achieved. F. Kirchwey; S. 5;
see also C. 179
- Paris conference:
Agreement on the Italian colonies; E. 773
- Byrnes's report; E. 644
- Information please, Mr. Molotov. H. J. Laski; S. 710
- Meetings are resumed in an effort to break the deadlock; E. 735
- Must stop the division of the world into two blocs; E. 524
- New Soviet diplomacy, the. G. Slocombe; S. 619; see also EP. 613
- No basis for agreement exists. F. Kirchwey; S. 557; see also EP. 613
- Problem of Germany, the; E. 589;
see also 557; 619
- France
And the decisions of the foreign ministers at Moscow; EP. 29;
see also 5
- And the mufti of Jerusalem. I. F. Stone; S. 526; see also 287; C. 410; C. 554
- Battle for coal, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 262
- Congress of the C.G.T. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 509
- Congress of the Socialist party. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 423;
see also E. 415; C. 730
- Constitutional debate over freedom of the press, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 262
- Controversy over the size of the army; EP. 29; see also EP. 113
- De Gaulle resigns as interim president; EP. 86; see also C. 167; 174
- Dinner with Herriot. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 461
- Economic balance sheet of war, the. J. Gascul; S. 594
- Elections for a new constituent assembly, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 384;
see also E. 709; 712
- Existentialism. H. Arendt; S. 226
- Franc is devaluated, the; EP. 2
- Franco-Spanish relations:
America and Britain reject France's request that Spain be discussed by the United Nations. F. Kirchwey; S. 388;
see also E. 331; EP. 357
- Constituent assembly adopts a resolution calling for a brief with the Franco regime; EP. 86; see also EP. 113
- France protests the execution of Christino Garcia; EP. 245
- Three-power statement on the Franco regime; E. 275;
see also EP. 626
- Interview with François Billoux. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 509
- M.R.P. and the western Catholic bloc. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 775
- Moves to nationalize the electric and gas industries. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 334
- Need for understanding between Socialists and Communists. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 423; see also E. 415; C. 730
- New government headed by F. Gouin, a Socialist; EP. 113
- One year after victory. F. Kirchwey; S. 647
- Proposes international control of the Ruhr. V. M. Dean; S. 93;
see also 317; 357; 588; 619
- Prospects for Anglo-French alliance; E. 413
- Reaction to Churchill's speech at Fulton. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 317
- Recognizes the Viet Nam republic of Indo-China; EP. 358
- Referendum on the constitution, the. G. Slocombe; S. 591;
see also 557; C. 794
- Réveillon in Paris. I. Treat; S. 71
- Under the occupation and since the liberation. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 370
- Who's who in the press. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 745
- Franco, Francisco. See Spain
- Frederic, Harold
Material about, sought. A. Kellner; C. 520
- French loan, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S. 169; see also 289; EP. 385; EP. 677
- Friendly, Alfred
Industry's grand strategy on wages and prices; S. 62
- What does John L. Lewis want? S. 528
- What will your dollar buy in 1946? S. 13
- Friends of Frank Fay
Hold a mass meeting in Fay's honor; EP. 59
- From this day forward. J. Agee; MP. 616
- Fuchs, Joseph. B. H. Haggin; M. 354
- G**
- Gale, Toni
Associated American artists and C. Greenberg; C. 327; see also 241
- Garcia Grande, Cristino. See Spain
- Gascul, Jacques
France's balance sheet of war; S. 594
- Gauguin, Paul, exhibition. C. Greenberg; A. 552
- Gaulle, Charles de. See France
- General motors corporation
Recommendation of the President's fact-finding board; EP. 58; see also 62; E. 115
- Refuses to cooperate with the fact-finding board appointed by the government; EP. 115; see also EP. 85
- U.A.W. strike is your fight! W. P. Reuther; S. 35;
see also C. 271; C. 299; E. 333
- Georgia
Dalton—picture of a small American town. A. Stevens; S. 687
- Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S. 643
- Germany
AMG officer rebuts "AMG—innocents abroad" by S. K. Padover; C. 27
- AMG order: nazi inspired book to be burned; EP. 614
- Allied raids reveal widespread nazi plot; EP. 413
- American policy must be clarified. V. M. Dean; S. 93
- American proposal on disarmament. E. 588; see also 357; 619
- Dispatches by R. Daniell reveal that Nazis retain their grip in Bavaria; EP. 521

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Hitler's testament. J. Alvarez del Vayo;	45	Communist party seeks affiliation with the Labor party; EP	451;	Ballet russe de Monte Carlo	138,
How can democracy be rebuilt? EP. 494;	674	see also EP	643	Ballet theater	297, 409, 673
Issue of Socialist-Communist merger, the; EP. 359; see also EP. 494;	781	Imperial interests in the Middle east. R. Baxter; S	125	Dance index	673, 728
C. 674; 683;	597	Investment control bill, the. A. Vallance; S	258	School of American ballet, the	138
Nazis' biological warfare, the. M. Gumpert; S	597	Keynes, Lord, death; EP	496	Music recorded; S	110, 177, 242,
Nullification of Potsdam, the. K. Hutchison; S	693	Labor government's first annual budget. K. Hutchison; S	462	324, 382, 517, 553, 609, 636, 700, 765, 793	
Political trends and alignments. S. K. Padover; S	688	Must increase his exports. A. Vallance; S	69	Haiti	
Problem of the Ruhr. V. M. Dean; S. 93; see also 317; 557; E. 674; 588;	619	National health insurance bill, the. A. Vallance; S. 258; see also EP. 386;	387	Why the Lesot government was overthrown, R. P. Alexander; S	534
Problems of zonal administration, the. V. M. Dean; S	281;	Nationalization of the coal mines. A. Vallance; S. 69; see also	258	Hall, Edwin Arthur	
Propaganda against the thesis of German war guilt. H. S. Commager; S	463	Greece		Asks ban on grain and flour exports; EP	181
Russians break up the junker estates and move toward nationalization of industry. E. Sternberg; S	504;	Bevin versus Vishinsky on Britain's role; EP. 153; see also	311	Hanneberg, Robert E. See Democratic party	
see also EP. 494; C. 674	674	Elections, the. H. Lehman; S. 421; see also EP	413	Hare, David, exhibition. C. Greenberg; A. 176	
Steel production set by the Allied control council. K. Hutchison; S	100	Left seeks postponement of elections as monarchists spread terror; EP. 358; see also EP	413	Hastie, William H., nominated as governor of the Virgin Islands; EP	29
Still has enormous hidden economic assets. I. F. Stone; S	278	Green years, the. J. Agee; MP	516	Hayek, F. A.	
Truman authorizes relief shipments to, through the CRALOG; EP	302	Greenbaum, Edward	516	Comments on "Calling all social scientists" by S. Chase; C. 638; see also	538
War casualties: new evidence. S. K. Padover; S	255	Cause for army justice, the; S. 658; see also 501; EP. 495; EP. 522; 660		He who gets slapped. J. W. Krutch; D. 409	
War crimes commission		Greenberg, Clement		Health, public. See Medicine	
Gilliam, Florence		Paintings brought here from German museums will not be exhibited; S. 24		Hearst, James	
American relief for France seeks clothes contributions; C	27	Reviews of art exhibitions:		Farmer's job, the; S	508
Giral, José. See Spain		American abstract artists	444	Heffey, Ted	
Goering, Hermann, his testimony at the Nuremberg trials; EP	330	Beckmann, Max	610	Comments on "A plan for Germany" by S. K. Padover; C. 111	
Gold, and bread. K. Hutchison; S	543	Bloom, Hyman	109	Henry IV. J. W. Krutch; D. 609	
Gordis, Robert		Chagall, Marc	610	Her kind of man. J. Agee; MP	701
Comments on "The sins of American liberals"; C. 410; see also 250; 251; C. 355		Gauguin, Paul	552	Hill, Dorothy P.	
Gordon, King		Gorky, Arshile	552	Summer institute for social progress to hold a conference; C	492
Iranian question before the United Nations; the; S	387	Hare, David	176	Hiller, Walter B.	
Sun shines in Pittsburgh, the; S	121	Lipchitz, Jacques	109	Comments on "Poverty follows the crops" by C. McWilliams; C. 582; see also	343
Goett, Lella H.		O'Keeffe, Georgia	727	Hilfer, Adolph. See Germany	
Free enterprise in Tacoma; C. 411		Pollock, Jackson	444	Hogan, F. H.	
Gorky, Arshile, exhibition. C. Greenberg; A. 552		School of Paris, the	792	Comments on "Clerical offensive in Mexico" by J. Alvarez del Vayo; C. 55	
Gouin, Félix. See France		Smith, David	109	Holland. See Netherlands	
Government agencies. See United States; names of agencies		Weston, Edward; photography. 294; see also C. 674	518	Hollingshead, George G.	
Government finance. See Finance, public		Whitney annual, the	241;	Asks aid for the Longo defense committee; C	326
Great Britain		see also C. 674	327	Home thoughts from Spain. Sagittarius; P. 657	
And the Iranian problem; EP. 85; see also EP. 153; E. 211;	211;	Greer, Paul		Hopkins, Harry, death; E. 183	
EP. 273; E. 331; 387;	494	What's behind the attack on the cooperatives; S	40	Horse Mann-Lincoln School	
Anglo-American relations		Groves, Major General Leslie; leads fight for the military control of atomic energy; T. Coffin; S	187	Progressive school may close; EP. 247	
American liberals and British labor. R. Niebuhr; S	682	Groz, Petru. See Rumania		Horthy, Admiral Nicolas. See Hungary	
Anti-American feeling in Britain today. N. Mitchison; C. 327		Guérard, Albert		House of Seagram	
British loan, the. E. 155; see also 169; EP. 181; 316; EP. 451 E. 560; 590		Comments on G. Slocombe's "Is France swinging to the right?" C. 794; see also	591	Congratulates R. Milland on his performance in "The lost weekend"; EP. 59	
Churchill's speech at Fulton, Missouri; E. 303; see also 316; 317; C. 490		Comments on "Reunion in Moscow" by F. Kirchwey; C. 179; see also	5	Building industry's scarcity economics versus the low-cost housing program, the. M. Rosenblatt; S	161;
Anglo-Egyptian relations		World comes of age, the; S. 457; see also 312; C. 446; C. 447; C. 490; C. 491; C. 582; C. 638		see also C. 139; 161; C. 179; 340	
Arabia Britannica. R. Baxter; S. 125		Gumpert, Martin	166	Wyatt program, the. I. F. Stone; S. 186; see also	372
British to withdraw all troops from Egypt; EP. 587; see also	682	Adventures in medicine; S. 398		Who is responsible for the housing shortage? N. Straus; S. 6; see also	340
Anglo-French relations:		Bogomolts in America; S. 15		Hoyde, Byrn J., becomes head of the New school for social research. M. Lerner; S	16
Prospects for Anglo-French alliance; E. 415		Man around fifty, a; S. 286		Howells, Dorothy	
Anglo-Greek relations:		Menace of rheumatic fever, the; S. 286		Comments on "Leftism in the atomic age" by N. Angell; C. 702; see also 564; E. 561	
Bevin defends Britain's role in Greece before the UN; EP. 311		Nazis' biological warfare, the; S. 597		Hoyt, E. Palmer; takes over the Denver Post. R. Fleming; S	780
see also	311	Political psychotherapy; S. 719		Hukbalahap, the. See Philippine islands	
Bevin refuses to postpone the election; EP. 358; see also EP. 413		Gutheim, Frederick		Humphries, Rolf	
Anglo-Indian relations:		Choosing a site for the United Nations; S	506	Dirce and Hippocrene; P. 378	
Attlee's statement on Indian independence; EP	329	Hadfield, H. R.		Hungary	
How the Indian soldiers feel about Britain. D. Martin; S. 284		Atomic parables; C. 272		Horthy, Admiral N., released from protective custody in Nuremberg; E. 31	
Mission of the British cabinet ministers; E. 248; see also 253; 459; EP. 613; 621; 682		Haganah, the. See Palestine		Hussein, Haj Amin. See Palestine	
Anglo-Palestinian relations:		Haggin, B. H.		Hussini, Jamal. See Palestine	
Bevin's speech at Bournemouth. F. Kirchwey; S. 737; see also EP. 769		Articles on music:	25, 270, 354	Hutchison, Keith	
British reaction to the Anglo-American commission's report; EP. 33; see also	562	Artken, Webster	25	Air transport's growing pains; S. 749	
Anglo-Soviet relations:		Albeneri trio, the	354	Bermuda air-transport conference, the; S	209
Churchill's speech at Fulton; E. 303; see also 306; 316; 317; C. 490; C. 491		Bethlehem Bach choir	354	Big steel reports; S	462
Information please, Mr. Molotov. H. J. Laski; S	710	Budapest quartet, the	82	Britain's budgets; S	128;
Anglo-Spanish relations:		Chinese music	636	see also	118
Three-power declaration; E. 275; see also EP. 301; 388;	626	Commercial sponsorship of concert broadcasts	138	Chester Bowles: evangelist of plenty; S. 663	
Why Britain wants Franco. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	656	Concert of works by C. Ives	636	Churchill and the British loan; S. 261	
See also United Nations		Fauré festival, the	54	Distributive justice; S. 721; see also EP	733
Bevin's foreign policy. A. Vallance; S. 258; see also	710	Fleisher, Leon	354	Feast and famine; S. 196; see also EP	181
Bournemouth convention of the Labor party. A. Vallance; S. 711; see also	737	Fuchs, Joseph	580	Germany's steel ration; S. 543	
		Jonas, Maryl	488	Gold strike in South Africa; S. 543	
		Landau, Siegfried	488	Human needs and human nature; S. 43	
		Lehmann, Lotte	242, 354	N.A.M. launches an advertising campaign against public economy; S. 345	
		New friends of music concerts	354	Nullification of Potsdam, the; S. 693	
		Phonograph needles	177	Parity price and inflation; S. 427	
		Princeton university chapel choir performs Beethoven's Mass in C major, opus 86	636	Post-war planning in Sweden; S. 225	
		Rupp, Franz	354, 488	Rub in rubber, the; S. 785	
		Schnabel, Arthur	270, 354	Something for silver; S. 573	
		Schubert's duty	270, 354	Trade policies and subsidies	601
		"Show boat"	354	Wall street fireworks: the stock-market boom; S. 73; see also EP. 88	
		Teyte, Maggie	354		
		Walter, Bruno	82		
		Articles on the dance:			
		Balanchine, George, choreographies	138, 297, 409		

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Why France needs help; S.....	289	Jews		Oedipus Rex. See Marshall, M., for review	
World ban and monetary fund, the; S. 331, 374; see also EP.....	307	Bias in the New York colleges; E.....	116	Oedipus the king.....	700
Hymn of the nations. J. Agee; MP.....	580	Committee on un-American activities attacks the National committee to combat anti-Semitism; EP.....	114	Pymgallon.....	176
		See also Palestine		Show boat. See Haggin, B. H., for review	
I		Jinnah, Mohammed Ali. See India		Truckline cafe.....	324
Ickes, Harold L.		Johnson, Alvin, retires as head of the New school for social research. M. Lerner; S.....	112	Uncle Vanya.....	671
Is succeeded by J. A. Krug as Secretary of the interior; EP.....	273	Johnson, Charles S.		Winter's tale, the.....	137, 176
Opposes the nomination of E. W. Pauley as under-secretary of navy; EP.....	213	Institute of race relations of the American missionary association to convene; C.....	674	Would-be gentleman, the.....	108
Resigns as secretary of the interior; E.....	213	Johnson, Lee F.			
Idaho		Comments on "These men block housing" by N. Straus; C.....	139; see also.....	L	
Primary elections, the; EP.....	734	Joint anti-fascist refugee committee		Labor	
Illinois		Barsky, E. K., chairman, cited for contempt by the Committee on un-American activities; EP.....	209	And President Truman's program; E.....	32
Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S.....	648	Committee on un-American activities votes contempt charges against H. R. Bryan, executive secretary; EP.....	114	Case of the seasonal farm laborer, the. C. McWilliams; S.....	343
In the wind.....	17, 68, 127, 219, 283, 399, 465, 542, 599, 655, 720, 783	Investigated by the Committee on un-American activities; EP.....	58; see also EP.....	Baseball players may form a union; EP.....	523
India		Jonas, Maryla. B. H. Haggin; M.....	580	CIO launches "Operation Dixie" to organize the south; EP.....	450
Attlee's statement on independence; EP.....	329	Jones, Edward		Employment:	
British cabinet mission, the. S. Rao; S. 459; see also E.....	248; 253; EP.....	Why the steel workers strike; S.....	119	House passes compromise full-employment bill; EP.....	181
Famine spreads; EP.....	209; see also.....	Journalism. See names of newspapers		Jurisdictional disputes between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. By R. Bendiner; S.....	391
How the Indian soldiers feel about Britain. P. Martin.....	248	Juan, Prince of Spain. See Spain		Strikes:	
Jinnah and Pakistan; E.....	284	Jugoslavia. See Yugoslavia		American industry's grand strategy. A. Friendly; S.....	62
Nehru explains the Congress party's program for independence. A. Thorne; S.....	253; see also E.....	Junger, Robert S.		American tobacco company workers. K. Korstad; C.....	384
Rioting flares as nationalists celebrate the birthday of S. C. Bose; EP.....	249	Comments on "Crossfire in Korea" by A. Roth; C.....	674; see also.....	Case bill, the; E.....	184; see also E.....
Indiana		K		E.....	89; EP.....
Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S.....	648	Katz, Corinne		E.....	641; 645; E.....
Indo-China		Comments on Guérard-Niebuhr articles on world government; C.....	446, 638; see also 312; C. 447; 457; C. 490; C.....	Coal; EP.....	495; see also.....
French recognize the Viet Nam republic; EP.....	358	Kellner, Armin		EP.....	559; EP.....
Industry. See Business		Seeks material on H. Frederic; C.....	520	First round to labor; E.....	333; 391
Inflation. See Business—Prices		Kelly, Edward J. See Chicago		General motors. A. Friendly; S.....	62; see also EP.....
Injury, the. W. C. Williams; P.....	751	Kenny, Robert W. See California		EP.....	1; 35; EP.....
International bank for reconstruction and development		Kerr, Lord, death; E.....	496	E.P.....	115; C.....
Inaugural meeting at Savannah. K. Hutchinson; S.....	331, 374	Kidder from Brooklyn, the. J. Agee; MP.....	636	C.....	299; E.....
Meyer, Eugene, named as head; EP.....	707	Kidder, Lois		Maritime workers. K. Hutchinson; S.....	721; see also EP.....
International rescue and relief committee		Comments on "Notes by the way" by M. Marshall; C.....	300; see also.....	Meat packinghouse workers. W. Shelton; S.....	159
Receives authorization to make relief shipments to Germany; EP.....	302	Hearings on the elimination of German resources for war. I. F. Stone; S.....	278	New York faces a subway strike as the Transport workers' union demands sole bargaining rights; EP.....	247
Sends relief to Spanish republicans in France. L. H. Wood; C.....	271	Isolationist senators seek to kill its appropriation; EP.....	414	Railroads. T. Coffin; S.....	645; see also E.....
Iran		Kirchway, Freda		Rochester's general strike; EP.....	678
Lodges a complaint with the UN against Soviet interference in its internal affairs; EP.....	85; see also EP.....	America and Britain refuses France's request that Spain be discussed by the United Nations; S.....	388; see also E.....	Steel. A. Friendly; S.....	62; see also EP.....
EP.....	211; E.....	Foreign ministers' meeting at Moscow, the. S.....	5; see also C.....	Truman calls for legislation to stop stoppages. T. Coffin; S.....	645; see also E.....
EP.....	413; EP.....	France—a year after victory; S.....	647	Yale and Towne lock company. J. M. Morse; S.....	37
Russian troops to stay in northwestern Iran past the date agreed on for their evacuation EP.....	273	Goes to Argentina to report the election results; EP.....	211	United automobile workers' convention; E. 333; see also EP.....	301; EP.....
It happened at the inn. J. Agee; MP.....	205	Intervention for democracy; S.....	156; see also E.....	Wages:	
Italy		La Guardia, F. H., becomes head of UNRRA; S.....	388	Hold the wage-price line; E.....	304
Boom in journalism and publishing, the. A. Moravia; S.....	74	Largo Caballero, Francisco, death; S.....	388	Prices and production. B. Fischer; S.....	223
Ciano dairies, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	74	No peace in Paris: the foreign ministers' conference; S.....	557	United automobile workers reach agreement with the Ford and Chrysler companies; E.....	115
Food and prices. S. Downes; S.....	598; see also.....	Palestine and Bevin; S.....	33; see also 562; EP.....	World federation of trade unions, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	401
Foreign ministers' conference reaches agreement on the Italian colonies; E.....	773	Palestine inquiry, the; S.....	33; see also 562; EP.....	La Pollette, Albert M.	
Municipal elections, the. G. Salvemini; S.....	598	Perón nationalizes the Central bank of Argentina; S.....	249, 277, 362; see also EP.....	Seeks reelection as senator from Wisconsin. M. McMillin; S.....	367
Political apathy of the leaders and the people. D. Downes; S.....	12; see also.....	Referendum on the French constitution, the; S.....	557	La Guardia, Fiorello H.	
Post memoriam: Italian socialism in the last pro-war period. I. Silone; S.....	342	Report on Argentina; S.....	249, 277, 362; see also EP.....	As private citizen; EP.....	30
Referendum on the monarchy, the. G. Salvemini; S.....	709	Spain is still the topic; S.....	452	Reunites head of UNRRA. F. Kirchway; S.....	388
Trieste issue, the. G. Slocombe; S.....	619; see also 557; EP.....	USA and UNO; S.....	452	Lancaster, Stephen	
Umberto departs into exile; EP.....	735	Kirschchen, Ernest		Comments on "Socialism and Europe's fate" by J. Alvarez del Vayo; C. 730; see also EP.....	423
Ives, Charles. B. H. Haggin; M.....	636	How Missourians feel about Truman; S.....	455	Landau, Siegfried. B. H. Haggin; M.....	488
		Knights of Columbus		Landon, Alfred M.	
J		Campaign in behalf of "Christian Spain"; E.....	416; see also EP.....	Criticizes Truman's plan for feeding Europe and Asia; EP.....	181
Jackson, Robert H. See Supreme court, United States		Konikow, Robert B.		La Plana, George	
Japan		Segregation, navy style; C.....	179	Vatican and Soviet Russia, the; S.....	531
Decisions of the Moscow conference of foreign ministers. A. Roth; S.....	8	Korea		Largo Caballero, Francisco, death. F. Kirchway; S.....	388
Directive for a political purge of the Shinhara government may result in a left swing in the Diet elections; EP.....	57	American occupation, the. A. Roth; S.....	220; see also C.....	Lasch, Robert	
Elections, the; EP.....	449	Under the Japanese occupation. A. Roth; S.....	122	Houses from the assembly line; S.....	372; see also.....
Hirohito denies his divinity; EP.....	29	Korstad, Karl		Laski, Harold J.	
Military-fascist societies flourish in the rural districts; EP.....	87	Urges aid for strikers of the American tobacco company; C.....	384	If Roosevelt had lived; S.....	419
Proposed revolution, the. A. Roth; S.....	313	Krug, J. A.; succeeds H. Ickes as Secretary of the interior; EP.....	273	Information please, Mr. Molotov; S.....	710
Proposed constitution, the. EP.....	615	Krutch, Joseph Wood		Latin America	
Yoshida, S., becomes premier; EP.....	615	Reviews of plays:		Argentina rushes an "austral bloc." V. Prewett; S.....	685
Jarrell, Randall		Antigone.....	269	Uruguay's proposal of collective intervention by the American republics against regimes which threaten hemisphere security. F. Kirchway; S.....	156; see also E.....
Camp in the Prussian forest, a; P.....	756	Born yesterday.....	205	Laurel, José. See Philippine islands	212; 215
Death of the gods, the; P.....	403	Candida.....	487	Laws. Henry; Negro householder in Los Angeles contests restrictive covenants. C. McWilliams; S.....	690
New Georgia; P.....	263	Critique, the.....	700	Lealtad, Catharine D.	
Oh, my name is Sam Hall; P.....	76	Dream girl.....	140	Starvation in China; maladministration of UNRRA relief; C.....	794
Sacred wood, the; P.....	472	Dunneigan's daughter.....	81		
Subway from New Britain to the Bronx, the; P.....	472	He who gets slapped.....	409		
		Henry IV.....	609		
		Lute song.....	240		

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Lebourdais, D. M.		Massachusetts		Murray, Philip. See Congress of industrial organizations	
Far north, the international frontier; S.....	42; see also C.....	Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S.....	648; see also C.....	Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill. See Social security	
Lehmann, Lotie, recital. B. H. Haggin; M.....	242, 354	McGregor, Patricia		Music (articles by B. H. Haggin)	
Lehrman, Hal		Comments on Guérard-Niebuhr articles on world government; C.....	638; see also 312; C.....	Aiken, Webster.....	25, 270, 354
Greek elections, the; S.....	421	C.....	446; C.....	Alleneri, the.....	25
see also EP.....	413	C.....	490; C.....	Bethlehem Bach choir.....	354
Rumanian rhapsody in a minor key; S.....	540	McMahon, Brian. See Atomic energy		Budapest quartet, the.....	25; 82
Yugoslavia revisited; S.....	713, 747	McMillin, Miles		Chinese music.....	636
Lerner, Max		.....		Commercial sponsorship of concert broad-casts.....	82, 138
Homage to Alvin Johnson; S.....	16	.....		Concert of works by C. Ives.....	54
correction.....	112	.....		Fauré festival, the.....	354
Replies to K. Martin's letter, "The sins of American liberals"; S.....	251; see also 250; C.....	.....		Fleischer, Leon.....	354
Lesage, Edie. See Haiti		.....		Fuchs, Joseph.....	580
Levy, Anton		.....		Landau, Siegfried.....	242, 354
Veterans' league of America, the; C.....	299	.....		Lehman, Lotte.....	242, 354
Lewis, Hanson		.....		New friends of music concerts.....	354
Comments on "Leftism in the atomic age" by N. Angell;.....	702; see also 564; E.....	.....		Beethoven's Mass in C major.....	636
Lewis, John L.		.....		Recorded. See Haggin, B. H.	
And the coal strike; EP.....	495; see also 528; P.....	.....		Rupp, Franz.....	354; 488
EP.....	559; 677	.....		Schnabel, Artur.....	445
Pushes jurisdictional warfare against other unions. R. Bendiner; S.....	391	.....		Schubert's duality.....	270, 354
Lichfield, See United States-Army		.....		"Show boat".....	138
Lillenthal, David E. See Atomic energy		.....		Steele, Maggie.....	354
Lipchitz, Jacques. Exhibition. C. Greenberg; A.....	444	.....		Walter, Bruno.....	82
Lippmann, Walter		.....		Recorded. See Haggin, B. H.	
Sees Germany as pivot in east-west antagonisms; E.....	588	.....		Muste, A. J.	
Literature		.....		Announces the formation of a committee for amnesty for conscientious objectors; C.....	326
Book list for the returning soldier. M. Marshall; S.....	75	.....		N	
French existentialism. H. Arendt; S.....	226	.....		N.A.M. See National association of manu-facturers	
Hamlet: the existential madness. W. Sypher; S.....	756	.....		NC-IAC. See National citizens' political action committee	
In Canada. R. L. Weaver; S.....	198	.....		Nation associates, the	
Notes by the way. M. Marshall; S.....	48; 75, 130, 170, 263; see also C.....	.....		Addresses a memorandum to the UN requesting suspension of Argentina; E.....	88; S.....
Longo, John R. committee seeks aid for his further defense. G. G. Hollingshead; C.....	326	.....		Issues a memorandum calling for a break of relations with Franco Spain; E.....	275
Lord, Howard B.		.....		Memorandum to the United Nations on Spain.....	428
Comments on I. F. Stone's articles on the Lillenthal report on atomic energy; C.....	556; see also.....	.....		National association of manufacturers	
Louis, Joe, defeats Conn for the heavyweight boxing championship; EP.....	771	.....		Its publicity campaign on wages, prices, and production. B. Fischer; S.....	233; see also EP.....
Lovett, Robert Morris; his discharge from government service invalidated by the Supreme court; EP.....	706	.....		Launches an advertising campaign for public economy. K. Hutchison; S.....	345
Low, cartoons		.....		National association of real estate boards	
Delegates arrive, the.....	91	.....		Nelson, H. U., executive secretary, spurs lobby against the low-cost housing program. T. Coffin; S.....	161
Haunted queue, the.....	365	.....		National citizens' political action committee	
He prefers sandcastles.....	9	.....		Branch formed in Rhode Island. M. Paisner; C.....	384
Pictures from the UN gallery.....	260	.....		National committee to combat anti-Semitism	
Resolutions for 1946.....	70	.....		Becomes a target of the Cointel program on un-American activities; EP.....	114
Sleepless beauty.....	314	.....		National maritime union	
Sticks and stones may break my bones".....	338	.....		Facts about the shipping dispute. K. Hutchison; S.....	721; see also EP.....
Temporary Elysia.....	167	.....		National retail lumber dealers' association	
Lowell, Robert		.....		Its representative, C. Northrup, lobbies against the low-cost housing program. T. Coffin; S.....	340
At the Indian killer's grave; P.....	752	.....		Near east. See names of countries	
Blind leading the halt, the; P.....	694	.....		Nebraska	
Exile's return, the; P.....	318	.....		Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S.....	648; see also EP.....
North sea undertaker's complaint, the; P.....	228	.....		.....	734; 777
Rebellion; P.....	545	.....		Negrin, Juan. See Spain	
Shako, the; P.....	319	.....		Neuroes	
To Peter Taylor on the feast of the Epiphany.....	228	.....		Anti-Jim Crow committee formed in Columbia, South Carolina. P. B. Newman; S.....	356
Where the rainbow ends; P.....	228	.....		D.A.R.'s "white-artists-only" policy. J. M. Steiner; S.....	520
Lubin, Isador; resigns from the Department of labor; EP.....	183	.....		Los Angeles householders contest restrictive covenants. C. McWilliams; S.....	692
Luce, Clare Boothe; leads fight against D.A.R.'s "white-artists-only" policy; EP.....	522; see also.....	.....		Navy investigates case of the carrier Croatan's barring high-point veterans at Le Havre for lack of segregation facilities; EP.....	59
Lute song. J. W. Krutch; D.....	240	.....		Race relations and taxation: the case of Washington university. C. McWilliams; S.....	593
M		.....		Supreme court has set the Cointel program state bus lines; EP.....	706
Mackenzie, DeWitt		.....		Todd, T. D., condemns discrimination by Negroes against white men; EP.....	59
AP correspondent interviews Franco; EP.....	113, 155	.....		See also Fair employment practices committee	
MacNeice, Louis		.....		Nehru, Jawaharlal. See India	
Aftermath; P.....	756	.....		Neilson, William Allan, death; EP.....	210
Magazines. See names of magazines		.....		Nelson, Herbert U. See National association of real estate boards	
Make mine music. J. Agee; MP.....	516	.....		Nemetz, N. T.	
Mamhoney, M. E.		.....		Comments on Canadian atom-spy case; C.....	554; see also E.....
Comments on "The myth of world government" by R. Niebuhr; C.....	447; see also 312; C.....	.....		.....	546; 360
C.....	490; C.....	.....		Netherlands	
Markova, Alicia. B. H. Haggin; S.....	728	.....		Liberation of Tiel. J. G. Ter Braak; C.....	207
Marshall, General George C. See United States—And China		.....		Neuberger, Richard L.	
Marshall, Margaret		.....		Northwest liberals in Congress; S.....	309
Notes by the way. S.....	48, 75, 130, 170, 263; see also C.....	.....		
Reviews of plays:		.....		
Oedipus Rex.....	48	.....		
Martin, David		.....		
Deadline in India; S.....	284	.....		
Martin, Kingsley		.....		
Sins of American liberals; a letter to Max Lerner; S.....	250; see also 251; C.....	.....		
Martolf, Arthur J.		.....		
Comments on "These men block housing" by N. Straus; C.....	179; see also.....	.....		
	6	.....		

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
What do the people think of Truman? S.....63; see also C.....271		Pauly, Herta		Who fights price controls? A. Friendly; S.....13	
New friends of music. B. H. Haggin; M.....354		Comments on "The myth of world government"; C.....582; see also.....312; C.....446; C.....447; 457; C.....490; C.....491; C.....638		Prices. See Business	
New Georgia. R. Jarrell; P.....263		Pearson, Lester B. See United nations organization		Prieto, Indalecio. See Spain	
New Jersey		Pegler, Westbrook		Primary elections. See Congress; names of states	
Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S.....648		Attacks the American veterans' committee; EP.....246		Profits. See Business	
New Mexico		People's front, the (articles by J. Alvarez del Vayo).....138, 45, 74, 101, 129, 169, 197, 262, 317, 346, 401, 509		Public finance. See Finance, public	
Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S.....648		Pepper, Claude		Progressive party. See Wisconsin	
New school for social research		And the Florida primaries; EP.....585; see also.....648		Protestant churches	
Johnson, A., retires as head; B. J. Hovde replaces him. M. Lerner; S.....16; correction.....112		And the Senate fight against anti-air legislation. T. Coffin; S.....617; see also.....681		Attack political maneuvering of the Roman catholic church; E.....416	
New York city		Peron, A. H.		Leaders of seven denominations demand the recall of M. Licenses; J. Spingarn; S.....705	
Police break up fair at City and country school in gambling raid; EP.....644		Comments on "Leftism in the atomic age" by N. Angell; C.....702; see also 564; E.....561		World council of churches holds conference in Geneva; EP.....303	
Subway strike threatens as transport workers' union demands recognition as sole bargaining agent; EP.....247		Peron, Juan Domingo. See Argentina		Puerto Rico	
New York state		Petrillo, James Caesar. See American federation of musicians		Shall it remain an American colony? L. Muñoz Marin; S.....571	
Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S.....648		Philippine islands		Pulitzer prizes, the; E.....588	
Newman, Paul B.		Philipino collaborators, the; case of M. Roxas, J. Laurel, and J. Vargas. M. Adams; S.....95		Pymgallon. J. W. Krutch; D.....176	
Columbia, South Carolina, anti-Jim Crow committee; C.....356		Its economic and political crisis. M. Adams, Roxas, M., elected president; EP.....521			
Next, R. Armour; P.....16		Roxas, M., forces democratic opposition papers out of business; EP.....182		R	
Niebuhr, Reinhold		Roxas mops up the Hukbalahap guerrillas; EP.....643		Radio	
American liberals and British labor; S.....682		Photograph records. See Haggin, B. H.—Music, recorded		Commercial sponsorship of concert broadcasts. B. H. Haggin; M.....82, 138	
Myth of world government, the; S.....312; see also C.....446; C.....447; 457; C.....490; C.....491; C.....582; C.....638		Plays. See Haggin, B. H.; Krutch, J. W.; Marshall, M.; for reviews		F. C. report on public service responsibility of broadcast; S.....368	
Night in Casablanca, a. J. Agee. MP.....636		Poems		Scophonic corporation charged with blocking the development of television techniques; EP.....30	
North Dakota		Aftermath. L. MacNeice.....756		What is wrong with radio writing? M. Adams; S.....544	
Nye, G. P., defeated at Republican convention as senatorial candidate; EP.....429		At the Indian killer's grave. R. Lowell.....752		Railroads	
Primary elections. R. Bendiner; S.....648		Blind leading the halt, the. R. Lowell.....694		Railroad strike, the; T. Coffin; S.....645; see also E.....641; 681	
North sea undertaker's complaint, the. R. Lowell; P.....228		Camp in the Prussian forest, a. R. Jarrell.....290		Rao, Shiva	
Northrup, Cotton. See National retail lumber dealers' association		Close clan, the. M. Van Doren.....402		British cabinet mission to India; S.....459; see also E.....248; 253	
Notes by the way. M. Marshall; S.....48, 75, 130, 170, 263; see also C.....300; C.....355		Death of the gods. R. Jarrell.....378		Jinnah and Indian unity; S.....621; see also EP.....613	
Nuremberg trials. See United nations war crimes commission		Dirce and Hippocrene. R. Humphries.....318		Rebellion. R. Lowell.....228	
Nye, Gerald P. See North Dakota		Exile's return, the. R. Lowell.....318		Reconversion. See War mobilization and reconversion, office of	
		Home thoughts from Spain. Sagittarius.....751		Recorded music. See Haggin, B. H.—Music, recorded	
		Inquiry, the. W. C. Williams.....290		Reece, B. Carroll. See Republican party	
		Moonsire limited. M. Van Doren.....263		Reed, Solon Chadwick	
		New Georgia. R. Jarrell.....16		Comments on "The myth of world government" by R. Niebuhr; C.....446; see also.....312	
		Next, R. Armour.....228		Refugees	
		North sea undertaker's complaint, the. R. Lowell.....746		Bevin proposes the creation of a U.N. refugee commission to handle the problem of displaced persons; EP.....87	
		Oh, my name is Sam Hall. R. Jarrell.....74		See also Palestine	
		Poor but honest. R. Armour.....228		Remember? R. Armour; P.....344	
		Rebellion. R. Lowell.....228		Republican party	
		Remember? R. Armour.....344		Names B. C. Reece as national committee chairman; E.....417	
		Sacred wood, the. R. Jarrell.....545		Stassen's chances for the 1948 presidential nomination. M. P. Akers; S.....777	
		Shako, the. R. Lowell.....290		Reuther, Walter P.	
		Sometimes I believe. M. Van Doren.....472		General motors strike, the; S.....35	
		Subway from New Britain to the Bronx, the. R. Jarrell.....319		Seeks the presidency of the United automobile workers' union; EP.....301; see also EP.....333; EP.....385; 391	
		To Peter Taylor on the feast of the Epiphany. R. Lowell.....228		Ridenour, Louis P.	
		Where the rainbow ends. R. Lowell.....330		Atoms won't wait; S.....256; see also EP.....587	
		Poland		Riker, Thad W.	
		Army in exile to disband; EP.....330		Comments on "The myth of world government" by R. Niebuhr; C.....447; see also 312; C.....446; 457; C.....490; C.....491; C.....582; C.....638	
		Brings the question of Spain before United nations security council. F. Kirchwey; S.....452; see also EP.....495; 498; E.....679; EP.....705; EP.....735; EP.....769		Roman catholic church	
		Political action committee. See Congress of industrial organizations; National citizens' political action committee		Cardinal Spellman visits the Franco embassy at Rome; EP.....245	
		Pollock, Jackson, exhibition. C. Greenberg; A.....444		New cardinalate, the. EP.....210	
		Poor but honest. R. Armour; P.....744		see also EP.....210	
		Porter, Paul. See Price administration, office of		Pope Pius appeals for world aid to combat famine; EP.....414	
		Portrait of a woman. J. Agee; MP.....580		Pope's statement on the eve of the French and Italian elections, the. E.....709	
		Portugal		M. C. Taylor from the Vatican; EP.....705	
		Anti-fascist committee works for the overthrow of the Salazar dictatorship. J. L. Teller; S.....339		Sheen, Monsignor F. J., speaks on politics; E.....416	
		Postman always rings twice, the. J. Agee; MP.....580		Vatican and Soviet Russia, the. G. Piana; S.....531	
		Poulos, Constantine		Vatican and the western Catholic bloc, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....775	
		Notes. S.....394		Roosevelt, Franklin Delano	
		Pound, E. E.		First anniversary of his death. H. J. Laski; S.....419	
		Adjudged insane and unfit to stand trial for treason; EP.....3		Rosenberg, James N.	
		Press. See names of newspapers under names of cities		Comments on "Plan or perish" by H. J. Laski; C.....111	
		Prewett, Virginia		Rosenblatt, Maurice	
		Colonel Peron's new order; S.....685		Hauteville housing; S.....161; see also C.....299	
		Price, William		Need for reform of the army court-martial system; S.....601; see also EP.....495; EP.....522; 658; 660	
		Survey of veterans' organizations; S.....623		Rosen, Stanley	
		Price administration, office of		Peron's South American Hitler; S.....189; see also EP.....183	
		Porter, F. named administrator; Fowles, C. A., becomes economic stabilization director. I. F. Stone; S.....214; see also.....186		Roth, Andrew	
		Price control, and on the shortage of consumers' goods. K. Hutchison; S.....43		Cross-fire in Korea; S.....220; see also C.....674	
		Should be continued after June 30; EP 301; see also E.....304; EP.....449; EP.....529; 530; EP.....587; EP.....613; EP.....643; E.....708; E.....736; 741; 774		Decision of the Moscow conference on the Far east; S.....8	

- His clearance brings the "case of the six" to a close; EP..... 211
- Japan's press revolution; S..... 315
- Korea's heritage; S..... 122
- Roxas, Manuel. See Philippine islands
- Rubber
- Future relationship between the natural and the synthetic product. K. Hutchison; S..... 785
- Ruhr, the. See Germany
- Rumania
- Groza government maintained in power by Russia. H. Lehman; S..... 540
- Rupp, Franz. B. H. Haggin; M..... 354, 488
- Rupp. See Union of soviet socialist republics
- S
- Sacred wood, the. R. Jarrell; P..... 472
- Sagittarius
- Home thoughts from Spain; P..... 657
- Saillant, Louis. See World federation of trade unions
- St. Martinville, Louisiana. A. Stevens; S..... 718
- Salaries. See Labor—Wages
- Salazar, Antonio de Oliveira. See Portugal
- Salvemini, Gaetano
- Italy against the monarchy; S..... 653; see also E..... 598
- Sanchez Sarto, Manuel
- Spain—a nazi colony; S..... 307; see also EP..... 303
- Sandwell, B. K.
- Canadian spy case, the; S..... 536; see also E..... 247, 360; C..... 554
- Sartre, Jean-Paul, and the existentialist movement. H. Arendt; S..... 226
- Schacht, Hjalmar. See United nations war crimes commission
- Schnabel, Artur. B. H. Haggin; M..... 445
- School of American ballet, the. B. H. Haggin; S..... 138
- Science
- Atomic energy. See Atomic energy
- To the moon by radar; EP..... 114
- Scophonic corporation of America. See Radio
- Selective service. See United States—Army
- Shako, the. R. Lowell; P..... 545
- Sheen, Monsignor Fulton J. See Roman catholic church
- Shelton, Willard
- Strike in the meat packinghouses; S..... 159
- Sherman anti-trust act. See Monopolies
- Shipping
- Facts about the pending maritime strike. K. Hutchison; S..... 721
- Strike averted by last-minute settlement; EP..... 733
- Shiptstead, Henrik. See Minnesota
- Show boat. B. H. Haggin; M..... 138
- Siegel, Eli
- Private industry, tour of; C..... 327
- Silberstein, Murray L.
- Comments on "The myth of world government" by R. Niebuhr; C..... 446; see also 312; C..... 447; 457; C..... 490; C..... 491; C..... 582; C..... 638
- Silone, Ignazio
- Pro memoria; S..... 342
- Silver bloc; facts for increased protection. K. Hutchison; S..... 573
- Sinclair, Upton
- City planning anticipated in "Roadtown" by E. Chambliss; C..... 140
- Slocombe, George
- Is France swinging to the right? S..... 591; see also C..... 794
- New Soviet diplomacy, the; S..... 619; see also 557; C..... 794
- Small-town America. A. Stevens; S..... 687, 718, 784
- Smart, Sybil
- Students support the campaign for world government; C..... 411
- Smith, David, exhibition. C. Greenberg; A..... 109
- Smith, Gerald L. K.
- Testifies before the committee on un-American activities; EP..... 155; see also EP..... 209
- Snyder, John W.
- Named Secretary of the treasury; EP..... 705
- See also War mobilization and reconversion, office of
- Social security
- Coal miners seek a welfare fund, the; E..... 616
- House ways and means committee is preparing to liberalize the provisions; EP..... 182
- Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, the. J. E. Murray; S..... 396; see also EP..... 450; E..... 616
- Soldiers. See United States—Army
- Sometimes I believe. M. Van Doren; P..... 290
- South
- Columbia, South Carolina, today. J. M. Morse; S..... 99
- Dalton, Georgia. A. Stevens; S..... 687
- Monteagle, Tennessee. A. Stevens; S..... 784
- St. Martinville, Louisiana. A. Stevens; S..... 718
- South Africa
- Gold strike and food shortage. K. Hutchison; S..... 543
- South America. See Latin America; names of countries
- Soviet Russia. See Union of soviet socialist republics
- Spain
- Buys planes from the United States; EP..... 113
- Buys trucks from Britain; EP..... 113
- Caceres, D., visits the United States. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S..... 45
- Cardinal Spellman visits the Franco embassy at Rome; EP..... 245
- Don Juan arrives in Portugal for conversations with Franco representatives; EP..... 197
- Execute. C. Garcia Grande and nine other Republican leaders; EP..... 245
- France regime defended by the Knights of Columbus; E..... 416; see also EP..... 705
- Franco-Spanish relations
- French constituent assembly adopts a resolution calling for a break with Spain; EP..... 86; see also EP..... 113
- Franco's interview with DeW. Mackenzie; EP..... 113
- Franco's zero hour. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S..... 279; see also E..... 275
- Giral, J., proposes to enlarge the government-in-exile. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S..... 18; see also 346; EP..... 357
- Home thoughts from Spain. Sagittarius; P..... 657
- Largo Caballero, Francisco, death. F. Kirchwey; S..... 388
- Nazi agents active. S. Wise; S..... 626
- Nazi economic penetration. M. Sanchez Sarto; S..... 378; see also EP..... 303
- Negrin, J., and the government in exile. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S..... 18; see also 279; 346; EP..... 357
- Portrait of the pretender. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S..... 197
- Prieto's proposal for a plebiscite. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S..... 18
- Question for the U.N. EP..... 57; see also E..... 331; EP..... 388; 429
- Question of, raised in the United nations security council by Poland. F. Kirchwey; S..... 452; see also 498; EP..... 495; E..... 525; E..... 679; EP..... 705 EP..... 735; EP..... 769
- Since V-E day. S. Wise; S..... 391, 398; "Sticks and stones may break my bones." Low; C..... 338
- Three-power declaration on the Franco regime. E..... 275; see also EP..... 626
- W.F.T.U. launches a campaign in behalf of the republic. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S..... 401
- Why Britain wants Franco. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S..... 656
- Specter of the rose. J. Agee; MP..... 765
- Spellman, Francis, Cardinal
- Visits the Franco embassy at Rome; EP..... 245
- Spingarn, Jerry
- Johnston, the; S..... 368
- Spiral staircase, the. J. Agee; MP..... 354
- Sports
- Baseball players may form a union; EP..... 523
- Louis-Cohn fight, the; EP..... 771
- Stalin, Joseph. See Union of soviet socialist republics
- Stassen, Harold E.
- Decides not to run for the Senate; EP..... 329
- His chances for the 1948 Republican presidential nomination; EP..... 777
- State department, United States. See United States—State department
- Steel
- Allied control council's plan for German production. K. Hutchison; S..... 100
- Annual report of the United States steel corporation. K. Hutchison; S..... 400
- Industry's profits, the. E. Jones; S..... 119
- Strikes. See Labor—Strikes
- Stelle, John. See American legion
- Sternberg, Fritz
- Germany: political battleground; S..... 504; see also EP..... 494; C..... 674
- Stettinius, Edward R., resigns as U. S. representative to the United nations security council; EP..... 707
- Stevens, Alden
- Small-town America; Dalton, Georgia; S..... 687
- Monteagle, Tennessee; S..... 784
- St. Martinville, Louisiana; S..... 718
- Stocks. See Business
- Stone, Harlan Fiske, death; EP..... 521
- Stone, I. F.
- Case of the mutti, the; S..... 526; see also 287
- Filibuster against the FEPC, the; S..... 158
- Fumbling with famine; S..... 335, 361; see also E..... 359
- Germany's hidden assets; S..... 278
- Line-up on the British loan; S..... 590
- McAlister hill of atomic energy, the; S..... 454; see also EP..... 677; 741
- Palestine report, the; S..... 562
- Palestinian gangsters or patriots? S..... 34
- Snyder in eclipse as reconversion director; S..... 214
- Spain's via dolorosa; S..... 498
- State department report on atomic energy; S..... 390, 418; see also C..... 556; C..... 582
- Symington's victory over Alcoa. I. F. Stone; S..... 90
- Truman wavers on the anti-inflation fight; S..... 214
- Truman's speech on the state of the union; S..... 118; see also S..... 306; 276
- Wyatt's housing program; S..... 186
- Stranger, the. J. Agee; MP..... 765
- Straus, Nathan
- These men block housing; S..... 6; see also C..... 139; 161; C..... 179; 340
- Street, Clarence K.
- Comments on R. Niebuhr's article "The myth of world government"; C..... 490; see also 312; E..... 303; C..... 446; C..... 447; 457; C..... 491; C..... 582; C..... 638
- Strikes. See Labor
- Study in choreography for camera, a. J. Agee; MP..... 269
- Subway from New Britain to the Bronx, the. R. Jarrell; P..... 472
- Sugar, and trade policies. K. Hutchison; S..... 601, 628
- Summer institute for social progress
- To hold conference. D. P. Hill; C..... 492
- Supreme court of the United States
- Bar segregation of Negroes on interstate bus lines; EP..... 706
- Invaliddates discharge from government service of Lovett, Dodd, and Watson; EP..... 706
- Jackson-Black feed, the; EP..... 733
- Stone, H. F., death; EP..... 521
- Vinson, F. M., named chief justice; EP..... 705
- Surplus property board
- Symington's victory over Alcoa. I. F. Stone; S..... 90
- Sweden
- Post-war economic planning. K. Hutchison; S..... 225
- Symington, W. Stuart. See Surplus property board
- Sypher, Wylie
- Hamlet: the existential madness; S..... 750
- T
- Tariffs
- And sugar. K. Hutchison; S..... 601, 628
- Taxation. See Finance, public
- Taylor, Myron C.
- Protestant leaders demand his recall from the Vatican; EP..... 705
- Television. See Radio
- Teller, J. L.
- Salazar is next; S..... 339
- Tier Braak, J. G.
- Report from Holland; C..... 207
- Texas
- Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S..... 648
- McClellan, H. H. Haggin; M..... 354
- Theater. See Haggin, B. H., Krutch, J. W., Marshall, M., for reviews
- They were expendable. J. Agee; MP..... 24
- Thomas, R. J. See United automobile workers' union
- Thornier, Alice
- India's passage to freedom; S..... 253; see also E..... 248
- Three strangers. J. Agee; MP..... 354
- Tilly, Mrs. M. E.
- Appeals for funds to help the General Motors strikers; C..... 299
- To Peter Taylor on the feast of the Epiphany. R. Lowell; P..... 319
- Todd, Tomlinson D. See Negroes
- Totah, Khalil
- Comments on "Middle eastern Munich" by E. Epstein; C..... 410; see also 287; C..... 554
- Trade. See Business
- Transport workers' union
- Threatens to tie up New York subways unless it is recognized as sole bargaining agent; EP..... 247
- Treat, Ida
- General de Gaulle steps down; S..... 194
- Ravelin in Paris; S..... 71
- Trieste
- Deadlock at the foreign ministers' Paris conference. G. Slocombe; S..... 619; see also 557; EP..... 613; E..... 773
- Truckline cafe. J. W. Krutch; D..... 324
- Trujillo, Rafael. See Dominican republic
- Truman, Harry S.
- Administration
- Appeals to the "plain people" for support of his program; E..... 32
- Calls for an inter-American military cooperation act; EP..... 586
- Calls for legislation curb strikes. T. Coffin; S..... 645; see also E..... 641; E..... 680; 681
- Favors civilian control of atomic energy. T. Coffin; S..... 187
- Ickes, H. L., resigns as secretary of the interior; E..... 213
- Missourians' opinion of the President. E. Kirchsten; S..... 455
- Nominate E. W. Pauley as under-secretary of navy; EP..... 154; see also E..... 213

- President's proposal for settling the steel strike; EP.....85;
see also 62; E.....115;
State-of-the-union and budget message;
I. F. Stone; S.....118; see also.....128
Vetoes the Case bill; EP.....733
What do the people think of him?
R. L. Neuberger; S.....63;
see also.....271
- Trusts. See Monopolies
- Trustships
- American position on colonialism, the. F. Kirchwey; S.....116
- Turkey
- Russo-Turkish dispute over the Dardanelles and Soviet Armenia; E.....61;
see also E.....331; EP.....587
- U
- U.A.W. See United automobile workers' union
- U.M.W. See United mine workers' union
- U.N. See United nations
- UNRRA. See United nations relief and rehabilitation administration
- USSR. See Union of soviet socialist republics
- Uncle Vanya. J. W. Krutch; D.....671
- Unemployment. See Labor—Employment
- Unemployment insurance. See Social security
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- And Argentina:
Argentine-Soviet rapprochement; EP.....734
And Austria:
Russia seizes control of industrial enterprises in eastern Austria; EP.....275
And China:
Question of Manchuria, the; EP.....245;
see also E.....331
And Germany. See Germany
- And Iran:
Iranian complaint to the UN charges Russia with interference in its internal affairs; EP.....85; see also EP.....153; E.....211; E.....331; 387; EP.....413; EP.....494; C.....582
Russian troops to stay in northwestern Iran past the date agreed on for their evacuation; EP.....273
- And Rumania:
Red army maintains the Groza government in power, the. H. Lehrman; S.....540
- And the United States:
Principles of American-Soviet friendship. I. F. Stone; S.....306;
see also E.....276
And the Vatican. G. La Piana; S.....531
- And Turkey:
Dispute over the Dardanelles and Soviet Armenia; E.....61;
see also E.....331; EP.....587
- Brings the question of Britain's role in Greece before the UN; EP.....153;
see also.....258; 311
- Canada arrests Canadian citizens for revealing atomic information to Soviet agents; E.....247;
Churchill's ultimatum; S.....303; see also.....306; 317; E.....490; C.....491
- Leftism in the atomic age. N. Angell; S.....564; see also E.....561; C.....702
- New Soviet diplomacy, the. G. Slocombe; S.....619; see also EP.....613
- Soviet veto of the UN security council's resolution on Spain; EP.....769;
see also EP.....735
- Stalin's election speech; EP.....185
- Submits its plan for United nations control of atomic energy; opposes the American plan; E.....771; see also E.....735
- Unions, labor. See Labor
- United automobile workers' union
- And the G.M. strike. A. Friendly; S.....62;
see also EP.....1; 35; EP.....58;
C.....271; C.....299; E.....333
- Reiter and Thomas vie for the presidency; E.....301; see also E.....333; EP.....391
- United mine workers' union
- Coal strike, the. A. Friendly; S.....528;
see also EP.....495; EP.....559;
EP.....585; E.....616;
Settlement of the soft coal strike; EP.....677
- United nations
- Agenda for the Security council; E.....331;
see also EP.....357
- Anglo-Russian dispute over Greece; EP.....53;
see also.....258
- Assembly meeting in retrospect, the. A. Vallance; S.....311
- Atomic-power commission, the. F. Kirchwey; S.....116; see also E.....360; 390; E.....735; E.....771
- Bevin proposes the creation of a refugee commission; EP.....87
- Choosing a permanent site. F. Gutheim; S.....506
- Ghosts of Geneva, the. A. Vallance; S.....92
- Iranian problem, the; EP.....211;
see also EP.....153; E.....211;
EP.....273; E.....331; 387;
EP.....413; EP.....494 C.....582
- Leftism in the atomic age. N. Angell; S.....564; see also E.....561; C.....702
- Makes a good start; EP.....57;
see also C.....91
- Myth of world government, the. R. Niebuhr; S.....312; see also C.....446; C.....447; 452; C.....490; C.....491; C.....583; C.....584
- Pearson, L. B. appears best fitted to serve as secretary general; EP.....1;
see also.....101
- Prospects for keeping the peace. P. E. Corbett; S.....336
- Receives memorandum from The Nation associates requesting suspension of Argentina; S.....141; see also EP.....57; E.....88; 156; E.....331
- Report by A. H. Vandenberg; E.....276;
see also.....306
- Russian-British antagonisms; E.....211
- Secretariat, the. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....101
- Security council: members; EP.....57
- Spanish issue, the; EP.....57;
see also EP.....183; E.....381; E.....388; 428; 429; 452; EP.....495; 498; E.....525; E.....679;
EP.....705; EP.....735; EP.....769
- Stettinius, E. R., resigns as U. S. representative on the Security Council; A. Tamm, W. R., named as his successor; EP.....707
- United States should provide strong leadership. F. Kirchwey; S.....116
- United nations relief and rehabilitation administration
- Allow the distribution of relief in China to be administered by the Nationalist government. C. D. Lealad; C.....794
- Famine stalks Europe and Asia. K. Hutchison; S.....196;
see also EP.....273
- Fumbling with I. F. Stone; S.....335, 361; see also E.....359; EP.....493
- LaGuardia, F. H., becomes director. F. Kirchwey; S.....388
- See also Food
- United nations war crimes commission
- Crimes of Admiral N. Horthy, the. E. Goering, H., testifies at Nuremberg; EP.....31
- Schacht, H., testifies; EP.....560
- United States
- And Argentina:
American blue book, the; E.....212;
see also EP.....495
- FEA reports hidden German assets. I. F. Stone; S.....278
- And China:
Work of General G. C. Marshall, the; E.....61; see also EP.....113; EP.....154; EP.....245; EP.....274; E.....496; EP.....559; EP.....769
- And France. See French loan.
- And Great Britain:
American liberals and British labor. R. Niebuhr; S.....155;
British loan, the; E.....181; 316; EP.....451; E.....560
- Churchill's speech at Fulton, Missouri; E.....317; see also.....316
- And Latin America:
Braden, S., calls for multilateral American action against regimes that threaten hemisphere security; E.....88;
see also.....116
- Truman calls for an inter-American military cooperation act; EP.....586
- And Spain:
Carceller, D., visits the United States. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....45
- FEA reports on hidden German assets. I. F. Stone; S.....278
- Franco purchases planes and other equipment; EP.....113
- Three-power conference on the Franco regime, the; E.....275;
see also EP.....301; 388; 626
- And the U.N. F. Kirchwey; S.....116
- And the Soviet Union:
Principles of American-Soviet friendship. I. F. Stone; S.....306;
see also E.....276
- Speeches of Vandenberg and Byrnes, the; E.....276
- Arrives
- Eisenhower, General D. D., clarifies the demobilization program; EP.....87
- Investigates the caste system; EP.....415
- Lichfield trials, the; EP.....415; 715
- Senate-House conference reach a compromise on extension of selective service; EP.....770; see also E.....497
- Service merger, the; E.....4;
see also.....643
- Soldiers demonstrate against slow mobilization; E.....60;
see also C.....207; EP.....246
- Truman calls for an inter-American military cooperation act; EP.....85
- What is wrong with the court-martial system. M. Rosenblatt; S.....501;
see also EP.....495; EP.....522; 658; 660
- Congress. See Congress
- Navy:
- Investigates case of the carrier Croatan's barring Negro veterans for lack of segregation facilities; EP.....59
- Segregation, navy style. R. B. Konikow; C.....179
- Service merger, the; E.....4;
see also EP.....643
- Truman nominates E. W. Pauley as under-secretary of navy; EP.....154
- State department
- Associated Press refuses to make its service available to the Office of international information and cultural affairs; EP.....88
- Braden, Spruille, assistant secretary. R. Bendiner; S.....215
- Byrnes reports on the foreign ministers' conference at Paris; E.....644
- Byrnes speaks on American foreign policy; E.....276; see also 306; E.....331
- Refuses a visitor's visa to T. Wintringham; EP.....274
- Report on international control of atomic energy. I. F. Stone; S.....390, 418
- Treasury department:
- Snyder, J. W., becomes new secretary; EP.....705
- Turning point in foreign policy: the speeches of Vandenberg and Byrnes; E.....276; see also E.....331
- United States steel corporation
- Annual report. K. Hutchison; S.....400
- Steel strike, the. A. Friendly; S.....62;
see also EP.....85; E.....115; 119; 121; 214
- Uruguay
- Argentina applies pressure. V. Prewett; S.....685
- Its proposal of collective intervention by the American republics against regimes which threaten hemisphere security. F. Kirchwey; S.....156;
see also E.....88; 116; E.....212; 215
- Utah
- Memo on the Mormons. C. McWilliams; S.....97
- V
- Vacation from marriage. J. Agee; MP.....354
- Vallance, Aylmer
- Bread, bills, and Bevinism; S.....258
- Britain and empire planning; S.....69
- Bournemouth convention of the British labor party; S.....711
- Ersatz orchids for UN; S.....311
- Ghosts of Geneva, the; S.....92
- Van Doren, Mark
- Close claim, the; P.....290
- Moonrise limited; P.....290
- Sometimes I believe; P.....290
- Vandenberg, Arthur H.
- Reports on the United nations; E.....276;
see also.....306
- Vargas, Jorge. See Philippine islands
- Vatican, the. See Roman catholic church
- Veterans, war
- A. V. C. sets the pace. J. S. Atlee; S.....740
- American legion charges a breakdown in the Veterans administration and demands the removal of General O. Bradley; EP.....155
- Group of artificial limb manufacturers indicted for conspiracy to fix prices; EP.....2
- Pegler, W., attacks the American veterans' committee; EP.....246
- Survey of veterans' organizations. W. Price; S.....623
- Veterans' league of America, the. A. Levy; C.....299
- Veterans of foreign wars; its program and structure. W. Price; S.....623
- Viet Nam. See Indo-China
- Vinson, Fred M. See Supreme court, United States
- Virgin islands
- Hastie, W. H., nominated as governor; S.....29
- Volk, William
- Comments on "Haunted Housing" by M. Rosenblatt; C.....299; see also.....161
- W
- W. F. T. U. See World federation of trade unions
- Wages. See Labor
- Wagner-Murray-Dingell health bill. See Social security
- Walter, Bruno. B. H. Haggin; M.....82
- Walk in the sun. A. J. Agee; MP.....24
- War crimes. See United nations war crimes commission
- War department, United States. See United States—Army
- War mobilization and reconversion, office of
- Report on reconversion by Snyder; EP.....415
- Snyder, J. W., in eclipse. I. F. Stone; S.....186; 214
- Warren, Earl. See California

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE	
Washington		Williams, John D.		World council of churches		
Primary elections. R. Bendiner; S.....	648	Comments on "The two Nurembergs" by		Conference in Geneva; EP.....	303	
Washington letter (articles by I. F. Stone)		P. de Mendelssohn; C.....	55	World federation of trade unions		
34, 90, 118, 158, 186, 214, 278, 306,		Williams, William Carlos	751	Interview with L. Saillant, an. J. Alvarez		
335, 361, 390, 418, 454, 498, 526, 562, 590		Injury, the; P.....	176	del Vayo; S.....	401	
Washington university; taxation and race re-		Winter's tale, the. J. W. Krutch; W.....	137	Its campaign in behalf of the Spanish		
lations. C. McWilliams; S.....	593	Wintringham, Tom; refused a visitor's visa		republic. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	401	
Watson, Goodwin B.; his discharge from gov-		by the United States Department of		Worley, Henry E.		
ernment service invalidated by the Su-		state; EP.....	274	Comments on "These men block housing"		
preme court; EP.....	706	Wisconsin		by N. Straus; C.....	139; see also.....	6
Weaver, Robert Leigh		Exit the Progressive party. M. McMillin;		Would-be gentleman, the. J. W. Krutch; D..	108	
Notes on Canadian literature; S.....	198	S.....	367	Wyatt, Wilson. See Housing		
Weissgal, Mendy		Primary elections, the. R. Bendiner; S....	648	Wynn, Sproesser		
Soldier protest in Manila; C.....	207	Wise, Sidney		Comments on "Terror in Bolivia" by J. A.		
Weitling, Wilhelm; his letters and manu-		Spain: postwar model; S.....	626	Arze; C.....	27	
scripts sought. C. Wittke; C.....	674	Without reservations. J. Agee; MP.....	701	Yale and Towne lock company		
Weston, Edward, photography exhibit. C.		Wittke, Carl		Why its workers are on strike. J. M.		
Greenberg; A.....	294; see also C.....	Seeks letters and manuscripts by W.		Morse; S.....	37	
Wheeler, A. Basil		Weitling; C.....	674	Yoshida, Shigeru. See Japan		
Comments on "Calling all social scientists"		Wood, L. Hollingsworth		Yugoslavia		
by S. Chase; C.....	674; see.....	Spanish republicans receive relief from the		Macedonia under Tito. H. Lehrman; S....	713	
Where the rainbow ends. R. Lowell; P....	228	International rescue and relief commit-		Mihailovich, D., on trial; E.....	615	
Wilk, Jacob		tee; C.....	271	Revisited. H. Lehrman; S.....	713, 747	
Comments on J. W. Krutch's review of		World bank and fund. See International		Trieste issue, the. G. Slocombe; S....	619;	
"Dream girl"; C.....	140; see also....	bank for reconstruction and development		see also 557; EP.....	613; E.....	

BOOK REVIEWS

Books are indexed under author and title, and in some cases under subject.
The following explanatory letters are used in the index:

B Book review
AN Brief annotation
R Reviewer

A

PAGE

- Abrams, Charles; R. 511
Adams, Mildred; R. 319, 544, 603
Adventure in diplomacy. K. Pendar; B. 52
Adventures of Wesley Jackson, the. W. Saro-
yan; B. 788
Age of assassins. P. Soupault; B. 787
Agriculture in an unstable economy. T. W.
Schultz; B. 576
Alinsky, Saul D.
 Reveille for radicals; B. 481
Altrivia. L. P. Smith; B. 48
Alsop, Stewart, and T. Braden
 Sub rosa: The OSS and American espionage; B. 348
Alvarez del Vayo, Julio; R. 74
America's Germany. An account of the occupation. J. Bach, Jr.; B. 546
American-Russian rivalry in the far east.
 E. H. Zabriskey; B. 403
And he hid himself. A play in four acts.
 I. Silone; B. 756
Andrews, Roy Chapman
 Meet your ancestors; AN. 325
Angustia. G. Ramos; B. 482
Arab island. The. F. Stucke; B. 479
Arch of triumph. E. M. Remarque; B. 203
Arendt, Hannah; R. 22, 50
Arms and policy. H. Nickerson; B. 22
Armstrong lift, the diary of a glider pilot.
 L. E. Hagen; B. 174
Art of building cities. J. Sittler. Translated
 by C. T. Stewart; B. 697
Artists on art: from the XIV to the XX
 century. Compiled and edited by R. Gold-
 water and M. Treve; B. 481
Augur, Helen
 Passage to glory; B. 323
Azcarate, P. de
 League of nations and national minorities;
 B. 83

B

- Bach, Julian, Jr.
 America's Germany. An account of the oc-
 cupation; B. 546
Bach reader, the. Edited by H. T. David
 and A. Mendel; B. 206
Baker, John R.
 Science and the planned state; B. 76
Balance of tomorrow, the: Power and foreign
 policy in the United States. R.
 Strauss-Hupé; B. 102
Barnes, Leo; R. 320
Barrett, William; R. 132
Barzun, Jacques; R. 787
Bates, Ralph; R. 174, 293, 379, 440, 481, 513, 549, 694
Battle report, the Atlantic war. W. Karig;
 B. 613
Beard, Mary R.
 Woman as a force in history; B. 577
Bendiner, Robert; R. 725
Benedict, Agnes E.; R. 725
Benedict, Ruth
 Patterns of culture; B. 722
Benjamin Franklin's autobiographical writings
 Selected and edited by C. Van
 Doren; B. 83
Bernard Clare, J. T. Farrell; B. 668
Bernstein, Walter; R. 65
Bitter box, the. B. 514
Blanchard, B., and others
 Philosophy in American education. Its
 tasks and opportunities; B. 375
Blood, sweat, and lipstick. E. Danenberg; B. 132
Bolté, Charles
 New veteran, the; B. 65
 see also C. 299
Booth, Edward Townsend
 God made the country; B. 322
Boulding, K. E. R. 22
Bowers, Elizabeth
 Ivy gripped the steps; B. 483
Bowles, Chester A.
 Tomorrow without fear; B. 663
Brabin, Thomas, and S. Alsop
 Sub rosa: The OSS and American espionage;
 B. 348
Brazile: People and institutions. T. L. Smith;
 B. 550
Breaking the building blockade. R. Lasch; B.
 Brehner, John Bartlett 511
 North Atlantic triangle; B. 50
Bridgeshead revisited. E. Waugh; B. 19
Bridge, the. R. Pitter; B. 632

Brinton, Crane

- United States and Britain, the; B. 694
Britain, partner for peace. P. E. Corbett; B. 694
Brown, Ralph Adams; R. 323
Brown, Sterling A.; R. 574
Bryn Jones, David
 Toward a democratic new order; B. 21
Brynes, Asher
 Government against the people; B. 787
Bullock, Helen Duprey
 My head and my heart: A little history of
 Thomas Jefferson and Maria Cosway; B. 320
Bulwark, the. T. Dreiser; B. 466
Burning-glass, the. W. de la Mare; B. 134
Butcher, Harry C.
 My three years with Eisenhower; B. 629

C

- Cant, Gilbert
 Great Pacific victory, the; B. 321
Casey, Robert Pierce
 Religion in Russia; B. 602
Challenge to musical tradition. A. T. Katz;
 B. 173
Chas. Stewart; R. 264, 538;
 see also C. 638; C. 674
Chiaramonte, Nicola; R. 20
Chicago Tribune, the: Its first hundred years.
 Volume 20, 1865-1880. P. Kinsley; B. 292
Chief Justice Stone and the supreme court.
 S. J. Konefsky; B. 200
Ciano diaries, 1939-1943, the; B. 74
Clark, Eleanor
 Bitter box, the; B. 514
Cloak and dagger: The secret story of the
 OSS. C. Ford and A. MacBain; B. 348
Cohn, Alfred E.
 Minerva's progress; B. 666
Collier, John; R. 351
Comager, Henry Stiel; R. 723
Complete writings of Thomas Paine. Collected
 and edited by P. S. Foner. Two vol-
 umes; B. 228
Confessions of a European intellectual. F.
 Schönbrenner; B. 604
Cook, Fannie
 Mrs. Palmer's Honey; B. 290
Corbett, Jim
 Man-eaters of Kumaon; B. 576
Corbett, Percy E.
 Britain, partner for peace; B. 694
Courts and cabinets. G. P. Gooch; B. 291
Cranston, Ruth
 Story of Woodrow Wilson, the; B. 293
Creamer, Daniel. R. R. Nathan, and O. Gass
 Palestine, problem and promise; B. 549
Cross-section. Edited by E. Seaver; B. 77

D

- Danenberg, Elsie
 Blood, sweat, and lipstick; B. 132
David, Henry; R. 293
David the king. G. Schmitt; B. 352
De la Mare, Charles A. R. 786
De la Mare, Walter
 Burning-glass, the; B. 134
Dean, Vera Micheles
 Four cornerstones of peace, the; B. 267
Deering, Ferdi
 USDA, manager of American agriculture;
 B. 293
Delta wedding. E. Welty; B. 578
Democratic education in practice. R. Schneid-
 erman; B. 725
Democracy in America. A. de Tocqueville;
 B. 130
Dennen, Leon
 Trouble zone: Brewing point of world war
 II; B. 202
Diaries of Tchaikovsky, the. Translated from
 the Russian with notes by W. Lakond;
 B. 206
Dickens, Dall, and others. G. Orwell; B. 630
Dismissing the signs of the times. R.
 Niebuhr; B. 753
Dreiser, Theodore
 Bulwark, the; B. 466
Drums under the windows. S. O'Casey; B. 577
Dryden, John. A study of his poetry. M. Van
 Doren; B. 266
Dunn, Esther Clouman
 Pursuit of understanding; B. 52

E

- East India company and the British empire
 in the far east, the. M. E. Wilbur; B. 83
Ebeling, Hermann; R. 546
Eclipse. A. Moorehead; B. 694
Economic progress and social security. A. G.
 B. Fisher; B. 439
Edman, Irwin; R. 476
Education for modern man. S. Hook; B. 476
Eldridge, Fred
 Wrath in Burma; B. 788
Epstein, Israel; R. 172
Ernst, Morris L.
 First freedom, the; B. 723
Experiment in Germany. The story of an
 American intelligence officer. S. K.
 Padover; B. 546

PAGE

F

- Farrell, Charles B.; R. 173
Farrell, James T.
 Bernard Clare; B. 668
Faulkner, Edward H.
 Uneasy money; B. 378
Fenichel, Otto
 Psychoanalytical theory of neurosis, the;
 B. 490
Filler, Louis; R. 292
Finer, Herman
 Road to reaction; B. 22
First freedom, the. M. L. Ernst; B. 723
Fisher, Allan G. B. 439
Economic progress and social security; B.
Florence Ayscough and Amy Lowell: Cor-
 respondence of B. 441
Focus. A. Miller; B. 203
Food or famine: The challenge of erosion.
 W. Shephard; B. 351
Ford, Corey, and A. MacBain
 Cloak and dagger: The secret story of the
 OSS; B. 348
Ford, Harvey S.; R. 22, 321
Forever China. R. Payne; B. 172
Four cornerstones of peace, the. V. Micheles
 Dean; B. 267
France—a short history. A. Guérard; B. 548
Franklin, Benjamin; autobiographical writings.
 Selected and edited by C. Van
 Doren; B. 83
Frazz, E. Franklin; R. 201;
 see also C. 326
French literature and its masters. G. Saints-
 bury. Edited by H. Cairns; B. 292
Friendly persuasion, the. J. West; B. 203

G

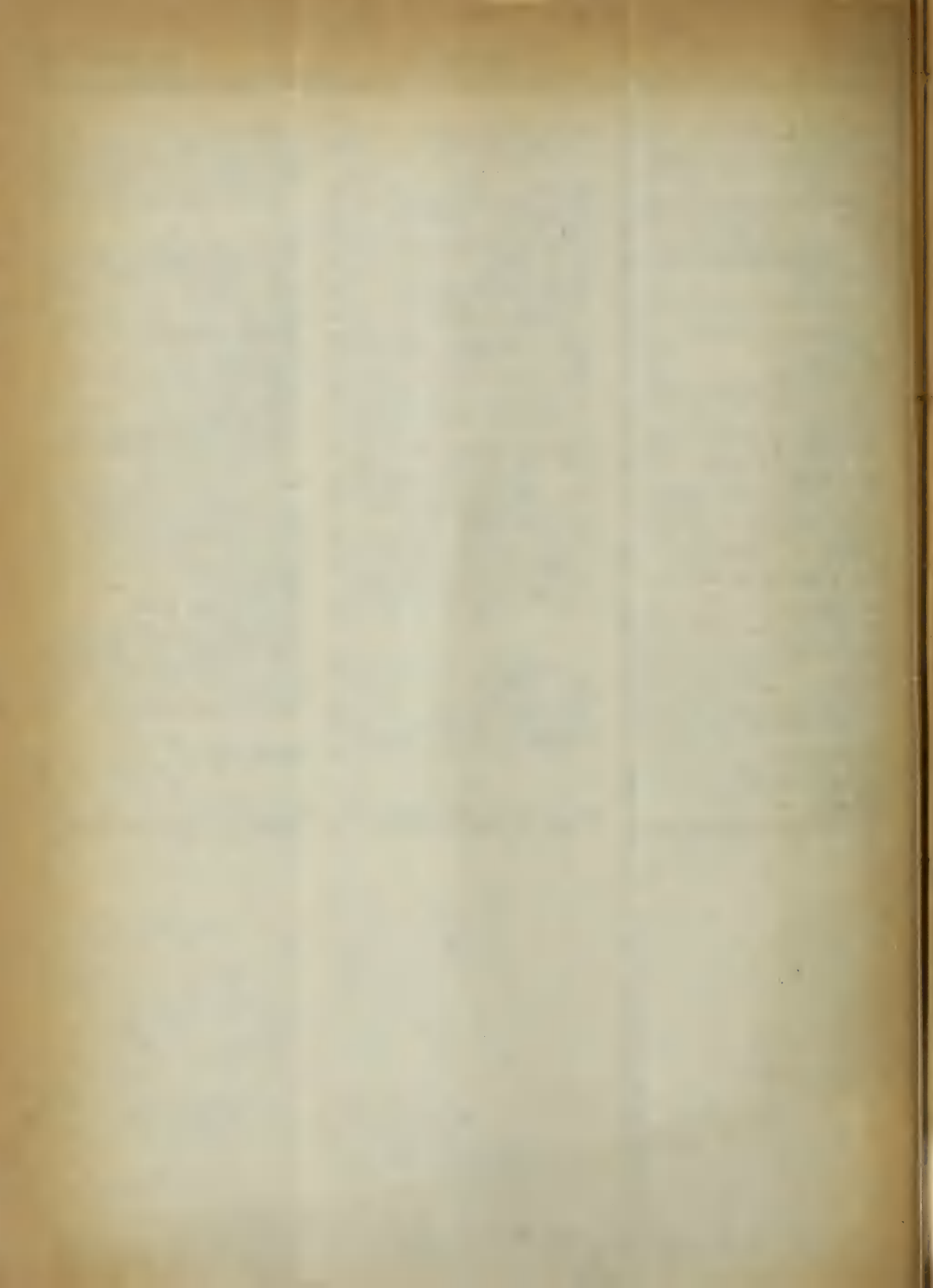
- Gass, Oscar, D. Creamer, and R. R. Nathan
 Palestine, problem and promise; B. 549
Gerard Manley Hopkins. Kenyon critics; B. 347
Gide, André
 Thésée; B. 576
Gilbert, Robert
 Meine reime deine reime; B. 350
Glazer, Nathan; R. 722
Glover, T. R.
 Springs of Hellas and other essays; B. 378
God made the country. E. T. Booth; B. 322
Goldberg, Arthur J.; R. 348
Good, G. P.
 Courts and cabinets; B. 291
Gordon, J. King; R. 50
Government against the people. A. Brynes;
 B. 787
Government and labor in early America.
 R. B. Morris; B. 512
Great Britain in the world economy. A. E.
 Kahn; B. 405
Great Pacific victory, the. G. Cant; B. 321
Great retreat, the: The growth and decline
 of communism in Russia. N. S. Timasheff;
 B. 602
Greenberg, Clement; R. 377, 481
Grooves of change. Viscount Samuel; B. 404
Guérard, Albert
 France—a short history; B. 548
Guérard, Albert; R. 202, 267, 291, 379, 438, 510, 550, 576, 666, 697
Guggenheim, Peggy
 Out of this century; B. 405

H

- Hagen, Louis E.
 Armstrong lift, the diary of a glider pilot;
 B. 174
Haggin, B. H.; R. 206
Hannum, Alberta
 Spin a silver dollar; B. 78
Hardwick, Elizabeth; B. 404
Harris, Aurelia Brooks
 Owen Meredith: A critical biography of
 Robert, first Earl of Lytton; B. 605
Harlow, Alvin F.
 Steelwales of New England; AN. 325
Harris, Herbert, and S. T. Williamson
 Trends in collective bargaining; B. 78
Harris, Seymour E.
 Inflation and the American economy; B. 350
Harrow, Benjamin; R. 756
Hartley, Marsden
 Selected poems; B. 237
Hayek, F. A.
 Comments on S. Chase's review of "The
 social problems of an industrial civiliza-
 tion" by E. Mayo; C. 638; see also R. 538
Hexter, Ervin
 International careers; AN. 325
Hook, Sidney
 Education for modern man; B. 476
Hook, Sidney; R. 375
Hopkins, Gerard Manley. Kenyon critics; B. 347
Horizon stories. Edited by C. Connolly; B. 483
House of Europe, the. P. S. Mowrer; B. 80
Huserman, Leo
 Truth about unions, the; B. 322
Hucksters, the. F. Wakeman; B. 762
Humphries, Rolf; R. 292, 322, 378, 440, 478, 577, 605

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Hungary—to be or not to be. R. Vamberg;	786	Maugham, W. Somerset	788	Palestine, problem and promise. R. R. Nathan,	549
Hutchison, Keith		Then and now; B.	754	O. Gass, and D. Creamer; B.	549
Rival partners: America and Britain in		Mauldin, Bill; R.		Passage from home. I. Rosenfeld; B.	606
the post-war world; B.	264	Mayo, Elton		Passage to glory. H. Augur; B.	323
Hutchison, Keith; R.83, 132, 404, 479, 663		Social problems of an industrial civilization,		Patterns of culture. R. Benedict; B.	722
Huxley, Aldous		the; B.538; see also C.638; C.674		Payne, Robert	
Science, liberty, and peace; B.	402	McCuller, Carson		Forever China; B.	172
I		Members of the wedding, the; B.	406	Torments of spring; B.	634
I accuse de Gaulle. H. de Kerillis; B.	438	McMahon, A. Philip		Peace, security, and the United Nations.	
I chose freedom. V. Kravchenko; B.	602	Preface to an American philosophy of art;		Editor by H. J. Morgenthau; B.	202
In youth is pleasure. D. Welch; B.	406	B.	377	Pendar, Kenneth	
Industry in Latin America. G. Wythe; B.	379	McWilliams, Carey		Adventure in diplomacy; B.	52
Inflation and the American economy. S. E.		Southern California country; B.	697	Perilous balance. A. Stein; B.	632
Harris; B.	350	Meet your ancestors. R. C. Andrews; AN.	325	Perry, Ralph Barton	
Ingersoll, Ralph		Meine reime deine reime. R. Gilbert; B.	350	One world in the making; B.	548
Top secret; B.	694	Members of the wedding, the. C. McCuller;		Petry, Ann	
Inquiry into "the nature of peace" and the		B.	406	Street, the; B.	290
terms of its perpetuation, an. T. Veblen;		Memoirs of Hecate county. E. Wilson; B.	379	Petty, Mary	
B.	510	Menander, two plays of. B.	292	This petty pace. With a preface by J.	
International cartels. E. Hexner; AN.	325	Mendelssohn's letters. Edited by G. Selden;		Thurber; B.	20
International law of the future, the: Postu-		Goth; B.	202	Philosophy in American education. Its tasks	
lates, principles, and proposals. Prepared		Meredith, Owen: A critical biography of		and opportunities. B. Blanshard and	
under the auspices of the Carnegie endow-		Robert, first Earl of Lytton. A. B.		others; B.	375
ment for international peace; B.	406	Harlan; B.	605	Pitter, Ruth	
Italian democracy in the making: The political		Milano, Paolo; R.	548	Bridge, the; B.	632
scene in the Gliottista era, 1900-1914.		Miller, Arthur	104	Pler	
A. W. Salomone. Introductory essay by		Focus; B.	203	Wind in the olive trees: Spain from the	
G. Salvemini; B.	104	Miller, Merle; R.	67	inside; B.	664
Italy and the coming world. L. Sturzo; B.	20	Miller, Perry; R.	228	Plimmer, Denis; R.	403
Ivy gripped the steps. E. Bowen; B.	483	Miller, Walter		Pesony, Stefan T.; R.	102
J		Last phase, the; B.	694	Powell, Adam Clayton, Jr.	
Jarrell, Randall; R.134, 237, 632		Minerva's progress. A. E. Cohn; B.	666	Marching blacks; B.	201;
John Dryden: A study of his poetry. M.		Mrs. Palmer's Honey. F. Cook; B.	290	see also C.	326
Van Doren; B.	266	Modell, Merriam		Powell, Dawn; R.	20
John Henry Newman. J. Moody; B.	132	Sound of years, the; B.	697	Preface to an American philosophy of art.	
Johnson, Harry M.; R.	788	Modern German literature, 1870-1940. V.		A. McMahon; B.	377
Jordan, Virgil		Lange; B.	22	Psychoanalytical theory of neurosis, the.	
Manifesto for the atomic age; B.	577	Modern women poets of Spanish America.		O. Fenichel; B.	440
Justement, Louis		S. C. Rosenbaum; B.	310	Psychological frontiers of society, the. A.	
New cities for old; B.	291	Monroe, James, biography. A. Styron; B.	174	Kardiner, with the collaboration of R.	
K		Moody, John		Linton, C. Du Bois, and J. West; B.	46
Kahn, Alfred Edward		John Henry Newman; B.	132	Pursuit of understanding. E. C. Dunn; B.	52
Great Britain in the world economy; B.	405	Moore, Harriet L.		Last chapter; B.	754
Kardiner, Abram		Soviet far eastern policy, 1931-1945; B.	403		
Psychological frontiers of society, the. With		Morehead, Alan			
the collaboration of R. Linton, C. Du		Eclipse; B.	694		
Bois, and J. West; B.	46	Morris, Charles			
Karig, Walter		Signs, language, and behavior; B.	760		
Battle report, the Atlantic war; B.	513	Morris, Richard B.			
Kerillis, Henri de		Government and labor in early America; B.	512		
I accuse de Gaulle; B.	438	Mower, Paul Scott			
Kesten, Hermann; R.	604	House of Europe, the; B.	80		
Kinsley, Philip		Mumford, Lewis			
Chicago Tribune, the: Its first hundred		Values for survival: Essays, addresses, and			
years. Volume two, 1865-1880; B.	292	letters on politics and education; B.	472		
Konefsky, Samuel J.		Murray, Gilbert			
Chief Justice Stone and the supreme court;		Two plays of Menander: The rape of the			
B.	200	locks and The arbitration. The fragments			
Krutch, Joseph Wood; R.267, 291, 320, 402, 513, 576		translated and the gaps conjecturally			
Kuczynski, Jurgen		filled in; B.	292		
Labor conditions in Great Britain, 1750		Music makers, the: An anthology of recent			
to the present; B.	665	American poetry. Compiled by S. A.			
L		Colobret; B.	632		
Labor conditions in Great Britain, 1750 to		My country, school diary. J. Welter; B.	668		
the present. J. Kuczynski; B.	665	My head and my heart: A little history of			
Lampell, Millard		Thomas Jefferson and Maria Cosway.			
Long way home, the; B.	544	H. D. Bullock; B.	320		
Lange, Victor		My three years with Eisenhower. H. C.			
Modern German literature, 1870-1940; B.	22	Butcher; B.	629		
Breaking the building blockade; B.	511	N			
Last chapter. E. Pyle; B.	754	Nathan, Robert R., O. Gass, and D. Creamer			
Last of the cocked hats, the: James Monroe		Palestine, problem and promise; B.	549		
and the Virginia dynasty. A. Styron; B.	174	Ned Ward of Grub street. H. W. Troyer;			
Last phase, the. W. Willis; B.	694	B.	511		
Lay my burden down. A folk history of		New cities for old. L. Justement; B.	291		
slavery. Edited by B. A. Botkin; B.	574	New veteran, the. C. C. Bolt; B.	65		
League of nations and national minorities.		see also C.	299		
R. de Azcarate; B.	83	Newman, John Henry, biography. J. Moody;			
Lebowitz, Martin; R.	548	B.	132		
Ledyard, John, biography. H. Augur; B.	323	Nickerson, Hoffman			
Lincoln and the south. J. G. Randall; B.	725	Arms and policy; B.	22		
Lincoln the president: Springfield to Gettys-		Niebuhr, Reinhold			
burg. J. G. Randall. Two volumes; B.	544	Discerning the signs of the times; B.	753		
Long way home, the. M. Lampell; B.	544	Niebuhr, Reinhold; R.21, 232;			
Lost landscape, the. W. Welles; B.	440	Cin. C.	683; 602		
M		This hunger; B.	105		
MacBain, Alastair, and C. Ford		North Atlantic triangle. J. B. Brebner; B.	105		
Clock and dagger: The secret story of the		Noyes, Charles E.; R.	378, 439		
OSS; B.	348	O			
Man-eaters of Kumaon. J. Corbett; B.	576	O'Brien, Justin; R.	292		
Manifesto for the atomic age. V. Jordan; B.	577	O'Casey, Sean			
Marching blacks. A. C. Powell, Jr.; B.	201;	Drums under the windows; B.	577		
see also C.	326	One world in the making. R. B. Perry; B.	548		
Marshall, Margaret; R.48, 130, 170		Orwell, George			
		Dickens, Dali, and others; B.	630		
		Out of this century. P. Guggenheim; B.	405		
		Owen Meredith: A critical biography of			
		Robert, first Earl of Lytton. A. B.			
		Harlan; B.	605		
		P			
		Padover, Saul K.			
		Experiment in Germany. The story of an			
		American intelligence officer; B.	546		
		Paine, Thomas, complete writings. Collected			
		and edited by P. S. Foner; B.	228		

[illegible]



THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 5, 1946

NUMBER 1

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS

EDITORIALS

The Congressional Record
A Unified Defense Policy
Reunion in Moscow

ARTICLES

These Men Block Housing *by Nathan Straus*
Far Eastern Impact *by Andrew Roth*
Letter from Rome *by Alberto Moravia*
Cynicism Wins in Italy *by Donald Downes*
What Will Your Dollar Buy in 1946?
by Alfred Friendly
A Man Around Fifty *by Martin Gumpert*
Next. A Poem *by Richard Armour*
Homage to Alvin Johnson *by Max Lerner*
In the Wind
The People's Front *by Del Vayo*

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Piety of Evelyn Waugh *by Diana Trilling*
Mary Petty Presents— *by Dawn Powell*
Italy and the Church *by Nicola Chiaromonte*
Briefer Comment
Films *by James Agee*
Art *by Clement Greenberg*
Music *by B. H. Haggin*

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 142 *by Jack Barrett*

The Shape of Things

THE NEW YEAR'S GIFT OF BIG-THREE UNITY WAS almost more than a shattered world had believed possible. Yet without it the first meeting of the United Nations Organization next week would have had little meaning. The focus of world attention on Moscow tended to obscure the important achievements of the Preparatory Commission of the UNO in London. As a matter of fact, the broad area of agreement gained by the delegates there on matters of procedure and organization presaged the more fundamental unity on matters of policy. In the two important issues yet to be decided the margin of decision was narrowed. The key post of secretary general has to be filled, and several candidates from among the middle powers of Europe and the New World have been suggested. After studying the list *The Nation* has come to the conclusion that Canada's ambassador to Washington, Lester B. (Mike) Pearson, carries the best credentials. He has served his country with distinction in many important posts and in several United Nations bodies has displayed rare administrative ability, conciliatory patience, and resilient humor. In the matter of the site for the United Nations Organization, *The Nation* frankly favors Hyde Park. Nothing could be more fitting than that the new organization for world peace should select the birthplace and home of the man most responsible for its inception. For Hyde Park has taken on symbolic significance not only for the great mass of the American people but for the peace-seeking peoples of the world.

✱

DEFYING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, public opinion, common sense, precedent, and logic, General Motors has refused to cooperate with the Fact-Finding Board investigating the strike of its employees which began some five weeks ago. Its justification is that any discussion of ability to pay—a factor the board had ruled relevant to the issue—would mean surrender of managerial responsibility. More than that, the corporation's attorney claimed, the automobile workers' union, by insisting on tying its wage demands to questions of prices and profits, was making a broad attack on American free enterprise as an institution. These arguments have a ring as familiar as it is hollow, and Walter Reuther did well to recall how frequently they have been used in the past to resist the right to organize trade unions. For in this dispute the right of collective bargaining is again at stake. In a statement issued on December 29 General Motors declared: "All business questions are inter-related. Costs, prices, wages, profits, schedules, investments

Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor
J. KING GORDON

Washington Editor
I. F. STONE

Literary Editor
MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors: KEITH HUTCHISON • MAXWELL S. STEWART
ROBERT BENDINER [*On leave with the army*]

European Editor: J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Assistant Editor
J. MITCHELL MORSE

Music Critic
B. H. HAGGIN

Drama Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Director of Nation Associates
LILLIE SHULTZ

Board of Contributing Editors

NORMAN ANGELL
CARBY MCWILLIAMS

JONATHAN DANIELS
REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Published weekly and copyright, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1919, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

must be *the responsibility of management*" (our italics). In other words, it admits the relevance of prices and profits to wages but insists that it is up to the management alone to decide what wages it is right and proper to pay. Granted this premise, any kind of arbitration procedure must be futile, and every labor dispute must become a trial of sheer economic strength. This is not a position likely to prove acceptable to the public, which, however disturbed it may be by the frequency of strikes, is not disposed to back corporation claims to act as judges in their own cause. We are glad, therefore, that the Fact-Finding Board in the General Motors case is carrying on its examination of all relevant material, including whatever financial data it can obtain. In no other way could it perform the task assigned to it, and General Motors' sulky refusal to recognize this fact puts the corporation out of court in a double sense.

✱

DEVALUATION OF THE FRANC HAS LONG BEEN inevitable. The exchange rates of 50 francs to the dollar and 200 to the pound sterling which have ruled since the liberation were fixed low with the intention of discouraging purchases in an almost empty market by American and British soldiers. Moreover, as long as France had little to export and was forced to buy heavily from abroad, the advantages of an overvalued currency were greater than its disadvantages. But if, in terms of relative purchasing power, the franc exchange rates were unrealistic at the time of the liberation, they were still more so before devaluation was decided upon by the French government. The wholesale price index now stands at 460 against 280 a year ago and 100 in 1939, while retail prices have risen even more steeply. The new rate of about 119 francs to the dollar compares with the pre-war rate of between 37 and 38 francs. But while there was a rough equivalence in 1939 between the purchasing power of 37 francs and that of a dollar, 119 francs certainly has less command over goods than today's dollar. This raises the question of whether the devaluation has been sufficiently drastic. If the new rate is to stick—and as a signatory of the Bretton Woods agreement France is restricted in making further alterations in its exchange rates—strong deflationary measures will be necessary. This was recognized by General de Gaulle, who, urging the National Constituent

Assembly to vote for the law revaluing the Bank of France's gold reserves, said: "To make this operation effective we must export. To regain a balanced budget, we must renounce new expenditures and not suppress any receipts; and, over and above all, we must produce." France is beginning to show signs of economic recovery, but there, as in England and other countries which unlike the United States have suffered a loss in real wealth during the war, austerity must for long be the order of the day.

✱

THE VATICAN'S MARCH ON THE AMERICAS IS proceeding according to plan. The Catholic church has scored impressive gains in its effort to recoup its European losses in the Western Hemisphere. In Mexico the clerical wave "has swept away thirty-five years of state atheism," and the church is now campaigning vigorously for the election of Ezequiel Padilla as President. In Argentina the entire hierarchy, with the single exception of Monsignor de Andrea, is supporting the candidacy of Perón. And the failure of Cuba to sever relations with Franco Spain has been largely attributed to the influence of the Archbishop of Havana. But the United States still remains the major objective. Five United States bishops have just been elevated to the cardinalate, and the total of North and South American cardinals increased from three to fourteen. The next step may well be the naming of Cardinal Spellman as Papal Secretary of State, an appointment that has been "in the wind" for several months. It is always gratifying to have an American of distinction honored abroad. Unfortunately the political motives that would dictate this choice must temper our enthusiasm. The clerical offensive in this country coincides with reactionary attacks from within, and every move by Rome should be scrutinized with unusual care.

✱

THE PROFITEER IN ANY LINE IS NOT AN attractive character, but the profiteer who exploits the needs of the disabled cuts a peculiarly ugly figure. The Association of Limb Manufacturers, forty-five corporations and thirty-four individuals, were recently indicted by a federal grand jury for conspiracy to fix "high, artificial, unreasonable, and non-competitive prices" for artificial limbs. This group, according to the indictment, makes 75 per cent of the limbs and 90 per cent of the parts and accessories used in the artificial-limb business—which is a nice business amounting to \$10,000,000 annually. As a result of the alleged conspiracy to fix prices, said Attorney General Clark, war veterans are forced to pay high and non-competitive prices when they buy direct from manufacturers, and the Veterans' Administration is not permitted to make artificial legs and arms. The Veterans' Administration, as well as state agencies, are forced to pay non-competitive prices; charitable institutions are prevented from making limbs for indigent persons free of charge; and the development and improvement of artificial limbs are impeded. In *The Nation* of March 10 Edward Maisel discussed at length the industry's sabotage of improved mechanical appliances, and we have reason to think that this article played a part in bringing about the indictment. We hope the case will be vigorously prosecuted to the

Atomic Bomb Supplement

We have on hand a limited number of 24-page supplements containing the addresses delivered at the recent Annual Nation Associates Forum.

The price per copy is 10 cents. A lower rate on larger quantities is offered to schools, organizations and special groups.

THE *Nation*

Twenty Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

end that the disabled veterans of the war—and we have in mind the casualties of the production line as well as of the battle front—may have the best possible artificial limbs at little or no cost. That is the least we can offer them.

✱

WE HAD HOPED THAT ONE OF THE FRUITS OF peace would, be greater cultural interchange between the nations, but James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, seems to have other ideas. During the war, he explains in a letter to the radio companies, the federation waived its objections to network broadcasts of radio programs, including music from foreign stations, with a view to promoting "good-will and good relations with other countries." But now the war is over Mr. Petrillo believes that "we should get back to normal as rapidly as possible," and he therefore requests the immediate discontinuance of such programs. We don't suppose Mr. Petrillo means there is no further need for good relations with other countries, though his words imply just that. He is concerned only with protecting his members from all possible forms of competition. But like other protectionists he is likely to create a lot of ill will and to invoke retaliation. Among the most important American exports are films, many of them musicals. Suppose the Musicians' Union in Britain—a very powerful body too—placed a ban on the showing of any American films using music on the ground that this importation of foreign labor via the sound-track was taking jobs from their members. In that case, we suggest, American musicians would stand to lose far more than they can gain from barring a few foreign broadcasts. Apart from all calculations of profit and loss, any attempt to create a national cultural monopoly sets a deplorable precedent. As members of the writing profession we ourselves have to meet far more "foreign competition" than do the musicians. We not only welcome it but would fight to the bitter end any attempt to bar it.

✱

WE ARE A LITTLE TORN IN OUR RESPONSE TO the news that Ezra Pound has been adjudged insane and unfit to stand trial on the charge of treason for having made pro-Fascist broadcasts from Italy. Not being bloodthirsty, we can't regret that Ezra is not to be hanged—after all he really isn't in a class with Göring. On the other hand, it seems to us an unwarranted slur on the poet to maintain that he is less responsible for his actions than other men—and we can't help begrudging to various and sundry philistines the satisfaction of having one of the most famous of modern poets declared insane. Reading of Pound's defense—"he insists that his broadcasts were not treasonable, that all of his radio activities stemmed from a self-appointed mission to 'save the constitution'"—we are reminded of a lot of non-poets in the United States who have gone almost as far as Pound because they too were concerned to "save the constitution" but have confined their broadcasts to their own elegant living-rooms or to the columns of certain well-known newspapers. Our own private theory is that Pound's unquestionably treasonable activities had little to do with his character either as a political man or a poet. We have always suspected that one of his self-appointed missions was to find the cultural antithesis of

Idaho. He chose Italy—and it is altogether possible that he really believed that Mussolini was the inheritor of the Caesars and would restore the grandeur that was Rome. Which, again, seems to us no more wacky an argument for admiring Mussolini than the one put forward by all sorts of respectable people who couldn't write a line of poetry to save their lives—we mean the one about making the trains run on time.

The Congressional Record

THE SEVENTY-NINTH Congress concluded its first session on December 21 feeling thoroughly satisfied with its labors in the past year. "We have a right to be proud of ourselves," said Speaker Rayburn, while Senator Taft declared: "We are fairly well pleased with the record made by the session both in what was and what was not passed by Congress." Contact with constituents during the vacation will, we hope, deflate this complacency. Despite some rather feverish indications of prosperity, the mood of the country is anxious and its morale low. People are worrying about homes, about job security, about the cost of living, about racial discrimination, not to mention such shadows on the future as the atomic bomb. They are hoping for reduced tension at home and abroad, seeking stability both on the home and the international front and they would like to see greater evidence of active cooperation toward these ends between the executive and legislative arms of the government than has been apparent in recent months.

If Congress measures these aspirations against its achievements, humility rather than self-congratulation should be the keynote at its reassembly on January 14. Indeed it might do worse than open the session with the confessional prayer: "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done." This would serve as a reminder that while it spent a great deal of time in the last year harrying the OPA and bickering over Pearl Harbor, its unfinished business includes a great mass of important social legislation.

We do not suggest, however, that the record of the past session has been wholly negative. On international affairs Congress made a fairly impressive score. It voted the United States into the United Nations Organization by an overwhelming majority; it ratified the Bretton Woods agreement; it renewed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, giving the Administration increased scope for negotiating the reduction of trade barriers. Finally, at the eleventh hour, after an unpleasant display of chauvinism, Congress authorized urgently required appropriations for UNRRA.

But if Congress proved commendably responsive to Administration leadership in the international field, it failed miserably to carry out the President's domestic program. On September 6, when Congress hastily reconvened after V-J Day, Mr. Truman urged swift action on a series of measures designed to ease the human strains of the reconversion period, pointing out that Congress had already made provision to assist business in the transition by voting tax rebates.

Among other things, he asked for more adequate assistance for the unemployed, with maximum compensation payments of \$25 for a period of twenty-six weeks, as well as the extension and strengthening of the United States Employment Service. With a view of securing a firm basis for the economy, he advocated passage of minimum-wage legislation, enactment of the Murray-Wagner Full Employment bill, creation of a Federal Research Agency, and a long-range public-works program including authorization of new regional developments on TVA lines. He also requested the creation of a permanent FEPC and a national health program for which detailed specifications were given in a later message.

The President proposed a very heavy agenda for Congress, and it would have been unreasonable to expect its completion within a few months. Nevertheless the country can rightly complain about the marked lack of progress. The one enterprise on which Congress embarked after September with celerity and enthusiasm was the reduction of taxes. In this matter it went well beyond Treasury recommendations, particularly in the relief given to corporations. On the other hand, we find the Kilgore bill for increasing unemployment compensation stalled by the House Ways and Means Committee after being passed by the Senate in a diluted form. The record on the Full Employment bill is still worse. After the Senate had emasculated it, the House Expenditures Committee slaughtered it and proceeded to write a new measure which does not even pretend to aim at full employment. Minimum-wage legislation is also bogged down, while the bill for a permanent FEPC, although favorably reported by the House Labor Committee, has been blocked by the reactionary Southern Democrats who control the Rules Committee.

There is no point in going over the whole barren record. Typical of the recent attitude of Congress was its action on the United States Employment Service. Not only did it ignore Mr. Truman's request for more money for this bureau, but it sought to turn the service back to the states by the devious method of attaching a rider to a bill disposing of unused war appropriations. The sharply worded message in which the President vetoed this measure, condemning both the attempt to destroy the USES and the manner in which it was done, is a sign that relations between the White House and Capitol Hill are approaching a crisis. When he succeeded to office, Mr. Truman wooed Congress in the most flattering terms, but his cosy intimacies with the Old Guard have failed to bring results. On October 30, broadcasting on wage and price policies, he changed his tactics and administered a spanking to dilatory legislators. But while this attempted discipline produced a yelp from Capitol Hill, it did not effect any noticeable improvement in conduct. So far Mr. Truman has been unable to make his influence felt or to establish a position of leadership. Roosevelt often made Congress furious, but usually it attended to his wishes. If his successor provokes less rage, he also commands less attention.

Whether Mr. Truman has it in him to overcome present Congressional indifference to his recommendations remains to be seen. The veto message previously mentioned suggested

an increased vigor, and now we are promised a broadcast address on January 3 which will review the whole legislative program. It has been reported that in this speech the President will tell "the inside story" of his troubles with Congress and will emphasize the work it has left undone. We can only hope he will not pull his punches. In putting his case to the people Mr. Truman is adopting the one strategy by which he can gain his ends. May he rise to the occasion and succeed in combining clarity in exposition with appeal to the public imagination—the combination that won Mr. Roosevelt so many victories.

A Unified Defense Policy

WHEN Congress reconvenes, one of its first tasks will be to achieve a final decision in the long controversy over the merging of the armed services. It will not be an easy decision to reach. Seldom has a question of public policy aroused such bitterness. What should be strictly a technical question has been allowed to degenerate into a dogfight between the brass hats of the army and the gold braid of the navy. Obviously the issue cannot be settled satisfactorily unless Congress can ignore these service rivalries and concentrate on the essential problem of organizing our national defense to meet (1) the special requirements created by such weapons as long range rockets and atomic bombs, and (2) our new responsibilities under the United Nations Charter.

President Truman has presented the case for unification so effectively that there is not very much we can add. With the character of warfare changing rapidly and drastically, we can no longer rely on the kind of coordination that sufficed in World War II. A unified system of national defense is essential for integrated strategic planning. A single supply and procurement agency would save the country many hundreds of millions of dollars by eliminating duplication in effort, unnecessary stockpiling, and wasteful bidding of one service against another for scarce materials. And a single Department of Defense should bring better teamwork within the government wherever defense policies must be coordinated with the activities of other departments.

But unification, as the President well realizes, will not automatically provide the kind of defense coordination which everyone wants. Cooperation cannot be assured by a monolithic organizational chart. It is dependent on elusive psychological factors, and cannot be achieved where there is a feeling of injustice or resentment. Nor can it thrive in an atmosphere of bureaucracy. For example, the Japanese, failed miserably in their efforts to attain effective teamwork in amphibious operations even though they had a highly centralized organizational blueprint. Our Army and Navy, on the other hand, worked fairly successfully together in the Pacific despite a dual command. If we are to have better teamwork in the future, particularly at the strategic levels, it is important that the navy and air forces be satisfied that they will not be swallowed by a dominant army bureaucracy. At first sight it might seem that this problem is met by Mr. Truman's proposal to set up semi-autonomous branches

within the Department of Defense for Army, Navy, and Air. Actually, the problem is considerably more complex than it appears on the surface. In many instances the navy specialists are outranked by their counterparts in the army, and the navy is probably justified in fearing that an amalgamation may weaken essential navy operations. Care must be taken, in merging duplicating services, such as intelligence and supply, to safeguard the navy's special interests. To this extent, public opinion will undoubtedly back the House and Senate Naval Affairs Committees in insisting on revision of Mr. Truman's unification plan, which in its present form predominately reflects the army point of view.

It is to be hoped also that Congress will take advantage of the needed reorganization of our national-defense structure to strengthen civilian influence within the armed forces. Mr. Truman has declared that unification will facilitate civilian control by simplifying the structure. But critics of the unification plan fear that an amalgamation of the services will strengthen military influence in Congress and in the civilian departments of the governments. The truth probably is that unification will have very little direct effect either way. The divergence between the military and civilian points of view on vital public issues will in all likelihood remain as long as the services are organized on a fundamentally non-democratic basis. Perhaps it is impossible to have a completely democratic army and navy: military discipline is in itself essentially undemocratic. But every effort should be made to keep the armed services an integral part of American life and tradition. To this end the morale and educational phases of army and navy training should be kept under direct civilian control. Supply, scientific, and technical activities should be freed from exclusive domination by the brass hats. And ways should be worked out to enable competent young men without West Point or Annapolis training to rise to high positions as readily as if they had attended the service schools. At this point the military and democratic objectives merge. For anything that can be done to rid the new unified service of domination by a bureaucracy of the élite will not only make it a more suitable instrument of democratic policy but will enhance its military efficiency.

Reunion in Moscow

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THE agreement reached at Moscow gave us less than we wanted and more than we expected. Modest as its accomplishments seem in the light of what must be done to create a society relatively safe from suicide, they were essential to that larger aim. For the foreign secretaries of the three biggest powers reassembled the underpinning without which the United Nations Organization could not stand and the meeting of the Assembly this month could provide only a meaningless stage-play. This is not an insignificant achievement. The tragedy is that seven months after the end of the war and the conference at San Francisco, the foundation alliance should have come so close to falling apart.

It is to be hoped that this minimum of agreement will

not be too strongly assailed by groups or nations whose interests have not been fully consulted. Chief among these is France. One can understand the resentment with which the Quai d'Orsay views a plan to write the peace terms for Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary without French advice. Although France was not at war with those states, its predominant influence before the war, particularly in Rumania and Hungary, would have indicated a primary share in the settlement. And France is no better pleased with its exclusion from discussion of the Far East and, above all, of atomic control. China, whose role as a "big" power is still nominal and will be until its civil struggle is settled, may question certain points in the agreement—the four-power control of Korea, for example—but it is not likely to do more than grumble. France can cause trouble. But its best friends must hope that expediency will prevail over pride, for in this case expediency represents the price of further international cooperation. France has every right to give notice that it will fight for the sort of settlement it wants; as a member both of the Security Council and the full Council of Foreign Ministers it will have plenty of opportunity to do so. To oppose or delay the application of the Moscow agreement would be politically irresponsible.

The fact is, every nation might as well accept Big Three dominance as the basis of post-war relations. Constant obstruction or outright hostility are useless—purely nihilistic devices. We need agreement between Russia and the West; the job of UNO is to build upon that agreement a democratic structure. While the monopoly of power vested in the Security Council makes the job a tough one, it won't be rendered easier by attacks upon the all-too-fragile understandings that hold the major nations together.

The firm hold of that monopoly was demonstrated in the Foreign Ministers' recommendation that the UNO Assembly establish an atomic-control commission which will report—as far as atomic weapons are concerned—directly to the Security Council. The commission will be made up of one representative from each nation on the Council and will deal with the problems outlined in the original Truman-Attlee-King proposal: the exchange of basic scientific information, the outlawing of atomic bombs and other means of mass destruction, and the creation of international safeguards, including inspection. But the veto rule puts the entire attempt to control atomic weapons at the mercy of any single great power. The United States, as an immediate example, would be able to say no if the commission ordered inspection of existing plants equipped to make bombs or products related to the making of bombs. In other words, the effectiveness of the Moscow plan will be wholly dependent upon the goodwill of each major nation subjected to it—a dangerous arrangement however you look at it.

My conviction is that no secure international control can be established until the atomic commission is made respon-

Everybody's Business, a regular Nation feature is omitted this week. In the next issue Mr. Hutchison will discuss the reasons for the current scarcity in consumers goods.

sible to the UNO as a whole, for not until then will lesser nations regard the decisions of the commission as possessing any of the attributes of law. But this change cannot come immediately, and meanwhile I am aware of certain factors which reconcile me to delay. As long as fascist dictatorships like Argentina, in accord and in constant communication with Spain's fascist regime and with Nazi elements in and out of their own territories, remain members of the UNO, I am willing to postpone full United Nations control of the most dangerous power ever made available to man.

The decision at Moscow on the administration of Japan was moderate and sensible. The machinery for joint control sounds complicated, but it avoids the pitfalls of geographical division and allows MacArthur ample latitude for independent action under broad directives. Given honest intentions, the plan ought to work. If it does it may provide a yardstick for the use of occupation authorities in Europe. This agreement and the ones covering China and Korea are discussed more fully on another page.

The "compromise" on the Balkan issue was in fact a surrender, embellished by certain face-saving clauses. It was a

necessary surrender. As this journal has often pointed out, the Western powers can never succeed in naturalizing their own political methods in areas subjected to a tough process of social change under conditions of famine and economic collapse. Nor can they exorcise by diplomatic maneuvers the fact of Russian influence. The best they can do is to accept the basic situation and, in concert with Russia, bring about some modification of revolutionary control. This has been accomplished through the Moscow agreement; it could have been done months ago without provoking ill-will or entailing defeat. Now, perhaps, we can get ahead with the establishment of normal relations; peace can at last be made and the occupation armies withdrawn.

Much anxiety has resulted from the failure of the conference to reach a decision on Iran or on other Near East problems. Nor was anything said about Spain, which clamors for action. Since these matters require Big Three agreement before they can be submitted to the UNO or otherwise disposed of, their postponement is disturbing; but it is not as dangerous as a new deadlock would be. The Foreign Ministers could not afford a repetition of the London fiasco.

These Men Block Housing

BY NATHAN STRAUS

(Administrator of the United States Housing Authority from 1937 to 1942;
now president of Radio Station WMCA)

A RECENT statement of mine that the housing shortage had been deliberately planned by reactionary real-estate interests has been violently contradicted. However, there is ample evidence that the real-estate interests have consistently opposed all new housing which could offer competition with their ancient and insanitary slums. Present conditions were foreseen by many persons two years ago, and the need for action was urged at that time in my book, "The Seven Myths of Housing." Those who, during the war years, obstructed legislation to prepare for a low-rent housing program at the war's end bear a large share of the blame for the shortage today. Who are they?

THE REAL-ESTATE INTERESTS

Skyscraper Management, organ of the National Association of Building Owners and Managers, printed the following item in March, 1941, under the heading, Manhattan Has No Need for New Housing:

A jump in the percentage of vacant old-law tenement dwelling units in Manhattan during 1940, following a substantial increase of such vacancies during 1939, is revealed through the third successive annual survey of eleven typical old-law tenement areas just completed by the Real Estate Board of New York, which shows an average vacancy of 8.6 per cent at the end of January, 1941, as against an average of 7.1 per cent for the same time in 1940, and 6.1 per cent for 1939. Jones W. Mercereau, executive vice-president of the board, in an open letter sent to all members of the legislature from New York County, pointed out that the increased vacancy per-

centage, "substantiating as it does the high percentage of vacant dwelling units in Manhattan shown by the 1940 census report, proves, if proof were needed, the absence of any probability of a local housing emergency."

On November 13, 1942, according to the New York *World-Telegram*, James Felt, specialist in old-law tenements, who usually speaks for the organized real-estate interests, said: "Vacancies in old-law tenements continue to rise. Unheated buildings and those without toilets are suffering most." Attributing the "suffering" to the buildings rather than to the unfortunate tenants is itself significant.

The real-estate boards, the apartment-house-owners' associations, the building-and-loan groups have conducted a campaign to discredit public housing. A hundred examples of their methods could be quoted, but the following typical statements will suffice. The *Confidential Weekly Letter* of the National Association of Real Estate Boards said on December 26, 1939: "USHA public-housing projects now under way are undiluted socialism. . . . Opinion is growing that any plan of operation which puts housing and building permanently into private hands is preferable to the present program of local and federal ownership of housing projects." On January 27, 1943, Rufus S. Lusk, Washington representative of the National Home Builders' Association, as quoted by the New York *Times*, told a conference of the association, "Public housing is 'nothing but socialism.'"

To ask us to believe that this barrage on many fronts, this constant repetition of the same misstatements, was not the

result of a deliberate campaign, is to ask us to stretch our credulity to the breaking-point.

The lobby of the National Home Builders' Association is powerfully abetted by that of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, represented by Herbert U. Nelson, and that of the United States Savings and Loans League, represented by Morton Bodfish. The activities of all three are directed to blocking any legislation which would provide good low-rent housing and thereby interfere with the fat profits gained by keeping unsanitary slum shacks and dark slum rookeries crowded with tenants. Mr. Nelson and Mr. Bodfish maintain close personal contacts with key members of the Congressional committees and seem to have almost unlimited funds at their disposal for printing, arranging conventions, and entertaining lavishly.

THE LINE-UP IN CONGRESS

The cause of better housing has strong champions in Congress. Senators Wagner of New York, Ellender of Louisiana, Taft of Ohio, and Pepper of Florida are leaders of the fight in the upper house. In the lower house Majority Leader McCormack of Massachusetts, Representative Brent Spence (D) of Kentucky, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, which considers housing legislation, Representative Estes Kefauver (D) of Tennessee, and others have consistently battled for legislation to wipe out slums and provide adequate housing at rents that a family of moderate means can afford to pay.

Aligned against such legislation are a number of Congressmen united not by party ties but by pocket-book interests. Representative Albert Gore (D) of Tennessee is perhaps the ablest of the group. He is an influential member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, where he has been spokesman for the point of view of the slum landlords. Gore is rightly credited with having been chiefly responsible for killing public housing. After failing to smother in committee a bill providing for additional funds for the program, he made his fight on the floor of the House. The speech he delivered on August 3, 1939, when the bill came up for final passage, has always seemed to me to be an outstanding example of the extremes to which men will go in garbling facts and misquoting figures to protect the interests of those they serve. Representative Gore had the satisfaction of bringing about the defeat of the bill in a close vote. In the six years since then he has been equally successful in preventing all legislation to provide decent housing for returning veterans.

The point of view of the reactionary real-estate interests was represented on the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, which handled all war-housing legislation, by the chairman, Fritz Lanham (D) of Texas. The notorious Section IV of the Lanham act of 1941 provided that war housing should not be designed or ever used after the war to provide good housing for American families. It read as follows: "... said housing or any part thereof shall not, unless specifically authorized by Congress, be conveyed to any public or private agency organized for slum clearance or to provide subsidized housing for persons of low income."

Let it be thought that I am misrepresenting what the Congressman had in mind in writing this section of his act,



Courtesy the Federal Art Project

Drawing by Saul

it may be well to quote his own words. In a speech before the United States Savings and Loans League, as reported in the *Washington Star* of November 28, 1942, Mr. Lanham said:

The federal government doesn't belong permanently in the housing business, except in very rare instances. You can't find anything in the Constitution that says the government has to build houses for the citizens. . . .

The real-estate business naturally and properly belongs to the real-estate men. . . .

There is nothing in it [the Lanham act] to do with slum clearance or low-cost housing for low-income groups.

Should any bill to provide decent housing for those who live in the slums be enacted into law, the real-estate interests have other means to block the program. The Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives allots money to the various government agencies to carry on their work. In practice, subcommittees of this large committee hear the applications. On the subcommittee which considers and acts upon requests from the housing agencies the slum landlords have two watch-dogs. The function of Wigglesworth (R) of Massachusetts seems to be not only to lend respectability to the cause of the slum owners but to make certain that, if any low-rent housing bill does pass, the government agency charged with carrying out the program shall be harassed by lack of funds for administrative and technical personnel. Wigglesworth's coworker on the committee is Taber (R) of New York. The hatchet man of the so-called "economy bloc," Taber works quietly behind the scenes and seems to have mysterious connections with reactionary and isolationist groups.

These are the men who have successfully led the fight to kill low-cost housing and to bring about the shortage of homes by which slum owners are profiteering today.

SIDESTEPPING THE ISSUE

New evidence of the power of the reactionary real-estate interests was provided recently when the federal government adopted a so-called emergency-housing program which is a betrayal of the veterans even less excusable than the lack of action during the war years. We read in the papers

of the appointment of "expeditors" and of government regulations granting priorities to "homes costing less than \$10,000." Such action is mere shadow-boxing, a pretense of doing something while carefully sidestepping the real issue. A family must have an income of about \$5,000 a year to be able to afford a \$10,000 home. How many returning veterans have that income?

The need today is for at least two million new dwellings for families with earnings of from \$20 to \$50 a week. Such families can afford to pay from \$20 to \$50 a month in rent. Only public housing can provide healthful, livable homes within their means. History and arithmetic alike confirm this fact.

The United States Housing Act, tested in the courts and proved in use, is an instrument at hand for this purpose. Under the leadership of the United States Housing Authority, local housing authorities in the years 1938 to 1941 built more than 170,000 homes which set new records in excellence of design and economy of construction. President Truman, then a United States Senator heading a committee charged with investigating federal-government agencies, said on October 29, 1941: "There is absolutely nothing to criticize in the United States Housing Authority. It is a highly competent organization working through local authorities."

WHAT CONGRESS SHOULD DO

Congress should immediately enact legislation to authorize the United States Housing Authority to make loans to local authorities sufficient to build two million new homes. Probably less than 10 per cent of the loan funds will be used, since experience proves that local housing authorities can obtain money more cheaply by the sale of their bonds to private and institutional investors—but the loan funds should be available if needed.

The sum of \$100,000,000 should be provided by Congress for annual subsidies so that rents in the new housing built may be adjusted by local authorities to fit the family incomes of the veterans most in need of housing. The subsidy required will range from about \$100 a year to zero. It will probably average about \$50 per annum per family.

Congress should appropriate \$200,000,000 immediately for grants to communities for the purchase of housing sites. The appropriation should include a provision by which any unexpended balance will lapse on June 30, 1946. This will insure prompt action by the localities.

There should be a further provision that no part of this land-purchase fund may be used to acquire sites which cost more than \$2 a square foot in communities of more than 100,000 population, or \$1 a square foot in smaller communities. Unless this provision is included, the real-estate boards will exert pressure upon local governments to take their decaying and obsolete properties off their hands—under the guise of "slum clearance." The federal grant is not to be for buying slums but for buying tracts of land on which new, livable, low-rent homes will be built. The limitation suggested will confine purchases largely to vacant land, and thus no families will be dispossessed from housing which they now occupy. Moreover, the effect of building on vacant land will be to decentralize urban populations. This process, called in England "decongestion of the central mass," is one

of the cardinal principles of a sound housing program.

The federal government should grant an absolute priority to local housing authorities for both labor and materials to get the two million dwellings built as quickly as possible. Because of a temporary shortage of critical materials, it may be wise to prohibit all private residential construction for the first six months of this year. All available material and labor would thereby be channeled into the construction of homes for those whose need is greatest. Announcement of such a policy would signalize in an appropriate way an about-face by our government and a new determination to act swiftly and decisively. Of course, the public housing would be built, as in the past, by private contractors employing building labor at prevailing wages.

The amendments to the United States Housing Act outlined above could be written on one sheet of paper. If enacted into law during the month of January, most of the vacant land required could be bought and available for the erection of housing by April 1. By fall several hundred thousand new, livable, low-rent homes could be ready for occupancy.

I believe that those who treat the problem of the homeless veteran lightly are gravely endangering the country. I believe that they do not appreciate how men feel who discover that while they were risking their lives to protect us, we were doing nothing to protect them and their families. Millions of ex-service men are bitterly resentful that we have provided no place for them to live but a miserable slum dwelling.

The government appropriated the funds to build weapons for a victorious war. The veterans expect their government to provide the funds to build them homes for lives of peace.

Far Eastern Impact

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of "Dilemma in Japan")

THE RESULTS of the Moscow conference have spread consternation among those elements in Tokyo, Seoul, and Chungking whose hope for survival was based on the deepening of hostility between the United States and Russia. But people elsewhere who yearn for a lasting peace and democratic progress have been able to derive considerable satisfaction from the decisions concerning the Far East taken by the Big Three. While there's many a slip 'twixt the communique and its realization, these decisions have narrowed the Soviet-American rift and enhanced the possibility of developing popular regimes in Japan, Korea, and China without destructive civil wars. Northeastern Asia is the touchstone of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union because it is the only area in the world where the two countries have comparatively equal political, economic, and military interests. Any development that cements Soviet-American accord in that region will contribute to peaceful international relations throughout the world.

Despite the indignation of the MacArthur sect in this country and the wailing of Japanese conservatives, the transition to a four-power supervisory Allied Council in Tokyo

with MacArthur as permanent chairman and chief executive is likely to be fairly smooth. China, Britain, and Australia have already indicated substantial agreement with American policies in Japan. And the liberal Washington-born policy directives which MacArthur has been carrying out—and for which he has been getting the lion's share of the credit—are not very far from Russian ideas on how to eliminate the sources of Japanese aggression. There will be no dispute about the necessity of ridding Japan of its semi-feudal land system, the monopolistic hold of the giant *Zaibatsu* trusts, the jingoist *Tenno* (emperor-worship) system, and the considerable number of war criminals.

The Russians may differ with us on the speed of Japan's political and economic delousing and on the best methods for achieving the objectives already blocked out. They may criticize us for tolerating the Shidehara government's sabotage of the Potsdam terms and American directives. They may object to our generosity to big business during the reconversion period at a time when millions of Japanese are living in the direst poverty. They are likely to recommend extending the war-crime list on the basis of their long and very thorough investigation into Japanese military-fascist organizations and their superior opportunities for observation during the period of their neutrality, when they could

watch Japanese events from the inside. But these are differences in emphasis rather than in approach.

In Korea, however, there is a yawning gap to be bridged. As a result of poor and inadequate State Department preparation, Korean policy bears the heavy imprint of military expediency and conservatism. American occupation officers were informed that one of their major objectives was to build southern Korea into a "bulkhead against communism," and they have frequently acted as if this were their chief or virtually their only purpose. They have reviled and harassed the leftist People's Republic movement which grew out of the Korean underground and embraced extreme conservatives who derived their wealth from collaborating with the Japanese in the spoliation of their own people. The American military commander, Lieutenant General John R. Hodge, has supported the old Korean Russophobe, Syngman Rhee, and crowded the airfields adjoining the Russian-held sector with war planes.

The Moscow agreement calls for the early establishment of a democratic provisional government sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union and indorsed by China and the United Kingdom. But the achievement of unity and democracy in Korea will require understanding and skill plus a strong desire on the part of the occupying administra-



HE PREFERS SAND-CASTLES

tion. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the American delegates to the preliminary conference in Korea scheduled for next week will not only read the words but breathe of the spirit of the Big Three communiqué.

The agreement on China hardly goes beyond recognizing "the need for a unified and democratic China." The crux of the present dispute is that the Communists will not give up their arms until they have democratic guaranties, while the Kuomintang promises it will give China democracy after

the Communists have submitted. Few impartial and informed observers believe that the reactionaries in control of the Kuomintang—conscious of their unpopularity—will submit willingly to democratic processes. Consequently if that democracy which must be the foundation stone of unity is to be attained, international pressure will have to be exerted to edge the extreme reactionaries out of their control of the Kuomintang. Success here will help to remove the greatest remaining danger spot in international relations.

Letter from Rome

BY ALBERTO MORAVIA

(Mr. Moravia is a well-known Italian novelist and journalist. He is a cousin of the anti-Fascist Carlo Rosselli, who was murdered on Mussolini's order two years before the war.)

Rome, December 1

FOREIGN visitors to Rome frequently remark that the city seems more prosperous and less dismal than other European capitals. But foreigners, one must realize, do not come in contact with the middle and lower classes, which suffered the most from the war. And, then, Rome, with its unclouded blue skies, its fountains, gardens, and monuments, has always given the impression of serenity, even, perhaps, of opulence. The Romans know, however, that sunshine and fountains, gardens and monuments don't increase the amount of food they are able to get by one gram, or the wages of workers by one cent.

The aristocracy and the rich bourgeoisie have kept their old palaces or their hill-top villas, and in them American and English travelers meet charming ladies and distinguished men who bemoan in good English the activities of the left-wing parties and sigh for the restoration of the monarchy. It was because of their exclusive association with this high society that English diplomats were convinced of the monarchy's popularity among the Italian people. Of course it was not so. Hostility to the monarchy is one of the few things about which Italians are practically unanimous. In the words of an old Italian proverb, the diplomats "went to the innkeeper to ask if the wine was good."

Perhaps more accurate information about conditions in Italy might be obtained from the English and American soldiers who stayed there for two years. They did not frequent palaces or meet the wives and daughters of big business men. Their knowledge of how the people lived and what they thought was gained by chance, in the streets or in public places. They might tell about the great number of prostitutes—very few of whom are professionals—the crowds of beggars, the misery and hopelessness they saw on every hand. Many of them became acquainted with Italian workers' or tradesmen's families, and they found no prosperity or sighing for the return of the monarchy there. Unfortunately it is not soldiers who report to governments or big newspapers, but journalists and diplomats.

At present the problem that occupies the mind of the laborer and white-collar worker in Rome—both these classes are large there, especially the second—is the terrific disparity

between wages and the cost of living. I have been in America, and I believe that if such a disparity existed in the United States, laborers and white-collar workers would be so depressed by the utter absurdity and hopelessness of the situation that they would be almost incapable of going on. Italians, however, continue to work.

The American public should know under what conditions men work in Italy. Briefly, it's like this. With wages at their present level a white-collar or manual worker can provide for his needs up to the tenth or perhaps the twelfth of the month. After that he either starves to death or is obliged to "take measures"—*arrangiarsi* is the Italian word, borrowed from the French. I will speak later of what the word implies. First I want to cite some figures. With a salary that ranges around 300 lire a day—for a white-collar worker it is often as low as 200 lire—a married man with two children in Rome has to spend more than 600 lire a day for food. Buying other essentials, such as shoes or clothing, is of course out of the question. To *arrangiarsi* is the only solution. Some refuse to try, and live on green vegetables and a little bread. For the others two roads are open—to sell their belongings, if they still possess any, or to engage in some business outside their daily work.

The sale of belongings is carried on all over. The first things to go are the superfluous things, the best dishes, the few pieces of jewelry—not wedding rings, those Mussolini took at the time of the Ethiopian war—articles purchased in times of prosperity, such as gramophones, ice-boxes, dancing shoes, radios, poker chips. After the superfluous things have disappeared, the furniture goes—the parlor sets, since company is no longer received; the dining-room furniture, since one can always eat in the kitchen; and finally beds and mattresses.

The other course, to engage in some outside business, means in general to operate on the black market—unless one of the illicit trades, like prostitution, is practiced. Today the black market means the normal market, for the supplies furnished by government authorities or by the Allies are too few to be worth speaking about. The black market trades chiefly in foodstuffs, but enormous amounts of money are also made in medicines, clothing, and luxuries. A phial of penicillin

costs 12,000 lire, a man's suit 30,000 lire, a pack of Camels 250 lire, and the price of an automobile trip to Milan is 10,000 lire. Of course to do business on the black market one must be willing to take chances, have a knack for trading, and be unhampered by the fetish of respectability. Concierges in particular, with their opportunities for getting acquainted in both the upper and lower strata of society, have shown themselves to be clever operators. As a result of this general practice an entire group of the poorest people has become well-off or even in some cases rich, while inflation and the cost of living are rapidly forcing the middle classes down the few steps that still separate them from complete indigence.

This impoverishment of the petty bourgeoisie merits a more detailed examination than can be given it in a brief letter. It should be remembered that this class is politically and socially the most powerful one in Italy—the workers are less numerous and the peasants are inarticulate—and that the future of the country depends on its moods and desires. For example, fascism was probably supported by the big industrialists and landowners and opposed by the workers and farm laborers; it was the petty bourgeoisie that furnished the men, the style, the ideas, and the sentiments. Every political party in Italy knows that to succeed it must win the favor of the petty bourgeoisie. Curiously enough, however, nearly all the parties try to appeal to the workers, and in consequence the middle classes have maintained a rather neutral attitude toward politics. None of the parties really satisfy their requirements.

These requirements can be deduced from the very character of the middle classes. They are, first of all, patriotic. They are formalistic in social relations, cherishing academic titles, honorific distinctions, respectability and decorum, and clinging to their inherited prejudices. On the other hand, Italian culture is in their hands, not in those of the high bourgeoisie or the nobility. From this class come the teachers, journalists, writers, politicians, doctors, lawyers, judges, and engineers. The petty bourgeoisie are faithful to tradition, even to the recent and regretted traditions installed by fascism. But while they are conservative in whatever concerns the social and cultural order, their frustrated, unhappy, and explosive vitality makes them also, in a certain sense, revolutionary. Without question they are the most ambitious and the most discontented class. They don't want to sink back into the masses, and they cannot, as they might perhaps like to do, climb up to the upper classes.

During the German occupation the petty bourgeoisie eagerly awaited the arrival of the Allies and in politics were strongly inclined toward the left-wing parties. An election held soon after the Allies arrived would certainly have shown a great swing to the Socialists and Communists. But subsequently this sympathy declined. Too much was expected of the new democratic governments, which were rendered impotent by material conditions and, it must be said, by the inexperience of the new bureaucracy. Middle-class Italians have little imagination and cannot realize that their present sufferings are not due to the parties in power today but to the Fascists, who unleashed the war. They know only that under fascism they managed to eat, to clothe themselves, take vacations, marry off their daughters, and send their sons to college and that now all these things are impossible or possible

only in a very reduced degree. In addition, fascism seemed to have a strong foreign policy. Most people do not understand that Italy's present inferior role in world affairs is due to fascism and not to the democratic parties. The Trieste question has been the cause of much bitterness, and the Communist Party lost many of its petty-bourgeois members because it did not support Italian claims energetically enough. This does not mean that the middle classes are leaning to the right or actually desire the return of fascism. It only means that present conditions are not to their liking, and that a political formula corresponding to their interests has not been found.

One might think that with the Italian middle class in such a depressed condition, intellectual and cultural life would also be on the down grade. But that is not the case. On the contrary, an extraordinary boom in journalistic and publishing enterprises has taken place, owing in part to a natural reaction to fascism's twenty-year-long suppression of free expression and in part to the desire to exploit this reaction. Not all the newspaper editors and publishers seeking to profit from the situation are well qualified for their profession, and at least for the time being the phenomenal growth of book-selling and journalism is a matter of quantity rather than quality.

Under fascism Rome had about ten newspapers; today it has almost double that number. There are the party papers—the Liberal *Risorgimento Liberale*, the Communist *Unità*, the Socialist *Avanti*, the Action Party's *Italia Libera*, the Christian Democrats' *Il Popolo* and *Il Quotidiano*, the Republican *Voce Repubblicana*, and the Labor Democrats' *Democrazia del Lavoro*; the independent papers—*Il Tempo*, *Il Giornale del Mattino*, *Il Momento*, *Libera Stampa*, *L'Indipendente*, *La Capitale*, and *L'Epoca*; the old *Osservatore Romano*, an English and an American daily, and finally the financial and sport papers. Political, literary, and popular magazines are not less numerous, and there are humorous papers and other ephemera. All these publications are printed and sold almost exclusively in Rome. Northern Italy has its own newspapers and periodicals.

Tendencies noted in the press may give a fairly accurate idea of the changing mood of the people. In the first days of the liberation the party papers had a very high circulation; today this is much lower. *L'Avanti* has dropped from 120,000 copies to 20,000, *Il Risorgimento Liberale* from 60,000 to 30,000. *L'Italia Nuova*, the organ of the monarchists, has a fixed circulation among the nobility and the rich bourgeoisie, but its sale too has fallen off. On the other hand, the circulation of the independent papers, which do not carry on party politics, has greatly increased. The *Voce Repubblicana* is an exception among the party papers, which proves, if proof be needed, the popularity of republican and anti-monarchical ideas in Italy. In general, the success of the independent press as compared to the party press is due to two factors—the large amount of space devoted to news, features, entertainment, and crime; and the middle classes' waning interest in party politics. The negative attitude of some groups toward the parties has become so pronounced that the more pessimistic members are calling it fascist.

The publishing business was formerly centered in Milan, with branches in Florence, Turin, and Bari. But in the past

year nearly a hundred publishing firms have sprung up in Rome. Like the newspapers, they may be merely another sign of the current reaction, which may or may not last. The publishers have gone overboard on translations from the English and French, and it often happens that a foreign book is published by two different firms at the same time. Chief among the English and American authors published are those that were prohibited by fascism—Hemingway, Lawrence, Caldwell, and the like. The books are carefully printed, sometimes even elegantly, but the translations often leave a good deal to be desired. The high cost of paper does not permit

books to be sold for less than 200 to 300 lire, and the booksellers are already beginning to notice a falling-off in demand.

I don't think it is hard to understand the political and moral apathy of the present moment. It is the apathy of a people who put forth an enormous effort, only to perceive that it was a mistaken effort which must be paid for with even more superhuman efforts. Small wonder that while accepting this destiny Italians feel now a pervading anxiety which prevents them from being greatly concerned about anything except the material means of living.

Cynicism Wins in Italy

BY DONALD DOWNES

(Correspondent for The Nation and the Overseas News Agency in Italy)

Rome, December 15

IN RETURNING his mandate of power to the six parties of the Committee of National Liberation the retiring Prime Minister, Ferruccio Parri, made two stinging accusations against the political leaders who had brought about the fall of the government and, by inference, against the Italian people. The first drew a deadly parallel between the years leading up to fascism, with their useless political flounderings and bickerings, and the situation today. The second pointed out that the capricious actions of politicians, jockeying for power at the outset of probably the coldest, hungriest, and most critical winter in Italy's history, must demonstrate to the rest of the world how feeble and disunited was Italy's vaunted union of anti-Fascist movements.

To an American it is shocking that the Italian political parties and most of their leaders, at a moment when millions of citizens may be unable to obtain a minimum of bread and clothing and shelter, can regard national issues almost exclusively from the point of view of party success or of an individual's rise to power. Something of the same selfishness, it is true, was shown by certain American industrialists and at least one American labor leader when President Roosevelt was undertaking to mobilize the American economy for war, but in America public opinion was strongly behind the government, and opposition was easily overridden. Tragically for 45,000,000 Italians, they seem unable to muster public indignation or even public concern.

Why are they so apathetic? I think because for generations before the rise of fascism politics was a game for aristocrats, reserved to them as a class more competent than the people to make decisions for the nation. There is nothing in Italy's history between the Risorgimento and Mussolini to indicate that democracy was ever more than a word. The people, like the politicians, were left or right, socialist or liberal or reactionary, as one might belong to one club or another, seldom from any deep conviction. Men did not try to carry out political theories. They were content to be ideologically this or that and forget the application of their ideas.

Fascism added dishonesty and cynicism to incapacity and superficiality. For twenty-two years the Fascists talked social-

ism and reform, perhaps did a little good work here and there, but all the while they were plundering the country and catering to the worst elements in Italian society and the worst shortcomings in Italian character. As a result the professional governing classes became morally and politically bankrupt. The democratic spirit survived only in the white-collar workers, the northern peasants, and a section of the industrial workers.

The professional politicians, from Communist agitators to aristocratic monarchists and liberals, look on the people as something to be used, to be directed, to be bought and sold in Roman political deals much as the ancient Romans bought and sold their slaves. No one fears the people or their indignation; no one believes that the worm will turn. So confident of this are the new breed of Fascists that Guglielmo Gianini has named his movement, the very cornerstone of which is contempt for the people and privilege for the few, "L'Uomo qualunque," the Man in the Street.

This cynicism is expressed in many ways. No politician has thought it important to discuss before the people in detail the vital decisions which Italy must take in the Constitutional Convention to be held early in the spring. No one asks the people: Shall the new government have an elected executive or one responsible to a parliament? Shall there be a supreme court to guard the new constitution? Shall there be one or two houses of parliament? Shall the code of laws be changed? Shall judges be elected or appointed? Shall the parliament control the army? Shall there be "referendum and recall"? Shall there be a greater or less degree of local autonomy? Shall the jury system be introduced? What social security shall be constitutionally guaranteed? Shall the church be constitutionally forbidden to mix in Italian politics? Shall a socializing tax system like England's and America's be written into the constitution? Shall a series of regional legislatures be created? Shall education be made a state monopoly? What degree of nationalization of industry and finance shall be included in the constitution?

"Shall we have a king or a republic?" is about as far as the Italians have gone in public debate. They seem to think that a decision on the one issue, monarchy versus republic,

would settle everything, when of course it would settle nothing. For if any lesson can be learned from the history of the struggle for democracy, it is that political democracy without social and economic democracy is a useless toy. This truth has not yet been discovered in Italy.

Even the labor unions, through which popular opinion should be able to dictate to politicians, are the creatures of the various parties; each party has its own preserve in the labor field.

Nor do the press and radio express the people's feelings. The press, composed in general of party-controlled papers, reflects even in its news columns a narrow party view. The so-called independent papers, such as the *Giornale del Mattino* of Rome, when examined closely, turn out to be serving a party. And this service often goes as far as the suppression of news. In short, most newspapers are political pamphlets filled with the polemics of one small group, understood only by the party leaders, and unread by the average man or woman.

The radio has perhaps even less influence, since its technique is so primitive and the number of functioning sets is so small that comparatively few persons actually listen. Reception is poor, and the news programs are a bore. The different parties are given short periods of time to present their points of view. So far as I have been able to find out, no party has tried to dress up or dramatize its program. What one gets is a sort of rehash of the political essays which one carefully skipped in the morning papers in the vain search for solid information.

With the public so uninformed and apathetic, except for regimented party demonstrations, the politicians can govern Italy with little reference to popular demands. Most of them are naturally uninterested in building up a public opinion which would control governmental policy. A few men in the Socialist Party, some in the Action Party, and a handful of

Christian Democrats have tried to alter this situation. A vastly larger group in all the party leaderships resent any interference by the people. Certainly one of the basic reasons for the fall of the Parri government was its encouragement of the rank and file. Cynicism toward the little fellow, contempt for the "ignorant masses" mark those who are coming into the saddle in Italy. The old-time politicians and ex-Fascists, the royalists and landowners, the greedy industrialists and big financiers, who believe that they are chosen to hand down "democracy" to the people, are pretty close to being in power. Such a grouping is a fair definition of fascism.

There was a moment after Salerno and the fall of Naples, and another after the north was liberated last spring, when Italy was temporarily awake. And those were the times that the Allies chose to back wealth and privilege and royalty and old-time discredited politicians. Allied officials have always favored "the good old reliable and established people" as against the forces of reform. The Allied administration has always made exceptions for the automobiles of the rich and the houses of the aristocrats, has allowed the former to be licensed and the latter to be spared requisition. Fascist sympathy and Fascist profits have never been a liability under the Allied administration; to be a leftist has been to be suspect, to be discriminated against.

In this climate of opinion a purge of Fascists has become impossible; even preference for non-Fascists is often futile. The ex-Fascists and the three pre-Fascist Prime Ministers—Bonomi, Orlando, and Nitti—egged on by Allied officials and such visitors as Amadeo Giannini of California (who in a press conference at Naples said plainly that until Italy had a rightist government of the three pre-Fascist old men it could expect no help from America), have made their alliances with the monarchist nobility and the leaders of industry, and are trying to take over Italy. If they succeed there may be civil war in Italy.

What Will Your Dollar Buy in 1946?

BY ALFRED FRIENDLY

(Staff reporter for the Washington Post covering labor and economic subjects)

SHORTLY after World War I the proprietor of a small men's-wear shop in Kansas City stocked his shelves with high-cost goods which he had bought during the roaring inflation. Before he could sell his wares, deflation hit with a vengeance; the storekeeper went broke, and it was years before he could pay off his debts.

The OPA, trying to prevent a repetition of the inflation-deflation pattern after World War II, wonders how lasting an impression that experience made on the Middle Western haberdasher who today is President of the United States. Though an economic situation is developing which is infinitely more dangerous than that of the early '20's, the agency is getting little really effective support. Mr. Truman has uttered the right words, but the OPA must have something more if it is to survive. Chester Bowles is putting up a gallant fight, but he needs solid help from the White House.

The seriousness of the danger ahead is hard to describe in sufficiently impressive terms. Unfortunately, the OPA has itself wasted much valuable verbal ammunition; "catastrophic," "terrifying," "paralyzing," and even "atomically devastating" have been expended on situations of less gravity than the one the nation now faces. The facts, however, speak for themselves.

Inflation, of course, is the natural result of an abundance of buying power combined with a scarcity of things to be bought. As for our buying power: Individual savings have increased during the war years by \$145 billion, an amount far above the 1939 national income. Bank deposits have risen from \$27 billion to \$72 billion. This is for the most part "hot" money. Even since the end of the war money paid out in wages and profits has remained about as high as 1944, or almost double the 1929 figure. Unemployment has been

about one-third less than was anticipated. Consumer spending has been maintained at the highest level in history. All this is excellent news, except for its effect on the problem of preventing inflation. As for the scarcities: Simple arithmetic shows that it will be impossible to satisfy the demand for houses—the demand backed by real money—for the next ten years. The demand for automobiles will not be met for two or three years. Acute shortages in the textile industry for many months are foreseen as the result of man-power difficulties. It will probably be half a year before consumers' smaller durable goods, such as radios, refrigerators, washing machines, irons, and the like, are produced in the volume necessary to fill the need. Inventories of all goods are at record low levels. Only food seems to be in reasonably abundant future supply, and even here there are problems. For example, the OPA removed the price controls on coconuts some weeks ago as an experiment, and within a month the price quadrupled. When citrus fruits were freed from controls just as the crop was coming in, prices went up from 50 to 100 per cent in a few days, although they are coming down again now. There was no scarcity; the dealers simply found that the traffic would bear the higher charges.

The facts, it is clear, are bad enough. In addition, in recent weeks there has been a bumper crop of rumors to the effect that price controls are about to be removed, either generally or on specific items. These rumors spur the alarmed public to hurry up and spend its hot money before prices sail up into the blue. If such a trend really gets under way, then of course controls will come off; no power on earth could hold the lid on prices against fifty or seventy-five million rich and frightened buyers running amok in an almost barren market.

With the prospects so menacing, why do not Bowles and the OPA enjoy the full support of the people, the Congress, and the Administration? Why should there be any fight over the maintenance of price controls? The answer is that while the majority of the people are solidly behind Bowles, a tremendously powerful minority made up of various pressure groups have got the ear of Congress and seem to have the entrée to the White House. (Some three hundred Congressmen turned out at a committee hearing a month ago at which the National Automobile Dealers' Association appeared to protest against the proposal to make them absorb the higher car costs.)

Opposing Bowles are the National Association of Manufacturers; most of the industrial and commercial trade associations, in particular the National Retail Dry Goods Association and the National Association of Real Estate Boards; and several labor leaders who learned their economics at good old Neanderthal U. The case of the N. A. M. was handled, and beautifully handled, by Bowles himself in a speech before that organization on December 6. It is perfectly obvious, although he did not mention it, that the N. A. M. is fighting not merely for the removal of price ceilings—which would enable its members to make a temporary killing—but to be rid of all government controls.

The wrath of the National Retail Dry Goods Association stems from the OPA policy of forcing retailers and wholesalers to absorb part of the war-time cost increases. In the

beginning the OPA insisted that these be absorbed by the manufacturers, who were benefiting from the greater volume of production. Later it made some of the middlemen and sellers, who were also enjoying the huge volume increase, bear part of the burden. Their profits for the war years scarcely suggest that they are ruined men—the department and specialty stores' profits before taxes in 1944 were 1,100 to 1,200 per cent above pre-war levels. And the association's recent exhibit in Congress of the horrible consequences of OPA regulations proved largely phony. Although it refused three times to give the names, Bowles was able to run down seven or eight of the two hundred cases it cited. In some instances he found clear OPA price violations; in others he found the manufacturers who were said to have been forced out of business by the OPA still happily producing. Yet industry and middlemen are busy trying to put across the proposition that without higher prices they have no incentive to produce or sell.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards fights the OPA on a clean-cut issue. Realtors and builders make more money selling a high-priced than a low-priced house. And regardless of costs, they want to sell houses for as much as they can get—which at present is plenty, since there are not enough building materials or facilities to make even a small dent in the gigantic housing demand. The association won its fight to remove Limitation Order 41, the OPA's only control, Congress having forbidden actual price limits on houses. Order L-41 gave priorities to builders of houses costing less than \$8,000, and therefore during the war and immediately afterward these were almost the only ones built. When the order was lifted, houses originally built to sell for \$8,000 jumped instantly to \$10,000 or even higher. The N. A. R. E. B. seems hell-bent on pricing itself out of a market and thus destroying the one industry on which are based our hopes for prosperity in the next few years.

Some labor leaders frankly admit to OPA officials that when their union needs a wage increase they mean to get it—if they have to help the employer get a higher price for his product. John L. Lewis has come out for such action, possibly because he is trying to endear himself to industry as the labor champion of "free enterprise."

The mass of consumers are supporting Bowles for obvious reasons. For a time, annoyed by rationing, they underestimated the OPA's anti-inflation work, but when rationing was discontinued, when the housewife saw not the "fourteen points" for a pound of beef but the "54 cents," the real problem was recognized. Even small business men whisper to OPA officials after a speech or meeting, "We can't speak out loud because of the association, but we're for you; keep it up." And support is growing among farmers, who realize that with food becoming abundant, high prices for their products are a thing of the past, whereas they are likely to be the fall guys in industry's price-raising plans.

However large the pro-OPA forces may be, they are not strong enough at the moment to force the extension of rent and price controls after June 30, 1946, when the present authorization for the agency expires. If the OPA is not to be wiped out when it is most needed, the Administration will have to act. Bowles received his first real aid from the White House a month ago when the President set up a housing

priorities plan and indorsed the Patman bill for housing price controls. This was in effect an admission of error in lifting L-41 and a roundabout way of restoring some of its provisions. But one swallow does not make a summer, and the Administration has yet to espouse and really work for the economically sound theory which Bowles expounds with re-

spect to the OPA's continued existence. When the consumer, he says, stops screaming to keep price controls on and the seller stops screaming to take them off, that will be the sign that products are abundant and are being disposed of in a freely competitive market. At that point, but not before, price controls will no longer be necessary.

A Man Around Fifty

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

(A New York physician, author of the recently published book "Habnemann, the Adventurous Career of a Medical Rebel" and of "Berlin: a Necrology," which appeared in The Nation of May 12, 1945)

BEING a man around fifty, a physician, a writer, a father, an American, a Jew of German extraction, gives one a rather definite if somewhat bewildered concept of life. The best approach to existence will always be a descriptive, not to say an autobiographical, one. A well-conceived case history is the basis for diagnosis, and diagnosis is the basis for treatment—if there is any hope in treatment.

I, or rather we—since mine is a typical case—we are the opposite of a lost generation. We seem to be somehow permanent, indestructible, with roots spreading everywhere like a prolific weed, adaptable to almost every climate, professional survivors. Owing to some mysterious faculty for resistance we have conquered an assortment of the most violent germs that ever invaded the human organism. Death has eliminated the less vital breeds of our generation, but we, the remaining few, have developed a strange and completely undeserved immunity to the continuous uproar around us. Time and again I have tried to become an active participant in current events, to be a soldier, to assume responsibilities, to do something dangerous. By a chain of ridiculous interferences I have always been prevented. I have been rejected, excluded, for no visible reason; if everything else seemed to be all right, the State Department, at the last minute, would deny me a visa. On the other hand, things always happened most opportunely, and without any particular effort on my part, if I had to be saved or protected. There would be friends to help me, chances to grasp; a mysterious series of events would come to my aid.

As I say, all these things have happened to me as a typical member of a small group. We were apparently too unimportant to be destroyed by our enemies and sufficiently useful or well-liked for our friends not to let us perish. Our rescue seems to be due to a general contempt of, and affection for, intellectuals. We are in a sense the playboys of history: it may be amusing or even profitable to have us around as long as we do not attempt to mix into serious business.

Having survived two world wars under very different external circumstances—once as an adolescent and a citizen of defeated Germany, once as an adult and a citizen of victorious America—I have a horrifying awareness of the identity of the two disasters. As one grows older, pleasure and pride in survival increase, but a painful sense of frustration and despair also develops. We have not been tor-

tured, we have not been starved, we have not been soiled by indignities. We still enjoy all the delightful small pleasures of being alive, are still full of curiosity, and our knowledge and experience add up to some degree of wisdom. But at the same time it has been our lonely and unenviable function to witness bestiality and mass murder, the slaughter of the innocent, the extinction of laughter, beauty, and nobility, the exploitation and deception of the poor, the growth of madness, disease, and hunger—a mythical and unbelievable explosion of unhappiness, blood, and tears. The most disgusting and cynical show has been performed before our eyes, but we keep our places in the safe darkness of the spectators' seats: graying, wiser, less hopeful, more tired, and always aware of the emergency exit.

If we look at our children, we see the same touching, confused, and helpless urge to do better, the same treacherous doctrines promising salvation, the same age-old ideals leading straight into havoc. Hardly recovered from the tremendous sacrifices of warfare, we seem headed for greater and probably ultimate disaster. There must be some reason why we were spared to live through two catastrophes of mankind, and to observe in guilty comfort the physical slaughter and moral decline of our society. There must be some reason why, in a wave of blood and crime, our individual health has been improving, our life span expanding, our knowledge miraculously enlarging. And there must be some reason why at the end of this holocaust a new power emerges which a stunned world tries to understand.

In Germany the complete servitude of the men of knowledge to the scoundrels of action became the essence of doom. But all over the world knowledge and power were—and still are—completely severed. Wars and revolutions, cyclic depressions, mass movements, and political crises are but the secondary symptoms of a new fact or a new truth, born in some quiet laboratory, conceived by some creative brain, and transformed into forceful aggressions as inescapable as the will of God. The state of this earth depends entirely on our understanding of the structure and process of life, and no human activity, no justice, no freedom, no faith, no happiness can be maintained without such understanding. The misfortunes of our generation have been caused by the tyranny of ignorance at a time when the management of mankind required profound knowledge.

Here we are, men around fifty, born in the twilight of

the nineteenth century, spoiled by a childhood filled with the illusion of progress and lasting peace, awakened from our sleepy pleasures by the firebrand of World War I, living through the "no more war" era, many of us without work, thrown around like rubbish, chased by gangsters into the fatal adventure of a second world war, surviving on into another chaos, and still intrusting our fate to the command of people who know nothing and have learned nothing. Have we been spared to witness the gruesome finale, to be passengers up to the last stop of civilization's glorious journey, or are we to be the aged agitators for a better and wiser way of life?

In our unhappiness, the power to destroy ourselves has often seemed the only symbol of our individual freedom. Who of our generation can say that he has never contemplated suicide? The thought of this last refuge has, indeed, again and again encouraged us to remain alive; and whoever chooses life instead of voluntary death becomes a witness to the goodness and the value of existence.

We have now reached the point where this godly power of self-destruction is at the disposal of our whole human species. This overwhelming gift requires a new structure of life on earth, new nerves, new philosophies, new patterns of social behavior. We are desperately looking to see who of our leaders are aware of this gigantic revolution. The only hopeful sign is the courageous and wise solidarity of those scientists who have helped to unchain the atomic force for potential happiness or potential tragedy.

It is fortunate that the scientists of today, in this country, are willing and eager to take political action. America, which came into existence after the Dark Ages, has always shown an almost religious respect for human inventiveness. It has been maligned for its technological enthusiasm, but it has discovered and proclaimed the power and joy of engines, skyscrapers, planes, electricity, of cleanliness and health, of harnessed energy and cheap production and distribution of goods. America needs leadership which is equal to our present standards of scientific knowledge and progress. Perhaps it needs us, the veterans of lifelong defeat, to apply the wisdom we have so hardly won to the problem of linking knowledge and direction—to the creation, in short, of that new structure of society upon which human survival depends.

Next

Halsey Sees Short Next War.—Newspaper headline.

The next war will, according to
The Admiral, be quickly through,
And may no more than be begun
Before it's either lost or won.
A single blast may well suffice
To do the job up, neat and nice.

So be it. Let the war be brief.
Less than the wearing, waiting grief.
If next war there must be, and next,
Men still benighted, still perplexed,
If there is, then, no other answer,
Let it be stroke instead of cancer.

RICHARD ARMOUR

Homage to Alvin Johnson

BY MAX LERNER

(Chief editorial writer of PM; author of "The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes" and "Public Journal")

ON MY select list of Americans of first-rate stature I cherish the name of Alvin Johnson. His retirement as head of the New School at the age of seventy-one is—if I know him at all—not the end of the line for him but a caesura from which one can measure the cadences that have gone before and that are to follow.

If T. S. Eliot is right—that "between the Idea and the Reality" in the lives of all of us there "falls the shadow"—Johnson is one of the few I know for whom that shadow is very thin. I first met him back in 1927, when I was just out of graduate school and he was gathering a staff for the newly projected "Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences." A whole galaxy of the scholarly societies had come together to dream up that project: there were big names aplenty, and resolutions, and prolegomena; all that they lacked was someone who knew enough about everything to edit an encyclopedia of *Allerleiwissenschaften* but didn't know too much about any one science to get stuck in it beyond extrication.

They found that man in Alvin Johnson, and he quickly set about making their dream a reality, imprisoning in fifteen big shiny yellow volumes the best that was being thought in the social sciences the world over. A group of us—about a dozen or more young sub-editors—worked with him day after day for five years. Johnson had the big bearlike capacity for taking a litter of cubs and licking them into shape as an editorial staff. He had a divining-rod judgment that told him what was true metal in a man, what dross or just shirt-stuffing. He knew everything and he carried his learning lightly. As a result, I don't suppose there has ever been an encyclopedia venture since Diderot's in the eighteenth century which generated more excitement among those involved, or which will prove a greater landmark in the history of ideas.

Johnson had landed in New York as a *New Republic* editor in 1917, after one of those fabulous migratory careers in which he had moved from college to college, a little like his teacher, Thorstein Veblen, a little like Matthew Arnold's "Scholar Gypsy." Of Danish stock, he had grown up on a Nebraska farm, written a thesis on rent theory at Columbia, and taught college economics all the way west from Bryn Mawr and Cornell to Chicago, Nebraska, Texas, and Stanford. But he had been restless in college teaching, and he was restless during his six-year spell as a liberal editor. At Texas he had been the sort of maverick professor who writes a novel called "The Professor and the Petticoat." In New York liberal circles it was curious to see this big, hulking Scandinavian farmer from Nebraska, who told caustic irreverent stories, and who preferred writing semi-fictional ironic sketches to finger-pointing editorials.

In 1923 he found his métier and his real life work, and he has stuck to it with massive tenacity ever since. The New School for Social Research had been started a few years earlier as a gesture of protest and freedom in the dreary wastes of academic tyranny. Some of the best minds of the

day were behind it—Veblen and Beard and Harvey Robinson. But it was Johnson who took over as director and gave the school a local habitation and a name in the American intellectual world. His mind now had an action to direct itself to—the establishment of a new educational idea in America, something like the Folk High School (*Folkehojskole*) idea of another and earlier Dane, Bishop Grundtvig. Johnson had always needed a venture large enough to gather into its scope all his far-flung knowledge and interest, something in which his imagination could build itself a structure, on the actual earth of people's striving. He found it at the New School, and he proved the truth of Emerson's remark that an institution is the lengthened shadow of a man.

To give the school a base Johnson showed an unsuspected and almost miraculous capacity to raise funds. He brought to bear the same gift for generating intellectual excitement that I had seen at the Encyclopedia, and he soon was performing the miracle of getting men of wealth to back a school where teacher and student alike were completely free.

But he also brought to the school a philosophy of education. It is basically instrumentalist, in the pattern of John Dewey. But I find more *sense of room* in Johnson's educational thinking than I do in most of the Deweyites—a more catholic interest in the arts and in the modernist aspects of creative work, a freer sense of the power of the idea to inflame the imagination. Adult education can be a dreary affair. But Johnson has made it anything but dreary at the New School. Johnson has clung to two ideas: that a man has not stopped learning after he has reached maturity and a life's job; and that the way to run a school is to pick scholars who care about action and men of action who have a bent for scholarship—and give them the run of the house.

But Johnson and the New School reached the peak of their greatness in the crisis of European scholarship under fascism. When Hitler made life in Germany and almost throughout Europe a Gehenna for free men, the great danger was not that Europe would lose some of the most creative minds and skills in history but that no other culture would find them. Johnson was quicker than anyone else I know to take the full measure of Europe's loss and America's opportunity. He quickly sent word throughout Germany and Europe that the anti-fascist scholars would be welcome here. He created for them at the New School a University in Exile, which has had and still has some of the best minds in social theory in the world. He organized the other university administrators into a committee that found places for other exiled scholars throughout the country. I count this the biggest single educational achievement of recent years, by the side of which most of the controversial storms raging now seem thin-spun stuff.

Johnson has turned his work at the New School over to Bryn J. Hovde, whom he describes as "a man after my own heart." Even for those who don't know Hovde's own merit, that ought to be enough. Johnson himself has mapped out a decade's work in the field of fighting race discrimination, and has already made a beginning as the real intellectual father of the Ives committee in New York State. That and, I hope, some more novels. For no man could have built an institution like the New School unless he had the gift of lyricism in him.

In the Wind

THIS OMINOUS ITEM is reprinted from the left-wing London *Tribune* of November 23: "Sir John Anderson has just returned from the atomic-bomb talks in Washington. Sir John Anderson has just been appointed to the board of Vickers."

SWISS NAVY NOTES: The International Federation of Trade Unions reports that Switzerland may shortly have its own merchant fleet of half a million tons.

EDWIN W. PAULEY, chief of the United States reparations mission to Japan, told a Los Angeles press conference that Japanese industrial equipment might be sent to China and the Philippines to help rebuild their economies. The neighborly way he put it, however, was: "Nobody in this country wants the inferior and second-hand machinery in Japan, which, however, will be welcomed in China and the Philippines."

HEADLINE in *Bread and Butter*, Consumers' Union weekly: "Shirts and Pajamas Rolled Back." In the middle of December, too.

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION has its first house organ. The Woodrow Wilson Foundation, New York City, has started publication of *United Nations News*, a monthly "devoted exclusively to news . . . of the UNO, its functional agencies, and other international organizations."

CONGRESSIONAL AFTERTHOUGHT: The Associated Press reported that in rushing through a mass of legislation just before the Christmas holidays the Senate passed a resolution demanding an end to butter rationing—just a month after the OPA had already ended it.

LAST AUGUST an editorial in *The Nation* urged that the United States use the services of Herbert Norman, Far East expert of Canada's Department of External Affairs, in the military government of Japan. We took careful notice, therefore, of the announcement on December 26 that Herbert Norman had been named to represent Canada on the Far Eastern Commission.

PEACE ON EARTH: While workmen were erecting Cleveland's annual Christmas tree in the city's public square, another crew was busy setting up a forty-five-foot Nazi V-2 bomb just across the street. It turned out to be an advertisement for the coming National Aircraft Show.

JUSTICE KEILER MACKAY of the Ontario Supreme Court used the Atlantic Charter as grounds for a decision which ruled against Jim Crow housing regulations.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The People's Front

JOSÉ GIRAL, Prime Minister of the Spanish Republican government in exile, passes through New York this week on his way to France. He has said that upon his arrival in Paris he will consult the various Republican leaders with a view to reorganizing and enlarging the present government. Some of my friends are inclined to doubt the sincerity of the Prime Minister's intentions; they suspect him of playing for time by some token reorganization. For my part, however, I believe Giral is honestly convinced that his government, as it is now constituted, is up a blind alley. Entirely lacking in militant leaders, it has awakened no spark of enthusiasm among Republicans inside Spain. Indeed, it has not even aroused any fears in Spanish fascist circles.

Internationally, too, the Giral Cabinet's prospects are far from bright. To date it has been recognized only by Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, and Venezuela—and Mexican recognition was assured even before Giral became Premier. Giral's friends had confidently expected that a "moderate" Cabinet excluding Negrín and the Communists would win quick recognition from Washington and London. To their dismay, that expectation did not materialize. Instead, as recent events indicate, the United States and Britain have edged in the opposite direction. In Washington on December 16 Under Secretary of State Acheson received Dr. Negrín, whom the *New York Times* described as "the first Republican caller since the fall of Madrid." Cabling from London a few days later, Herbert L. Matthews reported: "No government without Dr. Negrín and without the Communists can expect world-wide recognition." And from Paris came a statement by Foreign Minister Georges Bidault hinting politely but firmly that the French government is in no hurry to recognize a Spanish government not fully representative of all the Republican parties.

Prime Minister Giral has not made public the details of his plan, but my guess is that he will proceed as follows: (1) He will, of course, try to retain the premiership. (2) He will attempt to appoint as vice-presidents the four former prime ministers now in Europe: Portela Valladares, who, despite his seventy-eight years, defied the Gestapo with magnificent courage during the Nazi occupation of France and, though a rightist, suggested the appointment of Negrín as Prime Minister last August; Casares Quiroga, who held the premiership at the outbreak of the Spanish war; Largo Caballero; and Juan Negrín. (3) He will offer a Cabinet post to each of the groups that have remained outside the government—the Communists, the U. G. T., the Left Republicans, and a section of the C. N. T. In short, Giral now hopes to accomplish in France precisely what Negrín attempted in Mexico four months ago when he urged on President Martínez Barrio the creation of a strong representative government—an attempt frustrated by the old politicians.

Thus four valuable months have been wasted, and in that time confusion and disunity have risen again. The sharpest debate has developed around the proposal of a plebiscite;

this is not surprising, given a government whose Foreign Minister belongs to the group of Prieto, who claims the dubious honor of initiating that proposal. Ramón Gonzales Peña, veteran mine leader and chairman of the U. G. T. (Spanish equivalent of the C. I. O.), diagnosed the situation correctly last week when he said, "All that is happening now is the result of the makeshift solution of the August crisis." The split has been further aggravated by a message which Dolores Ibarruri, la Pasionaria, sent to Republican leaders on December 19. I have seen the original text of her cable; it is quite different from the version published in the press. Contrary to the reports, Pasionaria rejects the Prieto formula calling for a plebiscite conducted under foreign supervision. However, she would accept a plebiscite if carried out by "a provisional government representing all the enemies of Franco, from the Republicans, Socialists, Communists, and trade unions to those monarchists and army officers who are genuinely hostile to the dictator." I wish that Pasionaria had not talked about a plebiscite; even her qualified support has introduced an element of confusion into the debate.

In itself a plebiscite sounds wonderful, democracy at its best, but in the case of Spain it makes no sense. If a plebiscite were to be held before the republic was reestablished, with Franco's army and police in control and the Republicans deprived of access to the people, the thing would be a greater farce than the recent elections in Brazil. A plebiscite held, as Prieto now proposes, after Franco is overthrown would be even more absurd. The main argument for the plebiscite is that it will prevent violence; but the time to prevent violence is during the transition, not after. The only way to finish fascism in Spain with a minimum of disorder is to combine unity among the Republican forces, inside and outside Spain, with diplomatic action by the great powers.

Largo Caballero, too, has come out in favor of the plebiscite, and by so doing he has perhaps missed an opportunity of still rendering a great service to the republic. For if Giral should fail in France and objections to Negrín persist, Caballero would have been a logical choice for Premier. Negrín would certainly have been willing to enter a coalition Cabinet headed by the old union leader. But in view of Caballero's position on the plebiscite, that is out.

Today as before, without regard to any statements by Caballero or Pasionaria, the position of all the groups identified with the policy of Dr. Negrín remains unchanged. We are absolutely against the plebiscite. The Spanish people cast their votes for the republic in blood through three years of war and six years of unbroken resistance to the Franco regime; they will not accept the shameful compromise which the defeatists propose. Giral himself has declared his opposition and the opposition of his government to a plebiscite; but as long as representatives of Prieto are in the Cabinet, his position remains equivocal. A hard job awaits him in Paris.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Piety of Evelyn Waugh

WHEN it was predicted that the war would give a new impetus to religion, it could also have been predicted, of course, that of all religions the Catholic would be bound to be most compelling, and especially to writers and other intellectuals, who like their emotions of faith to be as well-organized and traditional as possible. But by any traditional standard, it has surely been an odd kind of celebration that the Catholic church has been recently experiencing in certain quarters. There was the movie, "Going My Way," for instance, which gave us a church whose charms existed quite without benefit of sacrament. And now there is Evelyn Waugh's "Brideshead Revisited" (Little, Brown, \$2.50), a novel whose appeal to faith rests on the most familiar cynicisms of non-faith.

"Brideshead Revisited" is a more incoherent book than any summary can suggest. This is the story Mr. Waugh tells: During the war a company of soldiers, including a Captain Ryder, the narrator, is billeted in an English country place called Brideshead, the estate of the Marchmain family. Ryder had known the Marchmains intimately, and he recalls his long difficult relationship with the family—his love for Sebastian, the younger son, when they were together at Oxford; his first meeting with Sebastian's gallant sister, Julia; his early sympathy with Lady Marchmain and his later disaffection from her, as he discovers the pious tyranny she exerts over her family; then the long years in which Sebastian falls steadily into drunkenness, in which Julia makes a miserable marriage, and in which Ryder himself marries unhappily; finally, his reunion and love affair with Julia, which is terminated by Julia's sudden return to the church in which she was born and her recognition that her life has been a sinful one. The book ends with the strong indication that Ryder, agnostic during the extended period of this narrative, is himself now a convert to the faith of the Marchmains. Since there is nothing else to explain Ryder's religious regeneration, one is meant to understand it, I presume, as a revelation from his experience with this family.

But why an experience of the Marchmain family should turn one to, instead of away from, religion is the most immediate of the many questions raised by Mr. Waugh's new novel. For the main emphasis in Mr. Waugh's portrait of this Catholic household is a deep condemnation of Lady Marchmain for a piety which has wrecked her husband and her children. It is Lady Marchmain's unfeeling self-righteousness that is shown to have driven her husband into social ostracism on the Continent, her son Sebastian into his drunkenness, her daughter Julia to her despair, and even her older son, Bridey, to oafishness and her younger daughter, Cordelia, to a spinster's life of good works. Except perhaps in the case of Cordelia and in the case of Sebastian's beloved Catholic Nanny, "Brideshead Revisited" has scarcely a good word to say for any conventional professors of the Catholic faith. When they are not wicked, like Lady Marchmain, they

are silly, like Bridey and Bridey's wife. All our sympathies are enlisted for the upper-class bohemians and sinners of the novel, for Sebastian and Julia and old Lord Marchmain. Mr. Waugh's Catholicism, that is, demonstrates itself as a religion for well-placed reprobates, which may not constitute an absolute heterodoxy—I daresay that Mr. Waugh's conviction that Sebastian is a very holy man within his drunkenness represents a perfectly orthodox view of one possible road to salvation—but which surely constitutes a curious bias.

The disproportion between Mr. Waugh's affectation of non-belief and his protestation of belief is, in fact, the chief interest of "Brideshead Revisited." Although Mr. Waugh has and uses all the old sophisticated arguments against his church, he has nothing except the sudden will-to-faith and the inevitability of death—Julia's return to the fold coincides with that of her father, on his deathbed—to offer in its support. When, for example, Julia renounces her love because it is the sinful continuation of a life of sin, nothing in her action assures us that it is anything more than either masochistic or superstitious; religiously, it is no more meaningful than Iris March's running herself into a tree. By masquerading or burying its religious convictions in cynicism, "Brideshead Revisited" makes, indeed, so much better a case against conviction than for it that even to grant that its author's attitude is only a device requires the help of the biographical record, the knowledge that Mr. Waugh was himself converted to Catholicism some years ago. Not that this form of religious dissembling is without precedent: Aldous Huxley, for one, is a practiced hand at it. I find it none the less perverse and suspicious for being an established method of disputation.

Of course, I have never belonged to the growing group of American admirers of Mr. Waugh, even as a satirist. I have not read all his books, only "Decline and Fall" and "Put Out More Flags," both of which, because I am not very sensible of the virtues threatened by the objects of Mr. Waugh's satire and because I cannot share Mr. Waugh's sorrow for the fate of the prodigal sons of England's stately homes, bored me rather more than they enlightened me. Even so small a taste of Mr. Waugh's previous work prepared me for his religious solution to be, at best, a counsel of despair, and at worst, what it turned out to be: an effort to put God on the side of the dying upper classes.

For it is the other noteworthy point about Mr. Waugh's Catholicism, in addition to the uneasiness with which it lives in his sophisticated world, that it is the property of a small and embattled but highly privileged class. The Marchmains of "Brideshead Revisited" are wonderfully rich as well as beautiful: Brideshead itself is a kind of architectural object lesson in the conspicuous consumption of the best that England has had to offer for several centuries. And between this Catholic aristocracy and any other English aristocracy Mr. Waugh makes no distinction except the distinction of religion. But whatever the religion of its owner, Brideshead

could not have been built on very solid ground or there would perhaps not have had to be a Second World War in which it degenerated into a billet, and one wonders why Mr. Waugh should hope that faith will be able to restore a class that faith has not succeeded in even holding together. By ignoring the political and economic realities that underlie the dissolution of the Marchmains and blaming their tragedy solely on Lady Marchmain's piety, Mr. Waugh tempts us to indict all the evils of life in the name of piety—an amusing position for a proselytizer of religion to work himself into.

DIANA TRILLING

Mary Petty Presents—

THIS PRETTY PACE. Drawings by Mary Petty with a Preface by James Thurber. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

SHAKESPEARE gave Mary Petty a plug in "Macbeth," V:5: that is, "Creeps in this petty pace from day to day"; and Miss Petty graciously returns the compliment by using his phrase "This Petty Pace" as title for her book of creeps. This volume is not so much a collection of brilliantly captioned drawings as an anthology of compressed novels, a chronicle of the key moments in the lives of many grasshoppers. Writers spend years struggling to convey the background, character, hopes, heartbreaks, follies that Miss Petty reproduces in one drawing and one sentence. Her peculiar appeal is not limited to the eye, nor does she attempt to stun by a sharp line, but her effects are fictional in the sense that they release reading associations in the mind that continue long after the picture itself is forgotten. In this respect as in many others Miss Petty is not in the slightest degree like Daumier or Hogarth. Hers is a four-walled world, a one-class world, a one-street world, and she never ventures into politics, morals, or even life. Her characters are those of a Wodehouse musical comedy, and since their follies are across the footlights from us, her recording of them does not illumine our own follies, as satire properly does; it gives us the Christian pleasure of laughing wholeheartedly at clowns instead of at each other, and gratifies us above all by not requiring us to laugh at ourselves.

As a matter of fact, there is no reason why this book could not be used as the base for a musical comedy, with each picture taken as a song cue and the casting straight from the drawings. Miss Petty might hire one of those little men around the corner who take in writing to stitch up some words between her captions, get Hammerstein, Agnes de Mille, and six screaming agents, and the show is on. There might be difficulty in casting the many varieties of dowagers, for the Du Barry and Elizabeth Arden salons have scourged the country of dowagers, alas, and those left, like Sophie Tucker, who might look the part, prefer having hearts of gold to playing the monstrous lady Neros of Miss Petty's world. There is the majestic raddle-faced old fiend, for instance, ordering over the telephone with smelling salts in hand "a box of old-fashioned wooden matches that you can strike on the seat of your pants." We hear her again at the dining-table directing the old servant, "Here, Pompey, take these meat balls back to the kitchen and tell Lola to step them up with a little shooting sherry." These are the Hampton females, a peculiar breed one hears on Long Island South

Shore trains baying baritone trivia at each other down the coach. It would be impossible for the Petty dowagers to have a vocal range above bass clef. The Petty ingenues squeal, and the Petty men snort, whistle, or harrumph. Ladies and gentlemen alike are complacently confident that whatever is the matter with them physically or mentally should be the matter with all the right people. They are proud of their bony backs, their buck teeth, their wattles, their mighty bosoms or scrawny chests for the wholly satisfactory reason that they are theirs and therefore irreproachable. Their moments of doubt are rare, and on these Miss Petty pounces. A masculine Petty goon is shown having his complexes stroked by an analyst. He has evidently been keeping to his room lest his split personality should open up some day in a crowded ballroom, for the doctor exhorts him to "get out and mingle with other schizophrenes." There is the poor girl whose mama has arranged for a portrait sitting, and who is arrested as she leaps stark naked to the platform by the artist's cry, "Dear no, Miss Mayberry, just the head." There is the awful moment in the aging only son's life when Mother, stabbing her needle into the hideous doily that has been her lifework, stabs Son simultaneously with these words, "Rubbish. Lots of children are unwanted. Your father and I didn't want *you*." One almost senses Son's stricken eyes moving to the Mater's velvet neckbow, tempted, as no doubt Fay, the maid, has often been, by its strangling possibilities. There is the frightful moment in one beldame's life when the ancient bachelor friend, maddened by an extra thimble of brandy and the elusive whiff of camphor in her pompadour, the beast brought out by the froufrou of her solid iron petticoats, wolfs a kiss from her left eyebrow. "Peabody, are you completely mad?" the aghast lady cries out. Tomorrow, you may be sure, the doors will be closed to the venerable bounder. Madame will take to her bed and Peabody himself will take to the analyst.

There is the poignant breakfast scene between smug wife and startled husband reading his mail. "I'd be interested to know just who offered to donate a pint of *my* blood." The veins of all the Petty people would not yield a full pint of anything more than a dilution of digitalis, medicinal sherry, and Saratoga water, but Miss Petty is like the maiden at the square piano who, her fiancé says, is "the only one I know who gets the meat out of Humperdink." Miss Petty gets the meat even out of skeletons.

DAWN POWELL

Italy and the Church

ITALY AND THE COMING WORLD. By Luigi Sturzo. Roy Publishers. \$3.

THE importance of the role played at present in Europe by the Catholic parties does not have to be stressed. The situation might have interesting developments, especially in Italy, where the government is now in Catholic hands. After the collapse of the Italian state in 1943, the only organized structure left in Italy was that of the Catholic church. And in Italy this structure has a very visible and commanding prime motor—the Vatican. In France the situation is different, as is exemplified by the resistance to Catholic claims in the educational field and by the very prudence of the Catholic hier-

archies. In Italy the Fascist law which introduced religious indoctrination in state schools is still being enforced; the Fascist Concordat of 1919 is still in effect; publications considered offensive to the church are being suppressed by the government; and the ex-Catholic priest and eminent scholar, Ernesto Buonaiuti, is still prevented from resuming his teaching at the University of Rome on the basis of an article of the Concordat which had been conceived precisely for this purpose.

Luigi Sturzo might or might not support this state of affairs in all its implications. His personal convictions as an anti-Fascist, and as a Catholic priest who thinks that a certain amount of civil liberty and democracy is more beneficial to his church than arbitrary state rule, are above suspicion. This book of his, however, leaves many doubts as to the exact nature of his liberalism.

To start with, one notices a certain casualness in Don Sturzo's attitude toward truth and falsehood. One example can be found in the paragraph that concludes his account of the Fascist Concordat. Was it good or was it bad for the church to deal with fascism? Don Sturzo's answer is that the question is pointless because, "at best one could only say that Pius XI was prudent or imprudent. The two assertions cancel each other." This is indeed a fine point of logic—after which Don Sturzo goes on defending the Concordat.

A second example: In 1923 the Italian Catholic Party was disbanded on orders from the Vatican. In polemics with Gaetano Salvemini on this point, Don Sturzo has never been able to prove that Salvemini's facts were wrong. In this book, however, he reduces the issue to the question of whether, in 1923, he went to Montecassino for a rest or on orders from his superiors—which has never been the point. The point is rather the fundamental one of whether or not a Catholic party is, in Italy, at the mercy of orders from the Vatican. By not facing the issue Don Sturzo simply shows that it is indeed a dark one.

On this as on other burning questions, such as Vatican intervention in Spain, Don Sturzo would like to let bygones be bygones and see a fresh start. The fresh start should consist of a just peace; a wise amount of democracy for Italy; the question of monarchy versus republic, to be decided in perfect freedom, without even Don Sturzo himself saying clearly where he stands; the abandonment of the principle of separation between church and state; and all kinds of moderate reforms, including an agrarian reform that should not "impair or upset the structure of landed property" (this would seem quite a feat). The whole structure should rest on a principle called "the ontological and ethical unification in God." And certainly Don Sturzo does not mean this unification to take place in any vague or reprehensibly theistic sense.

In 1848 a very honest and very "liberal" Italian priest who was also a very bad philosopher, Antonio Rosmini, made a desperate attempt to resolve the antagonism between the church and modern times. He drafted a constitution for Italy. Article 36 of this constitution said: "The press is free. The church keeps the right of censorship on it." And Article 38 said: "Freedom of education is guaranteed." To this the pious Rosmini added the comment: "But truth has to be taught, not error. And the only repository of truth is the church." And so on.

Rosmini's constitution was immediately subjected to a ruthless attack by the Jesuits. Rosmini had surrendered on principle; Rosmini must perish. And Rosmini was condemned.

More modern than Rosmini, Don Sturzo knows how to keep clear of such dangers.

NICOLA CHIAROMONTE

BRIEFER COMMENT

Ideals and Hazards

IT IS A GOOD THING to state and restate the ideals of a democratic society and to measure the tasks which it confronts in a technical age. This is admirably achieved in David Bryn-Jones's new book, "Toward a Democratic New Order" (Minnesota, \$3.50), without, however, arousing the reader's sustained interest. The book is consistently on the side of the angels. It measures the dimensions of the democratic ideal accurately and is not unrealistic in analyzing the economic and international hazards which democracy faces in our technical civilization. Why, then, should it not have a more persuasive quality than it seems to possess?

Perhaps it is just a little too pious and has the effect of a sermon which is consistently opposed to sin but not fully conscious of the strength of temptation. Let one example suffice: The author is dealing with the democratic ideal of equality and seeking to champion the legitimacy of an essential equality despite the differentiation of function which the organization of even a democratic society makes necessary. "If a man does his best," he declares, "he deserves in return



H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

"CRUX ANSATA — An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church"

An historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis.

Cloth Binding \$1.75 Paper-covered \$1.25

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS" by L. H. Lehmann

A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist collaboration.

Cloth Binding \$1.75 Paper-covered \$1.00

COMBINATION OFFERS	Both Cloth Bound Books	\$3.00
	Both Paper Bound Books	\$2.00

New Pamphlet

"VATICAN POLICY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

48 pages of Documented Facts 25c

Free to those who return this ad with their order for the above books

Order From:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 151

219 WEST 48TH STREET

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

the best that society can do for him. . . . No necessary work is menial. . . . There is no inherent dignity in a white-collar job. . . . That the brain worker belongs to a superior order is a naive superstition. . . ." All very true. But it does not change the fact that some functions in society are surrounded with an aura of prestige, not to speak of privilege and power, which they may not deserve but will probably always have. Even democratic societies have various oligarchies; and their power and prestige are based on something more than "naive superstition." We cannot dispense with equality as a regulative ideal of justice; but neither can we regard the social processes which lead to the hierarchical structure of society as grounded merely in superstition. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Armies and Modern War

HAD THE PUBLISHERS of "Arms and Policy," by Hoffman Nickerson (Putnam's, \$3.50), seen fit to edit it with close attention, it might have been received with the respect which it deserves but probably will not get. The objectionable material consists largely of gratuitous asides and passing comments, apparently representing Mr. Nickerson's political and social beliefs, which could have easily been omitted, since for the most part they have nothing to do with the main arguments of the book. Some reviewers will be so taken up with denouncing Mr. Nickerson as a reactionary that, it is to be feared, they will overlook or dismiss his very real merit as a student of military problems. For he is something quite rare in this country—a military theorist of the first rank.

The author begins by restating an old thesis of his: the origins of present-day mass warfare do not lie in industrialization but in the political and social thinking of the French Revolution with its concept of war-making as the conscripted duty of the many rather than the voluntary privilege of the few. Indeed, industrialization is slowly but steadily reducing the size of fighting armies. The bulk of any modern army is its service and maintenance force, and on the battlefield the plane-tank team has assumed a decisive striking role, relegating the foot soldier—the eloquent efforts of Pentagon publicists notwithstanding—to a secondary position.

The main body of the book is taken up with a critical analysis of the campaigns of the war up to about September, 1944. Two points may be cited by way of illustration. The Nazis' failure to invade England after Dunkirk was no staff blunder: had they made the attempt, the ensuing repulse would have taken on the proportions of a "massacre." Close support proved to be the most effective employment of the air arm. Strategic bombing—which Mr. Nickerson somewhat brutally calls "baby-killing"—did not, as we are beginning to discover, produce the results which its supporters claimed it would, either in industrial destruction or terrorism. The book contains only a few remarks on the atomic bomb, and they were evidently written in haste, but this development is plainly the concern of the politician and the scientist rather than the soldier.

The book concludes with a survey of two post-war questions. The author is opposed to the acquisition of Pacific bases because they can never really be made defensible, and by so extending itself the country is weakening, not strengthening, its military position. Still less can be said for compulsory military training in an era when, more than ever

before, the mass conscript army seems to have outlived its usefulness. These theories will not pass unchallenged, but they are on the whole supported by sound reasoning, worthy of examination.

HARVEY S. FORD

Proof Positive

HISTORIES OF ART AND LITERATURE are the stepchildren of the historical sciences because their subjects cannot be dealt with adequately without that quality called taste, and taste does not necessarily belong to the scholar's scale of virtues. This unfortunate state of affairs is already well known, and there was no need for Victor Lange to prove the point.

Nevertheless, he has proved it in almost exemplary fashion in his volume, "Modern German Literature, 1870-1940" (Cornell, \$2.50). If anyone wishes to know how not to write a history of literature he has only to be given this book. Every author, no matter how obscure, is mentioned at least once, and no distinctions whatever are made. Third-grade writers like Raabe are set side by side with first-rate poets like Stifter. The twentieth century, for which judgments are not yet established, fares even worse. To give one single instance taken at random: "The poetry of the later Rilke, of Binding and Carossa, of Rudolf Borchardt and Rudolf Alexander Schröder, of Oskar Lörke and Agnes Miegel, and the singularly impressive epic poems of Albrecht Schäffer are all indicative of a palpable shift from expressionist abandon to the austerity of a disciplined idiom." The point is that Binding, Lörke, and Agnes Miegel are indicative of nothing except very mediocre poetry; that the others may be "indicative" but of widely differing trends; and that only Borchardt and Schröder have anything in common at all.

The only proof that this book was written by a real person and is not a filing system which through some magic has got into print lies in occasional omissions—of Mörike and Kleist in the first part, of Hans Blüher and the last beautiful novel-fragment of Hofmannsthal ("Andreas") in the second. But for these omissions one feels rather grateful.

There would not be much sense in reviewing such a book if it were not for the, let us hope, imaginary danger that it should become a textbook. It would cause the intelligent student to shy away from German literature, while it might give to the more feeble-minded a terrific arsenal of cheap catchwords which have not the slightest relation to the respective authors and their work.

HANNAH ARENDT

Reply to Hayek

"ROAD TO REACTION" by Herman Finer (Little, Brown, \$2) is a long, angry review of Hayek's "Road to Serfdom." It would have been a better book had it been less angry; the frequent use of the argument *ad hominem* is no credit to its author. It is a sad commentary on the lack of communication between social scientists of different disciplines: both Hayek and Finer write with a strong prejudice in favor of their own intellectual interests. Hayek, the economist, loves the private administration of business and the working of economic competition; Finer, the political scientist, loves public administration and the working of political competition. Both are blind to the defects of their loves.

It is characteristic of Hayek that he gives scant attention to the scourge of economic competition—unemployment. It is characteristic of Finer that he gives no attention whatever to the scourge of political competition—war. If Hayek is blind to the blood on the hands of Standard Oil, Finer is even blinder to the blood on the hands of the national state.

Neither Hayek nor Finer, it seems to this reviewer, has come to grips with the real problem of the place of competition in social life. Hayek is unduly naive about the benevolence of the free market as an economic regulator, and does not adequately appreciate the ease with which beneficent competition slips into maleficent deflation. Finer, on the other hand, is equally naive about the universal benevolence of parliamentary democracy and the competition of parties, and does not see that, like economic competition, this benevolence operates only within limits, and that under adverse conditions the will of the majority—as Plato saw—can lead to tyranny. The argument of the collectivists against the free market—that it gives the rich too many "dollar votes" and the poor too few, and so distorts the structure of demand away from the structure of "need"—can also be applied to parliamentarianism: the votes of a majority who care little about a measure may override the votes of the minority who care a great deal. This does not mean that we should abolish either the free market or parliaments; it does mean that both are successful only within limits. We need much hard thinking and study to find what these limits are and how to secure them. Mr. Finer would have made a greater contribution to this task if he had written less hastily, with less heat, and with better editing.

K. E. BOULDING

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents

**MAURICE EVANS**

In His New Production of Shakespeare's

HAMLETColumbus Circle Thea. E'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Eves. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30**UP IN CENTRAL PARK**Book by HERBERT Lyrics by Sigmund ROMBERG
& DOROTHY FIELDS
BROADWAY THEATRE, Broadway at 53rd Street. Mts. Wed. & SAT."DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS!"—*Nippon, Times*
Rodgers and Hammerstein present**MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA**
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S**I REMEMBER MAMA**from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 8-4638.
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

Kermit Bloomgarden & George Heller present

DEEP ARE THE ROOTSA New Play by ARNAUD d'USSEAU and JAMES GOW
Staged by ELIA KAZAN**FULTON THEATRE** Forty-sixth Street West of
Broadway. Circle 6-6380.Evenings: 8:40, \$4.20, \$3.60, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Matinees
Wednesday and Saturday, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Tax Inclusive.

MOTION PICTURES

RKO NOW**HAPPY NEW YEAR HITS!**"Elaborate Puzze Thriller"—*N. Y. Sun*"Satisfyingly Thunderous"—*N. Y. Herald-Tribune***'THE SPANISH MAIN'**

STARRING

**PAUL HENREID
MAUREEN O'HARA
WALTER SLEZAK**

In GLORIOUS TECHNICOLOR

— And —

'SING YOUR WAY HOME'Jack Haley
Marcy McGuire

MON., TUES., WED.—JAN 7, 8, 9

'BORN FOR TROUBLE'

Van JOHNSON • Faye EMERSON

— And —

'IT ALL CAME TRUE'

Humphrey BOGART • Ann SHERIDAN

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
48th ST.
49th ST.
50th ST.
51st St.
52nd St.
HAMILTON
123rd ST.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYALWestchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERSBrooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney IslandQueens
Keltch's
FLUSHING
Keltch's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far RockawayB. G. DeSylva presents
BETTY HUTTON in
"THE STORK CLUB"

— with —

**BARRY FITZGERALD
DON DE FORE**Robert Benchley • Bill Goodwin
Iris Adrian • Mikhail Rasumny
Mary Young
and introducing **ANDY RUSSELL**
Midnight Feature NightlyNOW PLAYING **PARAMOUNT**In Person
**WOODY
HERMAN**
and his
ORCHESTRA
— featuring —
**FRANCES
WAYNE**
— plus —
**DOROTHY
KELLER**
Extra added attraction
**BUDDY
LESTER**
Don Baker at the OrganTIMES
SQUARE**The New Statesman and Nation**

England's Leading Weekly Review

may now be obtained through

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Yearly subscription \$6.50 including postage

SPECIMEN copy on request

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

AS WE all know, from the newspapers, two hundred important paintings by masters ranging in time from Giotto to Daumier have been brought to this country from damaged or destroyed museums in Germany by the United States government for safe-keeping in the storage rooms of the National Gallery at Washington. They will be returned to Germany when "definitely established as being of bona fide German ownership . . . and when conditions there warrant." Meanwhile, "it is not contemplated that any of these works of art will be exhibited to the public at present."

I have seen the list of the pictures involved in this transaction, and the number of great masters and the quantity in which they are represented take my breath away: four Altdorfers, four Baldung-Grüns, five Botticellis, three Bronzinos, three Cranachs, two Chardins, five Dürers, four Elsheimers, three Guardis, six Halses, three Holbeins (including the portrait of Giesze), two Mantegnas, three Masaccios, three Memlings, two Giovanni di Paolos, two Pousins, two Raphaels, fifteen Rembrandts, six Rubenses, two Sassetas, three Signorellis, two Steens, two Ter Borchs, three Tiepols, two Tintoretts, five Titians, five Van der Weydens, five (!) Van Eycks, two Van Leydens, two Velasquezes, two Vermeers, two Andrea del Verrochios, three Watteaus—not to mention single examples by Angelico, Bosch, Caravaggio, Carpaccio, Correggio, di Cosimo, Giorgione, Hubbema, the Lippis, Lorrain, Patinir, Ruysdael, Schongauer, Seghers, Cosimo Tura, Manet, and still others.

That these works should come to this country and remain unseen is of a piece with everything else that distinguishes an age which, even when it wants to, can no more tell the difference between man as an end and man as a means than it can tell the difference between things as ends and things as means.

These pictures are means, let there be no mistake about that—means to the gratification of man. When they are removed from sight their purpose is violated. And to handle them at the same time with such care (air-conditioned storage) is to regard them in effect as objects solely of great material value, which is to pervert their function. The money value the pictures represent be-

comes more important and more of an end than the delight they would afford countless people in this country who will never be able to travel to see them in Europe.

Naturally, it would cost money to put the pictures on public exhibition—and that is a consideration; especially since it would be better to show them all at once than piecemeal, and still better to send them around the country. But if money is all that stands in the way, a collection could be taken up; or perhaps some rich benefactor of the arts would come forward to donate the costs. At any rate they ought to be shown; if they come and go without being seen by the American public it will amount to a scandal.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

THE BELLS OF ST. MARY'S," like "Going My Way," is distinguished for leisure and spaciousness, for delight in character and atmosphere, for its use of scenes which are inserted not to advance the story but for their own intrinsic charm. One such set-piece—in which primary-school children rehearse a Christmas play—is almost magically deft and pretty; and the picture is full of shrewd and pleasant flashes. It is also fascinating to watch as a talented, desperate effort to repeat the unrepeatable. But on the whole it is an unhappy film. Bing Crosby's priest, who was so excellent in the earlier picture, at times looks just bored, cold, and sly, as if he knew that this sort of thing had gone on too long for the good of anybody's soul, his own first of all. Ingrid Bergman replaces Barry Fitzgerald and, for my money, cannot compete with him in sex appeal, though she has and uses a lot too much to play a Mother Superior, comes painfully close to twittering her eyes in scenes with Crosby, and in general, I grieve to say, justifies a recent piece of radio promotion which rather startlingly describes a nun: "Ingrid Bergman has never been lovelier, hubbuhubhabubba."

I find very objectionable the movies' increasing recognition of the romantic-commercial values of celibacy. I like hardly better a little boxing lesson in which Mother Bergman shows one of the schoolboys how not to lead with the other cheek. I am just plain horrified by the way in which the sisters hound an old nabob into beneficence. And though I was amused both by a kitten which got

fouled up in Fr. Crosby's famous straw hat, and by a mongrel which got a fit of yawns while Henry Travers was trying to pray, I think that too much of a good thing is more than enough. The trouble is, the whole picture is more than enough, and anyone of Leo McCarey's talent would have been wise to use the talent on something entirely new instead. But it looks as if Father O'Malley, like Andy Hardy, is set to go on and on. In case there is any doubt about a subject, I suggest that the priest become a fixer, next time, for the Little Brothers of St. Dismas—if only in order that he may sing the theme song (which I will gladly furnish on request) "Take It on the Lam of God."

For what seems at least half of the dogged, devoted length of "They Were Expendable" all you have to watch is men getting on or off PT boats, and other men watching them do so. But this is made so beautiful and so real that I could not feel one foot of the film was wasted. The rest of the time the picture is showing nothing much newer, with no particular depth of feeling, much less idea; but, again, the whole thing is so beautifully directed and photographed, in such an abundance of vigorous open air and good raw sunlight, that I thoroughly enjoyed and admired it. Visually, and in detail, and in nearly everything he does with people, I think it is John Ford's finest movie. Another man who evidently learned a tremendous amount through the war is Robert Montgomery, whose sober, light, sure performance is, so far as I can remember, the one perfection to turn up in movies during the year.

"A Walk in the Sun" is often very alive and likable, thanks to several of its players, particularly Herbert Rudley, Richard Conti, Lloyd Bridges, and Dana Andrews. The gradual increase of daylight which opens it is atmospherically and technically wonderful; you can seldom get your eyes hurt, as I did here, by the manipulation, against dark contexts, of a little bit of cloudy light on a screen. In motion and shooting, much of the film is worked out with very unusual vitality and care—much of which, unfortunately, is related more nearly to ballet than to warfare. But mainly, I think, it is an embarrassing movie. The dialogue seems as unreal as it is expert. Most of the characters—as distinct from the men who play them—are as unreal and literary as the dialogue. The aesthetic and literary pseudo-democratic preoccupations are so strong that at times all sense of plain reality drops

out of the picture. At the end, for instance, with their farmhouse captured, various featured players are shown completing the gags which tag their characters—chomping an apple, notching a rifle-stock, and so on—while, so far as the camera lets you know, their wounded comrades are still writhing unattended in the dooryard.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE Budapest Quartet has been playing Schubert and Brahms at the concerts of the New Friends of Music and repeating its Beethoven cycle at the Y. M. H. A. There can be no doubt of the loss to the quartet through Alexander Schneider's departure. One hears it in the altered sound of the entire group, in which the robust and dark-toned viola and cello are less well balanced by the two delicate and light-toned violins than they used to be when they were matched by at least one of the violins. And one hears it in Ortenberg's own playing, which lacks the vitality and style that Schneider's had. And yet, even with these losses, the performances are unique, unapproached by any others. One must, in fact, say of them what one says of Toscanini's—that they are not just great performances, or the greatest one has heard, but that in their province they are something on a different level of functioning from the best of other good performers and musicians, a product of a different order of powers of musical insight and execution.

One must say this even though the performances are uneven these days—possibly as a result of fatigue and staleness from too much playing the last few years. The finale of Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet at the New Friends kept building up to big moments that were so expansive in sonority and pace as to break the wonderful continuity of momentum the movement used to have. And some of the Beethoven quartets at the Y. M. H. A. have been dry and scratchy in sound. But at the same concert where the Opus 95 was dry and scratchy the Opus 135 had all the beauty of sound of the group's playing at its best. And though the sound in Opus 95 was scratchy and dry one heard in the performance the operation of that different order of powers of musical insight and ensemble execution.

Schneider meanwhile continues to lead

the Albeneri Trio, which also has been playing Brahms and Schubert at the New Friends and all of Beethoven's trios at the Y. M. H. A. And these have not been performances by a well-matched group of three players of equal capacities, but instead performances in which the violinist's beautiful use of his instrument and distinguished musical style have stood out sharply against the coarse playing of the cellist, the pallid, characterless sounds from the piano. I am anything but unaware of the particular talent it took to play the piano's great opening statement in the slow movement of Beethoven's Opus 97 so that its greatness was made almost completely unnoticeable; but it is a talent I do not value.

I am aware also that this gray, mouse-like piano-playing is what many listeners and critics—from long hearing of it—consider proper in ensemble performance (just as long hearing of hysterical falsification of Tchaikovsky's music has given them the idea that this is the proper way of treating that music.) My own idea of what is proper in ensemble performance is playing that is pianistically beautiful and musically alive—the playing of a Rupp, a Balsam, a Harry Kaufman. And the New Friends audience heard an outstanding example of it when Webster Aitken played with a group assembled in place of the originally scheduled Budapest Quartet. I chose to listen to the concert as broadcast by WQXR; and careless microphone placement made the strings sound right in the room and the piano a mile away when it was not blanketed completely; but when it could be heard there was no mistaking the beautiful sound of Aitken's playing and the exciting continuity of rhythmic flow and phraseological outline that he created for the other players. Really—to quote Virgil Thomson's remark after an Aitken recital—it was not the sort of playing you hear every year; certainly it wasn't the sort of playing the New Friends audience had heard recently; and I hope it appreciated it when it heard it this time. If it did it may be interested in Aitken's performance of Schubert's G major Sonata at his Town Hall recital early in February, when he will also play Mozart's wonderful Rondo K. 511, Bach's Toccata in E minor, Stravinsky's Sonata, Debussy's "Estampes," and a new piece by Messiaen.

WQXR not only transmitted the performance of Schubert's "Forellen" Quintet badly balanced but cut it off in the middle of the finale; and it did the same thing with the Albeneri Trio's performance of Schubert's Trio Opus 100.

CONTRIBUTORS

RICHARD ARMOUR, professor of English at Scripps College, California, is the author of "Privates' Lives" and other books of light verse.

DAWN POWELL is the author of "A Time to Be Born" and other novels.

NICOLA CHIAROMONTE has contributed articles on Italian affairs to *Politics*, the *Partisan Review*, *View*, the *New Republic*, and *Italia Libera*.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR is professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary and editor of *Christianity and Crisis*. His most recent book is "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness."

HARVEY S. FORD is the author of "What the Citizen Should Know About the Army."

HANNAH ARENDT has recently contributed articles on politics to the *Jewish Frontier*, *Review of Politics*, the *Partisan Review*, and other journals. She is at work now on a book on imperialism.

K. E. BOULDING, author of "The Economics of Peace," is a member of the Department of Economics of Iowa State College.

Buy Bonds

★ for Keep! ★

Courses in MAGAZINE WRITING

fiction • non-fiction

The Magazine Institute, a private school owned and operated by successful writers and editors, offers practical, up-to-date training in story and article writing. You work in your own home. Every assignment you send in is returned with detailed criticism.

EXPERT INSTRUCTION. An experienced writer or editor takes you in hand, answering all your questions, helping you find the type of work for which you are naturally suited. Before long you are writing in your own home fiction stories, essays, short sketches, whatever you are best fitted to do.

Send coupon today for free catalog which tells about opportunities in magazine writing.

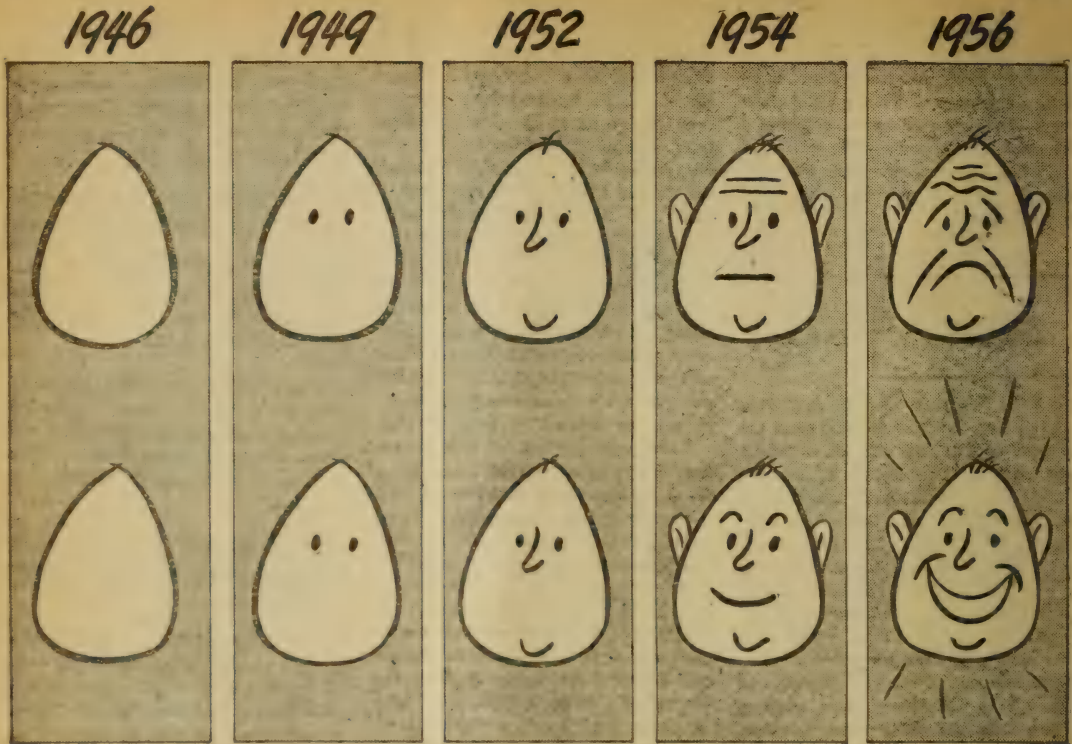
The Magazine Institute, Inc., Dept. 91-D
Rockefeller Center, New York 20, N.Y.
Please send catalog, without obligation to:

NAME

ADDRESS

.....

(Confidential. No salesman will call.)



Two ways your face can grow in the next few years

USUALLY, our faces show what's happening to us. For instance, suppose financial matters are constantly on your mind.

Suppose you know that there's practically no cash reserve between you and trouble.

It would be surprising if your face didn't show it.

But suppose that, on the contrary, you've managed to get yourself on a pretty sound financial basis.

Suppose that you're putting aside part of everything

you earn . . . that those dollars you save are busy earning extra dollars for you . . . that you have a nest egg and an emergency fund.

Naturally, your face will show *that*, too.

There's a simple and pretty accurate way to tell which way your face is going to go in the next few years:

If you are buying, regularly, and holding as many U. S. Savings Bonds as you can, you needn't worry.

Your face will be among the ones that wear a smile.

Buy all the Bonds you can... keep all the Bonds you buy

Space contributed by THE PUBLISHER OF THE NATION

Letters to the Editors

Friends of France

Dear Sirs: Seeing the message in your December 22 issue listing agencies which collect clothing for war victims, I want to let your readers know that the needs of the French people are not forgotten, and that there is definitely a way for American friends to help them in this sixth year of their suffering from the war.

As a member agency of the National War Fund, American Relief for France has observed the regulations of the President's War Relief Control Board in not making public appeals for "gifts in kind" during the fund-raising campaigns of the War Fund—but such gifts are received, sorted, packed, and shipped to France the year round; and all contributions of clothing are welcomed at the American Relief for France Warehouse, 15 East 24th Street.

FLORENCE GILLIAM,

Executive Director of Public Relations,
American Relief for France

New York, December 21

Notes on Bolivia

Dear Sirs: In his article entitled *Terror in Bolivia* in your issue of November 17, Mr. Arze discloses that he is an exile, that he is head of the P. I. R., and that the P. I. R. asked the Bolivian President to include them in the government, and they were not included. In other words, Arze, who did not participate in the people's revolution that put Villarroel in office, wanted to participate in the government. He was not acceptable; so he is in the United States or Chile (he drifts back and forth), calling the government bad names. He calls them Nazis or fascists.

On the opposite side of the picture, Patiño, Hochschild, and Aramayo—the three big mine owners—are also political exiles. They are in the United States and Argentina calling the Bolivian government equally ugly names. But since these gentlemen are well known to be reactionaries, they are calling the Bolivian government Communists.

Thus we have Arze calling them fascists and reactionaries, and the mine owners calling them communistic. I think you will find the government to be a little left of center. I think you will also find the wage scale to have increased considerably due to government

decrees, and social-security benefits to have been increased likewise.

Enrique Camacho, president of the Bolivian Development Corporation, is a Bolivian army officer without much business experience. He is an ideal man for president of the Bolivian Development Corporation. The American manager will run it, and Camacho is honest and patriotic. What more could you want?

Incidentally, Bolivia had a free election. The M. N. R. won; the P. I. R. lost. The President has had to do business therefore with the majority party in Congress. Otherwise, he would not be democratic.

SPROESSER WYNN,

Honorary Bolivian Consul
Fort Worth, Tex., December 7

AMG Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: The article AMG—Innocents Abroad has attracted my attention in the October 6 issue of *The Nation*—a scarce article of literary fare in the ETO.

I am one of those innocents recently returned from nineteen months overseas service in Military Government. I commanded MG teams in the field, served on Corps and Division MG staffs, and was a member of a team which assumed control over one of the first large cities to be taken in Germany. Altogether I spent twenty-two months in Military Government.

First, let me say that there is some truth in Mr. Padover's article; unfortunately, there is not enough. I am sure that his contact with Military Government was far more limited than he implies, and in any event, his presentation of conditions presumably prevailing in Aachen in November, 1944, as current in the whole American zone in October, 1945, is not good journalism.

Contrary to Mr. Padover's first contention, Military Government was organized to rule Germany in peace time. AMGOT was planned in advance for Italy, and as a result of the lessons learned (and mistakes made) there, the program was reorganized for Germany. Special classes were begun in the spring of 1943 in leading universities for those selected to participate in the MG phase of the expected German occupation. This training was concerned with German customs, language, politics, the Nazi Party—background material. It did not concern itself with long-range pol-

icy as there was and apparently still is none. This was no fault of MG. Policy is "higher-level stuff," not to be determined, presumably, by local MG representatives. We, the underlings, were painfully aware of this situation.

I think that any MG officer will bear me out in saying that the first essential in any change in Military Government in Germany is a clear-cut policy not subject to daily amendment. Personally, I believe that most MG officers have done an excellent job while laboring under unexpected and sometimes nearly insurmountable difficulties.

Regarding the retention of Nazis in power, I must agree that it was done at first. But let's review what happened. It had been early recognized that the bulk of the civil service in less important, lesser-paying jobs was filled with people who had been admitted to the party on a join-or-else basis. Within certain limits, the decision as to whether a man was only a nominal Nazi and could be retained was discretionary with the local MG officer.

It soon became apparent that leaving the question of political reliability of office-holders up to individual MG officers was unworkable administratively. On April 14, 1945, the 12th Army Group issued its famous directive stating in black and white who was to be removed and who could be hired. A house-cleaning then commenced, and when the deadline, July 31, was past, the American zone was pretty clean.

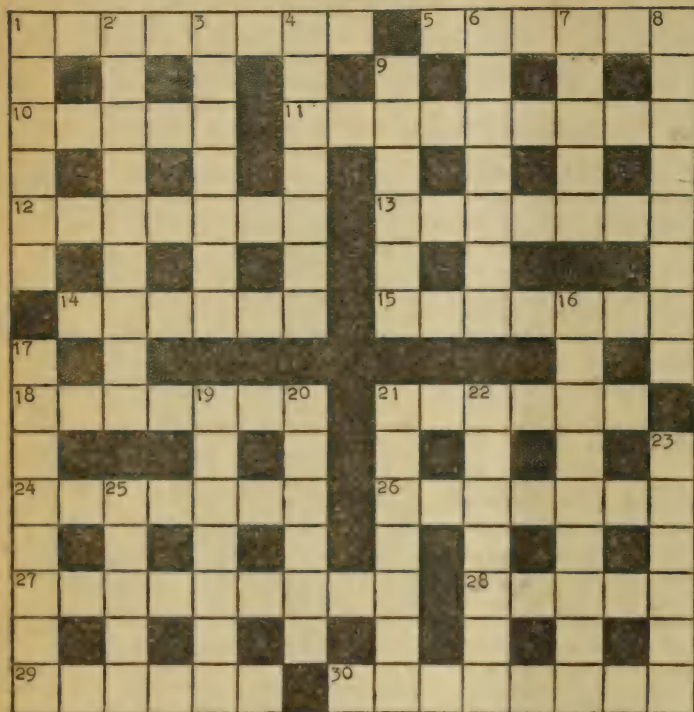
Perhaps the worst untruth perpetrated by Mr. Padover was the assertion that MG "lacked a political-intelligence department," which he rightly considers "a most vital instrument of government." Such a statement is strong indication to anyone familiar with MG that Mr. Padover is not the best authority on its operation.

There is a certain type of "liberal" who believes that anyone unsympathetic to Russia must of necessity be a fascist. I do not know whether Mr. Padover falls into that category, but as for the "anti-reds" among MG officers, who thought that Nazis were "just a political party, something like the Republicans and Democrats at home," there may be some so naive. I never met any.

Let's put it this way: I myself have been sympathetic toward Russia for many years. I still am. But I do not believe that the war was fought to make

Crossword Puzzle No. 142

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 This British war measure was so frightening at first that even burglars stayed at home
- 5 No ordinary horse, he: if more than one rode him he accommodat- ingly grew in length
- 10 American painter, and illustrator of Shakespeare (1852-1911)
- 11 "What economy is it to go to bed to save candle light," he asked, "if the result be twins?"
- 12 Reward with sixpence, in Shakespeare's day
- 13 Town of Oklahoma
- 14 Snoop around an industrious worker in the butler's room
- 15 Place just outside New York
- 18 Lake in Campania, called by the poets "the entrance to the infernal regions"
- 21 Co-stars with Palamon in the first of the *Canterbury Tales*
- 24 How far can you go into a forest?
- 26 Having made a will—so much of it being landed property, you know
- 27 Dog which used to love having a coach run over him
- 28 Not recognized that gears were engaged
- 29 To peck (anag.)
- 30 Was in supreme command in Greek waters

DOWN

- 1 Is only skin deep—but then it's only the skin you see
- 2 A surprising occurrence in war

- 3 Town of Florida, so called because of the number of bones found upon the reef (two words, 3 & 4)
- 4 Unearthly, but not necessarily heavenly
- 6 Suddenly
- 7 As our Spanish friend here sees it, his French colleague lacks go
- 8 Break up
- 9 Proverbial state of crowned heads
- 16 Might make Ned recant
- 17 "Found drowned," perhaps; finished, anyway (two words, 6 & 2)
- 19 Famous London prison
- 20 Enough to put a golfer off his putt
- 21 Father of Proteus, in Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*
- 22 I will be found in an old stronghold in Spain
- 23 Charlie McCarthy's wire-puller
- 25 Shrub of the ash, jasmine and olive family

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 141

ACROSS:—1 AD LIB; 4 ORC; 6 HERON; 9 SEVENTY; 10 FRANTIC; 11 MARMOT; 13 HEATRICE; 15 MILLERS; 16 IN DEBT; 17 SLUM; 19 EARTHEN; 21 PORT; 23 NEW INN; 25 SIBERIA; 27 ALISTAIR; 28 CRAFTS; 31 SHIKARI; 32 CLEARED; 33 MUGGY; 34 GAT; 35 STORM.

DOWN:—1 ASSAM; 2 LEVERED; 3 BUN-COMBE; 4 ONYX; 5 COFFEE; 6 HEARTS; 7 RETRIAL; 8 NACRE; 12 TITANIA; 13 BLATHER; 14 ARSENIC; 16 IMP; 18 MAN; 20 NEARNESS; 22 RATTLING; 24 INFERNO; 25 STEADY; 26 BITING; 27 ADSUM; 29 SODOM; 30 SCOT.

the world safe for communism. In MG we unhappily realized that our own country did not know quite what it wanted to do with Germany, while the Russians apparently did. However, we did believe that some form of democracy was our objective, and we had no intention of playing into the hands of Russian agents busily engaged in re-establishing German communism by turning civilian administration over to the pro-Russian elements. Personally, it was simply a question of ordinary loyalty to my own country outweighing sympathy toward Russia. As for our classifying "anti-fascists, Social Democrats . . . as nothing but reds, and reds are worse than Nazis," nonsense!

In conclusion, too many people still differentiate sharply between Nazis and other Germans. We in Military Government concluded from experience that after eliminating the real Nazi hierarchy, the distinction between the rest of the Nazis and the German people was somewhat hollow. The assumption that the bulk of the German people are peace-loving democrats whose republic was stolen by a Nazi minority is at odds with the facts, to put it conservatively.

No doubt most Americans expected MG to establish a democratic government in Germany, a government run by people who believe that the war was wrong and that Germans are no different from anybody else—in other words, a government run by people much like ourselves. That is the trouble. There are, practically speaking, no such Germans.

FORMER MG OFFICER

Manhattan Beach, Cal., December 1

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year \$6; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, \$1; Canadian, \$1. The Nation is indexed in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, *Book Review Digest*, *Index to Labor Articles*, *Public Affairs Information Service*, *Dramatic Index*. Three weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

RESORTS

INVITATION TO RELAX

Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous countryside, roaring fireplace, delicious food—and fun. Only 55 miles from New York!

MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY
plum point
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N.Y. Tel: Newburgh 4270

HATHAWAY SKI LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 600-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces and private porches. Winding Mountain Trails, 800' to 1,000-foot Ski Slopes. Delicious food. Easy transportation.

Attractive Winter Homes
For reservations or further information write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 259

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 12, 1946

NUMBER 2

The Shape of Things

THE MOSCOW DECISIONS OF THE BIG THREE were a bitter pill for France even though sugar-coated by an offer to hold the proposed general peace conference in Paris. But the French Cabinet after long and apparently heated deliberations decided against any outright refusal to cooperate. Instead it authorized a note to the Big Three powers making French sponsorship of the conference contingent on satisfactory answers to a number of searching questions. In the first place the French government wants to know whether the Big Five Council of Foreign Ministers which was set up at Potsdam has been permanently superseded by a council of three. With regard to the conference of active belligerents to examine peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, information is requested as to what influence it will be allowed to exercise. Is the conference intended simply as a face-saving junket for the smaller nations? Or do the Big Three consider themselves obligated to heed its recommendations when writing the final texts of the treaties? Elucidation of the plan for a Far Eastern Commission is also desired. France feels slighted because it appears to have been relegated to a secondary position with no veto power. Apparently, however, this matter has been cleared up by informal assurances from Washington that the commission will deal only with Japan. In taking the critical position which it has done the French government evidently feels that it is acting not only in defense of its own prerogatives, particularly in the Balkans, but of those of the European nations generally. In Paris, emphasis is put on the fact that Europe's fate is being decided by three powers, none of which is strictly European. By seizing the initiative in protesting this development France hopes to do something to reestablish its prestige and advance its claim to continental leadership. *

THIS AIM, BROADLY PHRASED TO SUIT THE occasion, was the theme of President de Gaulle's address at a New Year diplomatic reception. France, he declared, would persevere in efforts to regain her place among the nations knowing "how much her greatness means to the world." Unfortunately, if not unnaturally, the French leader has always been inclined to overemphasize military strength as an ingredient of national greatness. That was one reason for the recent sharp controversy in the Constituent Assembly over army appropriations. The budget estimated army expenditure in 1946 at 125 billion francs—over \$1 billion—with 42 billion francs required in the first quarter. When the Socialists asked for a 20 per cent reduction in the latter

amount, de Gaulle made it a question of confidence and declared he would resign if his figure were not approved. The crisis passed, thanks to a compromise providing for an immediate 5 per cent cut and a pledge by the government to bring in proposals for army reform before February 15. But the size of the military establishment is likely to remain a burning issue in French politics. De Gaulle feels that the voice of France will not be listened to unless the country recovers its armed strength. The Socialists put greater faith in overcoming economic weakness. Up to now the claims of the army have received priority as is shown by the fact that the reconstruction budget for 1946 stands at 17 billion francs or 13.6 per cent of the military budget. The sense of values indicated by this comparison is not the best of auguries for the French renaissance we are so eager to welcome.

★

EMPEROR HIROHITO'S DENIAL OF HIS OWN divinity is not a retreat under irresistible pressure but rather a strategic withdrawal to a position from which the most powerful instrument of Japan's ruling class can be more easily defended. The hardest blow leveled at Emperor-worship was the American directive ordering the end of government support for state Shintoism which has indoctrinated three generations with the belief that since the Emperor is of divine descent, Japan is entitled to rule the world. Apart from this the Emperor has suffered little in the general disillusionment with the old order. The militarists, big business and the bureaucracy have been pilloried in the press and denounced by the people. Thus far only the Communists have dared to attack Hirohito as a war criminal and demand the establishment of a republic. Although the great mass of the people have not yet turned against the Emperor, they have made clear their opposition to the other members of the oligarchy and may—if they have the support of the American authorities—unseat many of its chief representatives. Far-sighted conservatives have recognized that unless the throne is disassociated from the oligarchy, and brought much closer to the people it may eventually bear the brunt of the democratic attack which is now in preparation. A constitutional monarch in tweeds makes a much smaller target than a divine-right monarch in uniform.

★

THE NATION APPLAUDS THE NOMINATION OF William H. Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands. If confirmed by the Senate, as he should be, Mr. Hastie will be the first Negro to serve as governor of an American territory. But the nomination is more than a gratifying recognition on the President's part of the appropriateness of placing

• IN THIS ISSUE •

THE SHAPE OF THINGS	29
EDITORIALS	
Admiral on Horseback	31
Truman and the People	32
The Palestine Inquiry <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	33
ARTICLES	
Gangsters or Patriots? <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	34
This Is Your Fight! <i>by Walter P. Reuther</i>	35
Stamford Sticks Together <i>by J. Mitchell Morse</i>	37
Philippine Aftermath: I. The Menace of Freedom <i>by Mildred Adams</i>	38
What's Behind the Attack on the Co-ops <i>by Paul Green</i>	40
The Far North: International Frontier <i>by D. M. Lebourdais</i>	42
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	43
The People's Front <i>by Del Vayo</i>	45
BOOKS AND THE ARTS	
The Sick City and the Family Romance <i>by Delmore Schwarz</i>	46
Notes by the Way <i>by Margaret Marshall</i>	48
Canada and the United States <i>by J. King Gordon</i>	50
Briefer Comment	52
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	54
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	54
LETTERS TO THE EDITORS	55
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 143 <i>by Jack Barrett</i>	56

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors: Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison,
Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama Critic: J. W. Krutch Music Critic: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors: Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams,
Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting, Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

Published weekly and copyright, 1946, in the U.S.A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two Years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

the islands, with their overwhelmingly Negro population, under a Negro governor. Hastie was judge of the District Court of the Virgin Islands from 1937 to 1939—the first Negro federal judge in American history. As assistant solicitor of the Interior Department from 1934 to 1937, he became something of an expert in territorial problems. He had made a reputation as dean of the Law School at Howard University, and is regarded as one of the ablest young lawyers in the country. The people of the Virgin Islands will be getting a governor who has never been afraid to speak up for his people. Hastie demonstrated his courage and integrity on this issue in 1943 when he resigned his post as civilian aide to Secretary of War Stimson in protest against Jim Crow practices in the air corps. The President could not have picked a better man for the island governorship.

✱

ONE PROBLEM WHICH HAS PLAGUED THE development of television in the United States is the projection and enlargement of televised images on screens big enough to permit a number of persons to view them simultaneously. In Britain the problem was solved as long ago as 1939. The Scopphony Corporation, Ltd., through a supersonic liquid valve on which it held patents, was able to project images the size of motion-picture screens. Later it perfected what is said to be an even better system of enlargement by means of a skiatron tube. In 1942 the Scopphony Corporation, needing funds to exploit its devices, entered into an arrangement with two American concerns, Paramount Pictures and the General Precision Equipment Corporation, largest supplier of motion-picture equipment in this country. They formed the Scophonic Corporation of America, agreeing that it would have exclusive right to sales in the Western Hemisphere, while the Eastern Hemisphere would be reserved for the British Scopphony. This was, of course, an indubitable violation of our anti-trust laws, and a civil suit against the companies involved has been brought by the Department of Justice. Perhaps of greater interest, however, is the allegation that the American participants have used their financial control to block any development of the supersonic and skiatron techniques. The patents they hold obviously represent a gold mine. But apparently they do not wish to tap it until they have exhausted the gold mine of present motion-picture projection methods, which would probably be rendered obsolete by these new developments. What was good enough for yesterday's public is good enough for today's. Technological progress seems once more to have run into the Stop sign of vested interests.

✱

F. H. LA GUARDIA, AFTER TWELVE YEARS AS A Mayor who was always highly articulate and sometimes noisy, often irritating but generally on the side of the angels, has become a private citizen; but he bids fair to become the most public private citizen in the country. He has announced that he is embarking on a career of "thinking, writing, and talking." He is to do a weekly column for PM, and he will broadcast twice on Sundays. One of his sponsors is *Liberty* magazine, the other is a dairy-products company which, as the newspapers were careful to point out, distributes Blue

Moon cheese. He has signed a contract to write an autobiography "for the Christmas, 1947, trade," as he engagingly put it. And finally he will write another weekly column which should keep him in the hot water he seems to find so stimulating. It is to be called *Under the Hat*, and it will appear in the paid advertising of Sachs Quality Stores every Thursday—and therefore in papers that will find it anything but agreeable. This last is La Guardia's pet project, and we can't blame him for taking a mischievous pleasure in getting what he calls "my stuff" into such papers as the *Journal American*. Under the Hat has already begun, and the first installment was devoted to freedom of the press, which La Guardia proposes to exercise. In it he said among other things that "freedom of the press becomes a mockery unless it is a truthful press," and paid his respects to misleading headlines. But he also paid his respects to censorship—"better a bad uncensored press than a subservient, intimidated, government-controlled press." We wish him well; and we are sure the Newspaper Guild, which he plans to join, will find him a live member. As for his successor in City Hall, William O'Dwyer, whose inauguration was attended by such Tammany luminaries as Edward J. Loughlin and Generoso Pope, we can only hope that he is not turning over an old leaf.

✱

CHRISTMAS PROVIDED A PLEASANT ESCAPE FROM reality for a good many of us. Wars and famine and insurrection in various parts of the world were forgotten. The Moscow agreement was the excuse for postponing our worries and sidestepping our fears. As a healthy reminder of the actual present, we would recommend Dr. Harold J. Urey's article on the atomic bomb in *Collier's* of January 5. Title: "I'm a Frightened Man."



Sweigert in the San Francisco Chronicle

Admiral on Horseback

ADMIRAL Horthy, former Regent of Hungary, has been released from "protective custody" in Nürnberg where he had been held as a possible witness for the prosecution. He has been allowed to retire to a country estate near Munich which Hitler presented to him in 1944 because, as the Nazi press pointed out, he had "rendered great services to National Socialism." Those services had almost slipped into oblivion but Dr. Ries, the present Hungarian Minister of Justice, has refreshed our memory by recalling in a recent article the unpunished "crimes against humanity" committed by the Hungarian counter-revolution and its leader Horthy, which provided the model both for Fascism and Nazism. It was no thunderbolt from a blue sky which struck Hungary when the Nazi forces occupied the country in March, 1944; it was only the final step in the systematic progress toward national suicide begun in 1919 when the Admiral rode on his white charger into "guilty" Budapest encouraging and ordering the white terror. The atrocities that followed were fully exposed in several issues of *The Nation* in 1920 and further investigated and reported upon by a British Labor delegation in 1921. It was under Horthy's leadership, too, that Hungary signed the anti-Comintern Pact in February, 1939, and in September, 1940, joined the Axis—a term, by the way, coined by Horthy's favorite, Premier Goemboes.

At the Nürnberg trial, the prosecution produced the files of the Reich Chancellery from which it appeared that in May, 1938, Hitler disclosed his future plans to the Admiral, remarking at the same time that although he did not need Hungarian help, if Hungary wanted to share the meal it would have to participate in its preparation. Horthy's letter to Hitler, offering to create if necessary an "incident" on the Czechoslovak frontier which would justify the German attack on the Czech republic, was also read at the trial. Munich made the "incident" unnecessary, but the self-appointed jackal nevertheless shared in the loot. As a consequence of the Vienna Award which authorized the Admiral to ride into Kosice and Cluj, Hungary had to take part in the shameless attack on Yugoslavia in April, 1941, and to declare war against Russia in June, and Great Britain and the United States the following December. All this was done in defense of "Christian" (meaning Nazi) civilization. The brave Admiral certainly deserved the Iron Cross first class which the Führer personally pinned on his warrior chest when he visited the Russian front.

Now he has been released from the Nürnberg jail, where he enjoyed the company of his former Nazi comrades-in-arms; the authorities, it is reported, said there were "no charges against him." Obviously not, because those same authorities did not make any charges. Why? The reason is obvious. Horthy was a fascist snatched from the burning; he turned his coat just in time to save his skin. And so, by the grace of the Allied prosecutors and the late Führer, he will be permitted to find undisturbed repose in the charming Bavarian countryside. Unhappily, some hundred thousand Hungarian soldiers met a different end; they repose instead, under the hard Russian earth at Voronezh.

Truman and the People

MR. TRUMAN'S radio appeal to the "plain people" must be seen in political perspective. Neither Mr. Truman nor any other Democratic candidate can be elected in 1948 without the support of organized labor and the Northern Negro. To get that support Mr. Truman must carry on the New Deal program. Unfortunately the Democrats are more often a coalition than a genuine party. The coalition holds together for the election of a President but falls apart when faced with social reform and general welfare legislation. Hence Mr. Truman's troubles with Congress. Franklin D. Roosevelt, for all his glamour, was able to do very little with Congress after the depression demands of farmers had been satisfied in the early New Deal and after the Little Steel strike and returning prosperity had cured depression-born middle-class desire for reform. Politically, the war saved Mr. Roosevelt, and politically peace may be the ruin of Mr. Truman.

Mr. Truman, echoing basic Democratic faith in *vox populi*, is appealing to the "plain people" to help him get necessary legislation past stubbornly hostile Congressional committees. He wants popular pressure for passage of bills to extend price and materials control. He wants help on full-employment legislation, on a permanent FEPC, on higher minimum wages, on decent jobless compensation, and on his proposal for a cooling-off period for fact-finding in labor disputes. It is necessary to go beyond Democratic mysticism and ask who are the "plain people" to whom he is appealing. On the answer depends the likelihood of his success.

On many of these issues a good many of the "plain people" are against the President. The FEPC is a special case perhaps; here the Coxes and Smiths certainly have the approval of most of the "plain people" of the white South in blocking FEPC legislation. But there are broader issues also on which mere vague appeal to the "plain people" is apt to be ineffective. The farmer, for example, reacts much as does the businessman to price controls, higher minimum wages, better unemployment compensation. The farmer thinks in terms of his hired hand, and wants no legislation that will tend to raise wages. On price control he thinks as an individualistic producer and not as a consumer; the chance of getting more in a scramble for higher prices on what he sells means more to him than keeping steady the prices of the things he buys. As for full-employment legislation, the middle class and the employers are suspicious; the farmer is indifferent or instinctively hostile.

It will take a lot of grass-roots education and agitation to roll up enough popular pressure for these measures. There are "plain people" who can be mobilized. There are millions in the North who are against racial discrimination, but as yet much too vaguely to count politically. There is a consumer interest. There are farmers, as there are businessmen, capable of taking a broader view than narrow class interest. But somebody must care enough to ring their doorbells and grasp their coat lapels. Only the working class is wholeheartedly for these measures, and the P. A. C. is its only organization for grass-roots agitation. Without P. A. C. this program cannot be put over.

Unfortunately Mr. Truman's appeal for fact-finding and a cooling-off period not only is opposed by the big employers but has split labor from the Administration. Part of the reason lies in Mr. Truman's own gauche handling of labor leaders and of the General Motors strike. Part of it arises from the painful experiences labor underwent during the war waiting for the War Labor Board to find the facts in labor disputes before it. Labor fears bureaucratic delays and employer litigation of issues raised in fact-finding and sees no assurance of employer compliance even after the facts are found and the recommendations made. Labor leaders feel so deeply on this issue that Mr. Truman finds himself at loggerheads with the only group which can possibly put over his legislative program—the legislative program which may well mean the difference between defeat and victory in 1948. The President does have this slight comfort, that labor has every bit as much to gain as he does by a reconciliation. Sooner or later labor leaders must realize this, if indeed they have not already done so. For divided, neither the President nor the labor movement stands a chance in Congress.

It is not enough to appeal to the "plain people." It is necessary to lead them. There are millions of political ciphers who need to have brought home to them the meaning of race discrimination, price control, higher wage standards, full employment, millions who are neither employers nor racially biased. They cannot be reached by the kind of formal and bloodless indorsement Mr. Truman is accustomed to give on these issues. He not only shows no capacity to dramatize and illuminate these issues; he seems to understand them imperfectly himself. The White House has floundered on price control, housing, taxes, and wages in managing the executive branch of the government. It has been weak in dealing with the legislative branch on many of the bills the President now submits to the "plain people." Thus Mr. Truman failed miserably to support progressive elements in the House last month for a showdown fight on the full-employment issue. Many people have lost faith in him because he says the right thing but fails to do much about it.

Mr. Truman needs and deserves grass-roots support on his general program, but he also needs better advisers than the little clique of mediocre men who surround him. This is true in the case of housing; Mr. Truman's feeble rhetoric on this topic seemed to reflect a complete lack of any concrete program. It is especially true on labor, where again Mr. Truman seems to have failed to grasp the problem, much less to solve it. He believes that if the facts are found, "public opinion" will make itself felt "in a practical way." But facts are only a small part of the picture. The crucial questions come up in the sphere of policy, not fact. The level of wages must rise if we are to have full employment and make use of war-expanded productive capacity. There would be much less resistance to the wage increases if government were prepared, by leadership and planning, to insure the higher levels of economic activity which would make it easy to pay the higher wages. The framework of the problem is America's expanded capacity to produce, and it is in this framework alone that an economically sound and politically statesman-like program can be evolved. But who in the White House today thinks in such terms?

The Palestine Inquiry

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

BRITISH intentions in Palestine cannot be simplified to a pattern of unrepentant imperialism or disinterested generosity. They are complicated, often self-contradictory; affected by intrigues and promises and antagonisms long antedating the present difficulties. It is to be hoped that the members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine beginning work this week in Washington will tackle their assignment with a live sense of history: otherwise the time spent will be total waste.

Even the committee is a product of mixed motives, but it was invented by the British principally as a device first, to delay the inevitable showdown in Palestine and, second, to involve the United States in whatever decision is ultimately arrived at. One cannot blame the British government for asking this country to hold one edge of a bag packed with TNT, especially since in the past we have offered so much free advice on the proper way of handling it; one can only say that the United States, in accepting this responsibility, should demonstrate a degree of courage and objectivity which the British government is obviously unable to attain. Our representatives on the Committee of Inquiry must not allow themselves to be stampeded into hasty decisions by the echo of exploding bombs in the streets of Jaffa or by rumors of Jewish plots opportunely launched by a British general operating off-bounds. Bombs and canards are ephemeral if nasty symptoms of a deep trouble. The job of the committee, and the absolute obligation of the American members, is to go to the roots of that trouble. Indeed, that is the only excuse for its existence in 1946.

I am not suggesting that the committee should confine itself to exhuming the past. What is going on in Europe today is an integral part of the study. For the chilling horrors of Nazi rule and their present backwash in Poland and Slovakia and in the detention camps of Germany provide dramatic evidence of the condition that brought Zionism into being and made the British promise of a Jewish National Home the focus of hope for oppressed Jews everywhere. That any Zionist organizations in Poland managed to survive the Nazi extermination policy and muster enough resources to give a little training and material help to Jews who want to go to Palestine—this seems to be the only factual basis of the "plot" revealed the other day by General Morgan—is one of the most encouraging and valiant manifestations of human resilience I have heard about. The Committee of Inquiry will be expected to look beyond the difficulties of relief agencies in Europe and examine the profound economic, political and emotional factors that make such "plots" inevitable. The committee will learn—I say this confidently on the basis of overwhelming evidence already reported—that a great majority of Europe's Jewish displaced persons want to go to Palestine. Its further duty is to find out why.

The work of the committee is sure to be hampered by the British government's weak and shifting maneuvers in regard to Palestine immigration. First it shut off, for the duration of the inquiry, even the trickle of immigration previously

allowed. Then under pressure of violence in Palestine and indignation throughout the world, it requested the "Palestine Arab Higher Committee" to "permit" the "interim" admission of 1,500 Jewish refugees a month as "a humanitarian gesture." What sort of policy is this? Has the Mandate already been abrogated? Are the Arabs from now on to have the final say on Jewish immigration questions? If so, then certainly the committee can fold up and go home. If not, it had better demand that the British government make one more shift and rescind both previous moves in order that the inquiry may proceed in an atmosphere as free from suspicion and bitterness as circumstances permit. The granting of 1,500 certificates amounts to very little in practical terms; symbolically it is of great importance.

For it is linked with the whole process of British fumbling which must be reexamined by the Committee of Inquiry: the curious fluctuations of Foreign Office and Colonial Office policy, sometimes working together, sometimes one against the other, sometimes encouraging Jewish settlement as a bulwark of British interest in the Middle East, sometimes—and consistently as the war approached—shifting toward the support of Arab claims until the obligations to the Jews, assumed under the mandate, were completely and cynically abandoned in 1939. What caused Britain—and at what moment did it happen?—to decide that its position would be better secured if the French were forced out of Syria and the Jews restricted to a static minority in Palestine? What convinced it that an Arab League, run by fanatic if mutually suspicious Moslem leaders, would be a safer ally? Did the Tory government fear the leavening effect of Jewish enlightenment and social ferment in the vast lump of Arab misery and ignorance? The record opens an immense range of questions which the committee will have to answer if its conclusions are to be of use.

I suggest that its best course will be to ignore the ready-made conclusions provided by Mr. Bevin when the committee was announced. It can take as its premises the text of the Balfour Declaration, the provisions of the Palestine Mandate, the handful of official interpretations of those pledges put out of responsible British and American statesmen. With these as a starting-point it can consider what specific political arrangements in Palestine will best serve needs of all groups concerned. The Jewish National Home, in itself, is not an issue; even Bevin admitted that. The issues lie in the numbers of Jews to be admitted to Palestine; the rate at which they are to be allowed in; the kind of control that should be set up to insure the permanent development of Jewish institutions free from the danger of Arab attack, physical or political; the protection of Arab rights; and the adjustment of great-power interests to one another and to the interests of the people of the country.

This set of problems should be enough for the inquiry to solve. Since the United States has no commitments beyond its single reiterated pledge to support the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, and no interests except a relatively modest amount of Arabian oil, the American members are in a position to exhibit a decency and humanity—a broad disinterestedness—which are seldom compatible with old, crusted political and material investment. We look confidently to them to do so.

Gangsters or Patriots?

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 5

ON DECEMBER 26 it became known in Jerusalem that the British government had reneged on its promise to grant 1,500 certificates a month to Jewish immigrants while an Anglo-American committee investigated the Palestine problem. On the following night there were explosions in British offices in Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem. The target in Jerusalem was the headquarters of the Criminal Investigation Division of the Palestine government. Deputy Inspector General Giles, who is detested by the Jewish community, narrowly escaped with his life. "This," he was quoted as saying by Gene Currivan, Jerusalem correspondent of the *New York Times*, "is the work of our friends, the Haganah." The remark had a fine detective-story flavor.

It also had the flavor of an attempt to smear the Haganah, the self-defense organization of Palestinian Jewry, and to identify it with irresponsible terrorist groups. Currivan lent himself to this effort. His dispatches described the Haganah as "vigilante" in origin and as "an underground gangster group . . . which prides itself on its conservative terrorism," whatever that is. This is typical of the unfair treatment the Jewish-owned *New York Times* has given both Palestinian and Polish Jewry in recent weeks. The British Colonial Office could have no more loyal journalistic ally. When a group of correspondents, recently in Palestine, including Frank Gervasi of *Collier's*, Gerald Frank, and myself, protested against Currivan's attempt to link the Haganah with terrorism, a curious kind of correction was elicited.

In its issue of January 4 the *Times* ran a Currivan dispatch from Jerusalem headed, "Two Zionist Groups Boast of Bombing. Claim for 'Credit' by Sternists and Irgun Zvai Leumi Gives Haganah Clean Bill of Health." The Irgun and the Sternists are not Zionists but offshoots of the Revisionist movement; that bit of distortion was added by the copy desk of the *Times* in writing the headline. Currivan wrote of a joint communiqué in which these two terrorist groups had boasted of the bombings. "If the communiqué can be accepted as actually emanating from these groups," Currivan grudgingly admitted, "it leaves Haganah in the clear and corroborates this third underground organization's recent protestations." The net effect of the slanderous headline and the obscure "correction" on the ordinary reader must have been to deepen the impression that Palestine was a place infested with Zionist gangsters.

What is the truth about the Haganah? The name is a Hebrew word meaning "defense." It was first applied to small groups formed in Russia after 1905 to defend Jews against pogromchiks. The idea was taken to Palestine by Russian Jewish immigrants before the First World War. There, as in the rest of the Ottoman Empire, law and order were rare. Bedouins raided one another and the Jewish settlements. The newer immigrants declared they had not come to Palestine to be at the mercy of hooligans again. They formed

an organization called Hashomer—The Watchman. David Ben-Gurion, now chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency, and Isaac Ben Zwi, now president of the Vaad Leumi, the Jewish National Council of Palestine, were in the initial group. This was the forerunner of the Haganah.

The Shomrim (members of Hashomer) were not vigilantes. They began as armed guards for the settlements and were recognized as such by the Turkish authorities. They pioneered the settling of wild country and sought, like the Cossacks, to establish agricultural-warrior colonies on the frontier. They became a kind of élite.

This conception of the Shomrim had dangers which became apparent toward the close of the First World War. It was feared that they might develop into an arrogant, policy-making armed faction able to impose its will on the community. A group of Shomrim led by the late Eliahu Golomb succeeded in bringing about the disbanding of the organization and the formation of the Haganah. The basic idea of the Haganah was that defense should not be in the hands of a picked few but that every able-bodied Jew should be trained in the use of arms and enrolled in the Haganah. Hashomer was an élite guard; Haganah was a democratic militia. The Shomrim under Golomb and returning veterans who had served in the Jewish Legion under Allenby formed the nucleus of the new organization.

The Haganah took on a more solid and systematic form after the massacres of 1929, when some two hundred Jews were killed in Hebron and Safad. The massacres occurred a few weeks after the British authorities had withdrawn all licenses for the possession of shotguns in Jewish settlements. Where the Jews had illegal arms, they successfully fought off attack. Where they had none, they were slaughtered. The Jewish community felt that it could no longer rely on the British authorities for protection and took steps to speed up training and the acquisition of illegal arms. The wisdom of that policy was demonstrated in the Arab rebellion from 1936 to 1939. There were attacks on Jewish settlements and Jews were killed, but even in the most isolated areas there were no pogroms, and there will be none unless the British succeed in smashing the Haganah.

During the Arab rebellion there was unofficial cooperation between the British authorities and the Haganah. Every British battalion had a Jewish "interpreter" whose real function was to act as liaison with the Haganah. Finally, rather than deal with an illegal organization, the British deputized some 16,000 Haganah members as "supernumerary police" and issued 6,000 rifles to them (more men than guns because they work in shifts). These rifles are still in use in Palestine. Service as a supernumerary policeman is taken into account in figuring what we would call demobilization "points" for Palestinian Jews in the British army. Thus the Haganah achieved a kind of backdoor recognition.

This unofficial cooperation was taken a step farther by a young British lieutenant in the Sudan Frontier Force who

was transferred to intelligence duty in Palestine in 1936. His name was Charles Orde Wingate, and he was later to lose his life in Burma. Wingate's first raiders were the squads of Haganah-trained men he organized to protect the oil pipe-lines from Arab saboteurs. Wingate, a non-Jew, became a Zionist in Palestine, and though his views were frowned upon by his superiors they found themselves forced to adopt his tactics during the Second World War. In the gloomy months before El Alamein British headquarters in Cairo in unofficial conjunction with Haganah leaders prepared "post-occupation" plans for Palestine. Secret methods of communication were worked out to keep British authorities in touch with Jewish guerrilla forces if the Axis should succeed in taking Palestine. The Palestine civil administration was disapproving, and the Cairo military authorities would never admit they were dealing with the Haganah, but as one British officer said, "If you're dealing with a self-respecting young Jew you must take it for granted that he belongs to the Haganah."

The Irgun, the military arm of the Revisionists, are what the Shomrim might have become, quasi-fascist terrorists; they number some five or six thousand. The Sternists, who split off from the Irgun at the beginning of the war, number about five hundred men; they wanted to fight Britain by terror even though Britain was fighting Hitler. But the Haganah is the People's Army of Palestinian Jewry. It is prepared to fight the British authorities to bring in so-called illegal immigrants and to settle on forbidden land in defiance of the White Paper. It has embarked on a small-scale war of strictly limited objectives against British rule, and the Yishuv is prepared to back it up with a mass civil-disobedience campaign, Indian style. But the Haganah is not terrorist. It is not irresponsible. It is a disciplined military organization. Its leaders are bitterly critical of the Jerusalem bombings. These provide the British with an excuse for more stringent measures against illegal immigration and hurt Jewry with world opinion. The Haganah are no more gangsters than were the men of Concord or Lexington.

This Is Your Fight!

BY WALTER P. REUTHER

Vice-President of the U. A. W.-C. I. O. and director of its General Motors department

Detroit, January 3

IN THE confusion of peace, much of it carefully planned, we are in danger of losing the clear view of post-war needs which we had during the war. Administrative agencies, Congressional post-war planning committees, and business groups such as the Committee for Economic Development were generally agreed during the war that after the war we must produce and consume at least 50 per cent more than we did in pre-war days to avoid a return to chronic mass unemployment. They were agreed that a return to pre-war levels of production—and consumption—would mean nineteen million unemployed.

This conviction was expressed in the Department of Commerce study "Markets After the War," which became the bible of the C. E. D. It was reiterated by Senators James E. Murray and Harry S. Truman in the 1944 year-end report of their War Contracts Committee, in which they proposed a bill to insure full employment. Last July Fred Vinson, then Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, put it this way: "We are in the pleasant predicament of having to learn to live 50 per cent better than we have ever lived before." In August, before V-J Day, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System published Post-War Economic Study No. 1, "Jobs, Production, and Living Standards," in which these statements were made:

We shall have an opportunity of living better than we ever have in the past, but only if we so manage our economy as to provide markets for a much larger total product than we have ever had in peace time.

Purchases of all classes of goods and services could and should expand greatly. A rise of 40 or 50 per cent above pre-war levels in consumption goods will be possible and

necessary. This would mean that people would buy many more cars than they did during the 1930's, many more ice-boxes, and several times the amount of some other goods and services. . . . Resources will be available for this rise in national well-being, but it will require a well-planned and vigorous national public and private business policy to realize this unequaled opportunity.

We must not accept the miserable alternative of having our products piling up as surpluses for lack of markets and have their output shrink in consequence. We must not suffer our wealth to be the cause of our poverty, or permit the abundance of our resources to be the basis of our want. . . .

If there is to be a market for the goods and services that will be produced if employment is to be maintained, the nation's income must not be permitted to decline materially.

Four days after V-J Day President Truman announced the national reconversion wage-price policy: free collective bargaining between workers and employers was to be restored, and wage increases were to be approved up to the point where price increases would result.

On the same day, August 18, the United Automobile Workers of the C. I. O. filed with the General Motors Corporation a demand for a 30 per cent increase in hourly wage rates without price increases, asserting that this increase was needed to make up for the loss in take-home pay resulting from abolition of overtime and downgrading in jobs. We said that such an increase in wage rates was directly in the national interest as stated over and over again during the war, that it was in line with the national wage-price policy, that it was necessary to maintain purchasing power during reconversion. We pointed out that to make progress toward a standard of living 50 per cent better than we had ever known

it was first necessary to hold our ground, to stay where we were, economically, when the war ended.

It seemed to us that the way to begin was to begin. It was only fair to call upon the General Motors Corporation, the most profitable corporation in the most profitable industry, to lead the way. We were convinced that past earnings, the certain market for capacity production for at least three years, and the lower unit costs of a volume 50 per cent above pre-war days made it possible for the automotive industry generally—and General Motors most conspicuously—to pay 30 per cent higher wage rates without increasing prices, and at the same time to pay dividends higher than the high pre-war rates.

However, our demand was never "30 per cent, or else!" as some editors, politicians, and propagandists have charged. From August 18 up to now we have offered to scale down our demand by whatever amount was proved necessary to prevent an increase in prices. But we said that until and unless G. M. proved it could not pay 30 per cent, we would not reduce our demand by one red cent.

On October 2 G. M. turned down our demand as "unreasonable." No counter-proposal was made.

In dismissing our demand as "unreasonable" and in arguing in page advertisements that higher wages meant higher costs and higher prices—suppressing the basic production fact that 50 per cent greater volume will mean lower unit costs—General Motors was, in our view, pleading inability to pay higher wage rates.

On October 19 we began presentation of an economic brief in support of our demand. We addressed ourselves to the question of G. M.'s ability to pay. We invited, urged, and begged the G. M. representatives to discuss our facts, figures, and arguments as presented. They refused. They said, "Go ahead, and when you're all through, we'll make our answer." We read our case to the soles of their shoes perched on the edge of the negotiating table, and to the back of *Liberty*, which they said was "more interesting than the crap you [the union] are giving us."

When our case was all in, on October 26, Harry Anderson, vice-president of G. M., said they would answer us in ten days. That was at five o'clock in the afternoon. Three hours later, on a nation-wide radio network, he gave G. M.'s answer—a flat rejection.

In the course of the so-called negotiations G. M. shifted its ground from inability to pay to a refusal to discuss the corporation's ability to pay. In our view the change was made because G. M. knows that the arithmetic of our case is taken from its own reports and published government sources, is confirmed by facts hidden in the corporation's books, and is incontrovertible. This was made plain when G. M. made its formal answer to our brief on November 7. G. M. offered the union a wage increase of 10 cents an hour—subsequently increased to 13½ cents—hitched to the right later to use the increase in applying to the OPA for higher prices. (When we asked if G. M. would offer even a 1 per cent wage increase without a price increase, the answer was no.) In addition, G. M. renewed its proposal that the union join the corporation in petitioning Congress to amend the wage-hour act to raise the normal work week from forty to forty-five hours.

The U. A. W.-C. I. O. could have settled this wage dispute long ago, without resort to a strike, if the General Motors workers had been willing to join the General Motors management in a double conspiracy—against American consumers clamoring for eighteen million cars, and against millions of returning veterans and laid-off war workers, including more than one hundred thousand former G. M. workers with seniority rights. We could have agreed to take a wage increase and have kept quiet about price increases which, spreading out from automobiles in spiraling inflation, would have taken fifteen cents or more out of one pocket for every dime put in the other in high wages. We could have joined the corporation in ganging up on Congress to legalize a longer normal work week at a time when unemployment of between six and nine million is predicted. We could have drawn down on the head of labor the whole blame for the rising pressures of inflation and its disastrous results. We could have focused on labor the justified resentment of millions of unemployed veterans and laid-off war workers. We could have drunk the cup of pure economic poison which the G. M. management poured out and enticingly set before us on the negotiating table day after day.

Instead, faced with the deliberate, contemptuous, and provocative refusal of G. M. to bargain collectively in good faith by discussing the ability to pay, and having vainly offered to submit the dispute to arbitration, the G. M. workers on November 21 went on strike to obtain the demands presented on August 18. The strike, with an appeal to the opinion and judgment of the American people, was their only remaining economic weapon.

Today, with the strike in its second month, and with the G. M. attitude being copied by other employers across the whole country, General Motors workers and their families are the front-line troops in a home-front war to win the very peace that, only five months ago, it was generally agreed we must have if the war aims of the Four Freedoms were to be more than a sour phrase on the lips of apple-selling veterans of World War II. On G. M. picket lines and in U. A. W.-C. I. O. union halls and soup kitchens in a hundred American towns and cities the eyes of G. M. strikers see the post-war needs of this nation as clearly now as when they were stated before V-J Day by our business and political leaders.

They are exercising the right of free collective bargaining. One of these days the G. M. management will agree to move the bargaining back from the picket lines to the conference room and to write a contract with the U. A. W.-C. I. O. which will maintain the purchasing power of G. M. and other workers, including the farmers and business men from whom those workers in years to come will buy more or less, depending on the wages they receive.

Until that day, the strike of the G. M. workers is the fight of all Americans who want a lasting peace of full production, full consumption, and full employment, year in and year out, spreading beyond the United States, by example, not by conquest, to the rest of this fevered and unhappy world.

The Union for Democratic Action will hold an open meeting to discuss the General Motors-Automobile Workers' dispute at the Hunter College Auditorium in New York on January 15 at 8 p. m. Mr. Reuther will speak.

Stamford Sticks Together

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

Formerly on the editorial staff of The Nation

Stamford, Connecticut, December 3

WHAT the New York press had described in advance as a "general strike" that would "tie up" this city of 65,000 and make it a "ghost town" for an indefinite length of time turned out to be a two-hour parade and rally in front of the Town Hall. It was a demonstration, by some 10,000 members of 56 A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions in Stamford and nearby towns, of solidarity with the 3,000 striking workers of the Yale and Towne lock company's local plant. One union official called it "an extended lunch-hour." As a demonstration it was a great success. There were two lusty brass bands and a kilted bagpiper; half a dozen union leaders made short, fiery pep talks; and the 10,000 cheered and laughed and sang. The atmosphere was more like that of a carnival than of an industrial battle. When I arrived in Stamford at 7:30 this morning men in overalls and leather coats and hunting caps and women in slacks and leather coats and kerchiefs, carrying lunchboxes and thermos bottles, were going to work as usual; the demonstration began at noon; by 2:30 it was all over, and most of the workers went back to their jobs. The movies opened at 3.

The immediate cause of the demonstration was Governor Baldwin's sending state troopers to break up the picket line around the Yale and Towne plant a week ago, but there were two other more fundamental causes. One was a feeling among the workers which was put into words this morning by Donald Martin, chief steward of Lodge 1887, International Association of Machinists, A. F. of L., a brass-cutter at the Schick razor plant here. "The people in little locals like ours," he told me, "know that if Yale and Towne licks the union we're all sunk." The other cause was an intense personal hatred of W. Gibson Carey, Jr., president of Yale and Towne, not only by his employees and labor generally but by everyone I spoke to in Stamford. A business man in a restaurant looked up from his copy of the New York *Daily News*, saw me watching him, smiled, and said, without preliminaries, "Christ, they can do a lot of damage. You know what I mean, like if they cut off the electricity, see? Jeez, I wish they'd get it settled. It don't affect me, but hell, I like to see things settled. You got to admit, though, Carey is a son of a bitch." That last sentiment was echoed in one form and another all day. The chief complaints against Carey seem to be that he has kept other industries out of Stamford and that in the past, when he employed more than 50 per cent of the population, he ran the city as if it were a department of his plant. About half the stores have in their windows signs that read, "We are in the fight with you workers of Yale and Towne."

The state troopers returned today to guard the plant as negotiations were resumed, at Governor Baldwin's behest, between management and Lodges 339 and 1557 of the International Association of Machinists. Connecticut has only 150

troopers; 15 of them were outside the plant this morning, rather shamefacedly watching the half-dozen middle-aged men and women strikers standing around a little charcoal stove at each gate. There was no effort to keep anyone from going into the plant, but the only people inside were a few foremen and superintendents playing cards in their overcoats. They didn't seem to be enjoying themselves very much. They greeted me with glum resentment. It was colder in the plant than outside.

During the recess in the negotiations I went with two shop stewards to the home of one of the striking workers. He has nine children, aged fifteen years to fifteen months, and a tenth is on the way, and he hasn't worked for nine weeks. The union strike-benefit fund pays him \$10 a week, and now and then he gets an odd job and makes a couple of dollars. He has no other income. He is a skilled tool-setter, whose basic pay was \$1.245 an hour. During the war he worked sixty hours a week and earned about \$85, but various deductions cut it down to \$72. Since the war, for a forty-hour week his take-home pay had been \$38.

The negotiations were held in public, in the city courtroom. That was management's idea. Jerome Y. Sturm, attorney for the union, had protested that the presence of an audience would not conduce to candor on either side and would hinder the reaching of a settlement. Having lost this point, however, he made the best of the situation. He made much better of it than Weldon P. Monson, the company's attorney.

The essential points at issue were, as Sturm said, money and union security. The union asked a 30 per cent increase in basic wage rates and a general increase of 17 cents an hour to offset partially the post-war decline in take-home pay; a two-week annual vacation after five years' service; six holidays a year; a closed shop and a maintenance-of-membership clause. Sturm announced a willingness to compromise on all points, but Monson flatly rejected everything but the wage increase. On that he made a counter-proposal: basic wage rates would remain unchanged, but if employees worked forty-five hours a week the company would see that they got a 14 per cent increase in take-home pay. He admitted under persistent questioning that the company couldn't guarantee forty-five or even forty hours a week. Sturm rejected the counter-proposal. "You knew it would be unacceptable," he said. "The company doesn't want to reach an agreement. You're just a stooge. Carey is trying to starve the workers out. He is acting as the spearhead of a group here who think this is a propitious time to break unions."

Monson took up more than half of the morning session with a rambling history of the negotiations since 1940. He looked at Sturm most of the time, but Sturm presented his left profile and looked bored. Everybody was bored. Mayor Charles E. Moore was moved to say to Monson, "You're making a summation. When are you going to start negotiating?"

"You've been intimidated by the union," Monson blandly replied.

"The only people who have tried to intimidate me," shouted the Mayor, "are Yale and Towne, because I wouldn't send police to crack skulls on the picket line. But I've stood right up and said, 'To hell with you!'" There was a roaring cheer, and a few minutes later the first brass band passed beneath the windows.

At the afternoon session Monson was flanked by two company accountants bearing charts which they held up before the audience but which were too small and too faintly drawn to read. They didn't help Monson. Nothing could have saved him from Sturm's magnificent attack. He could not answer Sturm's questions, and his own were so silly that the audience laughed at him almost continuously. He grew red and flustered. It is almost incredible that the legal representative of a large corporation should be so slow on the uptake. Sturm beat his ears off.

Nevertheless, the result was a victory for the company,

for no agreement was reached. It was obvious that that was Monson's purpose. With his arguments all blown up and with a horribly embarrassed expression on his face, he still said "No" to everything. He floundered miserably, smiled sheepishly, and said "No." He seemed not to have been authorized to say anything else.

However, his argument read smoothly enough in this afternoon's *Stamford Advocate*. The direct quotations were excerpts from an advance press release written and handed out by Milton M. Enzer, the company's public-relations man, who is said to make \$300 a week. I don't doubt that he is worth it. He writes well.

An effort to salvage the situation was made by William Gaston, a conciliator of the United States Department of Labor, who announced that he had a compromise plan and would like to discuss it privately with representatives of both sides. "If the company rejects it, it will be because they want to bust the union," he said. The company rejected it.

Philippine Aftermath

BY MILDRED ADAMS

Journalist and critic; until recently head of the Post-War Division of the Columbia Broadcasting System

I. The Menace of Freedom

PAUL McNUTT, who resigned as High Commissioner to the Philippines in 1939, has gone back there. He has returned to a situation several diameters worse than the one he left—and his final report to President Roosevelt revealed plenty of trouble even then. The problems he listed have not been solved in the interim. Instead, they have been vastly complicated by the physical destruction and the social disintegration caused by war and enemy occupation. When he left, he saw ahead a cushion of seven years—in which progress might be made, with American help—before the Filipinos would be left to carry their own burdens. Now he sees only six months.

Just how serious Washington considers the immediate situation can be surmised from the carefully worded analysis introducing President Truman's directives. Reference is made to the agrarian unrest which has been described in previous *Nation* columns:

In the provinces near Manila thousands of share-croppers organized some years ago to demand a more equitable division of the product of their labor. For several years there was no effective solution of the problem. During the war the tenants organized a guerrilla army which reportedly did good work against the enemy. After the enemy was defeated in their localities, they did not disband, and today they constitute a special problem which threatens the stability of government. On the other hand [the President cautions], their legitimate claim to fair treatment and the assistance they rendered in resistance to the enemy require that they not be dealt with in a ruthless manner.

The President wants more speed in the investigation, trial, and punishment of collaborators, for "disloyalty to the Commonwealth is equally disloyalty to the United States." Therefore he informs the Attorney General:

While the mass of the Filipino people and many of their leaders remained staunchly loyal during invasion and rendered invaluable assistance to our arms, it is necessary to admit that many persons served the puppet government sponsored by the enemy. . . . Reports have appeared in the press which indicate that a number of persons who gave aid and comfort to the enemy are now holding important offices in the Commonwealth government. Reports further indicate that the Commonwealth government is only beginning to investigate, charge, and try the offenders. It is essential that this task be completed before the holding of the next Commonwealth general election.

Law-enforcement agencies are seriously disorganized, and the famous Philippine constabulary needs help in reforming its ranks and rebuilding its morale. Emergency American currency is further upsetting the disorganized economy and must be redeemed as soon as possible. The Japanese occupation peso, declared not legal tender at the time we landed on Leyte, continued to be used in certain sections, and many contracts depend on its declining value. (In numerous instances, though President Truman does not say so, this worthless currency was used for land purchases, and agrarian unrest is intensified by the fact that the deeds are now thrown into question.) There is a tremendous relief and rehabilitation problem. Ships are needed, and banking aid, and a regular flow of consumer goods. The chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has been requested "to direct

the United States Commercial Company to use resources and personnel within its jurisdiction to continue and to advance the Philippine program which it has undertaken, and, where necessary, to sell goods on credit terms not exceeding two years in duration."

The program of assistance invokes the aid of the Secretaries of War and the Treasury, the High Commissioner to the Philippines, the Alien Property Custodian, the Attorney General, the Surplus Property Administrator, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, the president of the Export-Import Bank, the Administrator of War Shipping, and the chairman of the RFC. It paints the situation as so grave that it could hardly be straightened out before the islands are scheduled to assume the entire burden of their own support and governing. Yet the only hint it gives that the all-important time element might be stretched is contained in two paragraphs, one addressed to the chairman of the RFC, which is quoted above, and another on the subject of enemy property, which says, "Should these operations extend beyond the date of independence, I shall endeavor to arrange by treaty or otherwise for the completion of the processes of vesting and liquidation."

What "otherwise" might mean is not explained, but it should be noted that the Presidential directives set in motion machinery of a kind and a size that can get under way in six months but cannot conceivably finish its formidable tasks in that short time. What, then, are the probabilities? Will independence be granted on schedule, regardless of the condition of the islands? Or will it be postponed, on request from Washington or Manila, until the American program of assistance has had time to function adequately?

It will be remembered that when war broke out, the High Commissioner was Francis Sayre. Between his resignation in February, 1942, and the appointment of McNutt in the fall of 1945 the Secretary of the Interior watched over the Philippines as best he could in the absence of communications. The executive order accompanying Mr. McNutt's appointment specifically stated that the High Commissioner in the Philippine Islands and the Secretary of the Interior in the United States "shall be responsible for the representation, administration, and coordination of the authority and policies of the United States government in respect to the Philippine Islands."

In the Senate the guardian of Philippine affairs is Millard Tydings, author of the Tydings-MacDuffie act of 1934 and chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs. In the House it is C. Jasper Bell of Missouri. Both these gentlemen are members—Mr. Tydings is chairman—of the Filipino Rehabilitation Commission which was appointed by Congress in the summer of 1944 and, so far as can be ascertained, has been slumbering ever since.

High Commissioner McNutt has not talked about Philippine independence since his new appointment, but he did make speeches when he was High Commissioner in the late 1930's. His general attitude may be guessed by rereading a speech he made in March of 1938 before the Chicago Economic Club, in which he severely criticized certain features of the Tydings-MacDuffie act. In his final report to the President he went even farther.

The uncertainty and artificiality which still feature Philippine economy and finance [he said], together with the admitted impossibility of national defense and the troublesome international situation, are being daily more and more realized by Filipinos and Americans and foreigners resident in the Philippines. Doubt is growing as to the desirability of either economic or political independence. *In view of the growing general realization in the Philippines of the serious economic, financial, and international consequences which may result from independence, it is recommended that both the government of the United States and that of the Commonwealth support and carry through a reexamination of every phase of the question.* (The italics are Mr. McNutt's.)

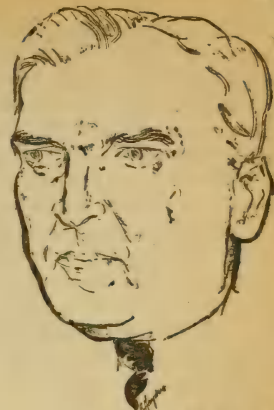
No such reexamination was held. Instead, the "international consequences" arrived ahead of independence. Whether or not Mr. McNutt has changed his mind one does not know, but the logic of events would not so suggest.

Mr. Tydings holds very different views. As author of the act which promised the Filipinos independence in 1946, he has a vested interest in seeing that promise fulfilled. He visited the islands last May as head of a Presidential mission, and his report to Congress painted a dark picture.

It is a picture of centuries of effort, building, and development which have been destroyed and wiped out before the relentless conflict of war. . . . Tens of thousands are without clothing, food, and medicine. . . . It is impossible, except through the limited supply of army goods, to buy any of the necessities of life in the Philippines. . . . Not a bank in the island is open. . . . It will take at least two years, probably three, to even revive the sugar industry. . . . Much machinery was shipped to Japan. . . . The food situation in the Philippines is tragic. . . . Most bridges are destroyed. . . . 15 per cent of all the buildings in the islands have been destroyed.

But this black picture in no way changed his basic stand. In the same report he said firmly, "I look upon independence as a settled issue. . . . The event of Filipino independence on or before July 4, 1946, is as certain as anything can be."

The Senator is not wholly insensitive to the question of how a people so beset by trouble can carry out the obligations of independence. His first idea was that the United States should grant a hundred million dollars for rehabilitation and relief in the Philippines, the spending to be done by us. Since then he has introduced four bills: one provides that war damages shall be paid both by the Japanese and by the American liberators; one would turn over to the Philippine government certain funds which have been accumulated from excise taxes and held in our Treasury; one would transfer certain Japanese properties to the Philippine government;



Drawing by B. Haydon

Paul McNutt

one is a trade-relations act which would raise tariff barriers slowly over a period of twenty years instead of slapping them on the moment independence is granted.

Representative Bell was invited to introduce a similar trade bill in the House. Instead, he came forward with a bill providing for twenty years of free trade between the Philippines and the United States to cushion the shock of economic independence, which is the price of political independence. Obviously, a country which in the last year before the war carried on 80 per cent of its trade with a single nation, as did the Philippine Commonwealth with the United States, cannot endure the sudden imposition of tariff barriers and keep its balance. The offer of twenty years of free trade may prove to be one of the devices which will make it possible for the Filipinos to have independence without immediate starvation.

The physical confusion in Manila has its parallel in the political confusion. Independence is of course a cause to which all parties pay tribute. Sergio Osmeña, the aging and enfeebled friend of the United States who succeeded to the Presidency after Quezon died, spent the war years in the United States and suffers the handicaps of every official who functioned in exile. Among his competitors for power are men who worked with the Japanese and men who worked against them. In the first group are Senate President Manuel Roxas, known before the war as the coming strong man of the

islands—he is staunchly defended as a patriot by many persons, including General MacArthur, but is attacked with equal vigor by the resistance leaders—and Jorge Vargas, head of the Supreme Court. The other group includes Tomas Confesor and Tomas Kabili, who worked with the guerrillas for many years—both men were appointed by Osmeña to his post-liberation Cabinet and turned down by the Philippine Senate—and Alejandro Castro and Louis Taruk, leaders of the Hukbalahap (People's Anti-Japanese Army), who made their influence felt first in the field and then in the capital.

Bit by bit the problem is becoming one of balancing political expediency against economic realism. It is generally believed that independence will have to be granted on schedule for a number of reasons. No Filipino leader has yet risked his political career by advocating its postponement, though there is a rumor that Manuel Roxas favors dominion status for the islands after the form of independence has been granted. No American leader has explained to the satisfaction of Congress just how and why independence for the Filipinos might be thought to have gone sour. No American spokesman in international affairs has figured out a way to explain convincingly to the rest of the world that the magnanimous gesture we so loudly advertise when we reprove other nations for their colonial policies is not opportune at the moment.

[This is the first instalment of an analysis of the Philippine problem by Miss Adams.]

What's Behind the Attack on the Co-ops

BY PAUL GREER

A staff writer on the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

THE success of the Rochdale plan of cooperation, by which savings accumulated by self-service are credited to member patrons, has created a new political issue: Shall the earnings of cooperatives be taxed just like corporate profits? The movement of co-ops into those economic fields where wide margins of profit have tended to reduce consumer purchasing power runs counter to the interests of both native monopolies and international cartels. Private enterprise, therefore, has long been trying to apply a brake to their progress. Now Congress, seeking new sources of federal revenue, is reported to be exploring the possibilities of taxing the co-ops, influenced perhaps by the recent recommendation of a Royal Commission to the Canadian government that cooperatives in the Dominion be subjected to income and excess-profits taxes. According to the *New York Times* of January 2, Congress expects to take up the question soon after it reconvenes next week.

This is no village feud along Main Street. In the petroleum field, for instance, 1,500 cooperative service stations have been established in the United States, and one-fifth of all gasoline and oil used on farms is supplied cooperatively. Behind this service are eleven cooperatively owned refineries, with their own oil wells, pipe lines, river barges, railway tank cars, and trucks. Formation of an international cooperative petroleum association was approved in principle at a meeting

of the International Cooperative Alliance held in London in September of last year. The idea originated with Howard A. Cowden, president of the Consumers' Cooperative Association of Kansas City. With him on a committee to work out details are executives of the Swedish, Scottish, English, and French co-ops. Though the demand for tractor fuel in Europe is bound to increase, few members of the great English and Scottish movements have automobiles, and Cowden has therefore advised the cooperatives to work for lower-priced motor cars, reduced taxes on horse-power, and cheaper gasoline.

In one year co-ops in the United States have increased their business 20 per cent, with savings at the rate of \$200,000,000. This accumulation of savings has been used to establish other instruments of mutual aid. Indiana farmers have bought into a coal mine. Miners at Dillonvale, Ohio, have established their own packing plant, in addition to a chain of stores and a community hall, complete even to a tap room. All kinds of businesses are run cooperatively—saw mills, feed mills, fertilizer works; plants producing everything from cosmetics, fly spray, and paint to milking machines and tractors; canneries, hospitals, undertaking establishments, power plants, insurance mutuals, and even banks.

Instead of selling at cost, consumer co-ops usually charge their members current prices, crediting the overcharge for

annual refund. In Scotland the charge for many items is greater than in stores operated for private profit, and the system of refunds works as a savings bank. In America the overcharges are often placed in a five-year revolving fund, which means that the member reinvests or pyramids his savings for the expansion of services. Thus the movement has pushed out rapidly from distribution into production.

Ultimately consumers pay for every factory and processing plant that supplies them with goods. Only in the case of cooperative enterprises do they obtain title. This fact and the turnover of more than four billion dollars a year attained by cooperatives explain the intensive propaganda campaign being carried on by private enterprise to tax co-op earnings. The opposite view has been expressed by the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, published in a center of cooperative activity. "These cooperatives, their services and the genius of their leaders, will be highly important assets in coping with the peace-time economic problems that lie ahead," an editorial in the *Pioneer Press* said recently. "Public policies affecting these cooperatives should not be shaped by Minneapolis grain traders with private axes to grind. The people of this country, if they have the facts, will not stand for crippling the cooperative movement through the proposed tax device." The indignant response from the president of the National Tax Equality Association, Ben C. McCabe, himself a big grain operator, was chiefly remarkable for its admissions: "The cooperative form of business," it said, "enjoys two inherent advantages over private business, advantages that cannot be taken away by any change of laws. They are customer ownership and the division of profits on the basis of patronage rather than primarily on money invested."

With the avowed object of plugging the tax leak the N. T. E. A. pushed a bill through Congress to compel cooperatives, and labor unions as well, to make annual financial reports to the Treasury Department. The results have not yet been made public; in the meantime cooperative leaders are stressing the vast difference between savings dollars and income dollars, or profits. Their view is that nothing short of an amendment to the Constitution would permit taxation of patronage refunds, which represent simply overcharges. If cooperatives were to adopt the price policy of performing their various services without margin, on a cost basis, there certainly would be no funds to tax.

A discussion of the subject prepared by the American Historical Association for the G. I. Round Table of the United States Armed Forces Institute ran as follows:

The statement is often made that cooperatives do not pay their full share of taxes. What is the situation? . . . Cooperative associations do pay the same property taxes that similar business organizations are required to pay on buildings and plants which they own. But farmers' marketing and purchasing cooperatives that meet conditions prescribed by Congress are exempt from federal income taxes. Moreover, the Bureau of Internal Revenue has permitted cooperatives which are not entitled to exemption as agricultural cooperatives to subtract from their total income the amount they pay out in patronage refunds and to figure their income tax on the remainder. Many states exempt farmers' cooperatives from state income taxes also.

In the case of consumers' cooperatives, the Bureau of Internal Revenue looks upon patronage refunds as rebates

upon the business transacted with members rather than as true income of the association. If a commercial business obligated itself to return its profits to its customers, it could also deduct such refunds in figuring out its taxable income.

The advantage enjoyed by farmer-owned cooperatives over profit business in general, and even over urban consumer cooperatives, derives from Section 101 (12) of the Internal Revenue code. As a form of farm relief this section provides that rural marketing and supply associations are exempt from federal income taxation as long as they pay a fixed and reasonable rate of dividend on their stock, do at least half of their business with members, and in the case of purchasing agencies do at least 85 per cent of their business with farmers as distinguished from town residents. Farm co-ops pay no tax on share capital, on interest declared on it, or on surplus reserve or members' equity reserve. They are able to obtain federal credit at reasonable rates, are not taxed on patronage refunds, and do not even have to buy documentary stamps.

Business men, especially retailers, have been warned by the N. T. E. A. to "keep their eyes open for any attempt to induce Congress to give consumer cooperation special privileges like those of farmer cooperatives." As a matter of fact, non-farmer cooperatives, which are growing very rapidly, have never sought special consideration. They are taxed on share capital and on income and have no standing with the Farm Credit Administration's Banks for Cooperatives. They must put documentary stamps on share certificates, on their transfer, and on certificates of indebtedness and of sales of real estate. Their patronage refunds, however, are not taxed.

In spite of this disparity, the largely urban consumer movement has supported the farm organizations, perhaps feeling that if the outpost should be taken, the whole line might fall. Old-fashioned farm leaders, while welcoming this support, have not been entirely easy over the celerity with which members of labor unions have taken to cooperatives as a means of holding down living expenses.

As things now stand, farm co-ops would lose their tax and loan position if they did not restrict their urban patronage to 15 per cent. Should the N. T. E. A. obtain the repeal of this entire provision, the last trade barrier between farm and town would be removed. American cooperatives might then experience an expansion surpassing the movement in Great Britain or Scandinavia.

In the meantime something is happening to the cooperative theory of political neutrality. (Adherence to this principle in certain parts of occupied Europe led the public to associate some co-ops with collaboration instead of the resistance movement.) In the Labor landslide in England twenty-three candidates wearing the label of the Cooperative Party were elected to Parliament. The present Cabinet includes Alfred Barnes, who has been head of the Cooperative Party for twenty-one years, as Minister of Transport, and A. V. Alexander, a top man in the movement, as First Lord of the Admiralty. In Minnesota Representative Knutson is facing some political opposition caused by his anti-co-op stand, and all over the United States members of cooperatives, in cities as well as on farms, are taking the measure of their representatives in Washington, where the war between monopoly and cooperation will be decided.

The Far North: International Frontier

BY D. M. LEBOURDAIS

A Canadian newspaperman specializing in economic subjects, Mr. Lebourdaïs was correspondent for the North American Newspaper Alliance on an expedition to Wrangell Island. He is the author of "Northward: On the New Frontier."

A WORLD war was fought and millions of lives were blighted or destroyed—chiefly for the possession of land. Yet there is on this continent a region of tremendous future importance which is still virtually undeveloped. Its rocks contain gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, uranium, and many other minerals more valuable than the dream riches of El Dorado. It could produce enough oil to keep all the motor cars in the world running for two hundred years. On its grasslands meat animals can graze the year round. Its arable lands, if put in crop, could feed Europe's starving millions. It is drained by a river system comparable to that of the Mississippi, the Amazon, or the Nile. And in addition it is a bridgehead on the road to Asia.

This fabulous region comprises the Canadian North and Alaska, which are really a geographical unit. Little is known about it, and what most people think they know is usually wrong. They think of it as a frigid wasteland, but it is neither wasteland nor frigid. While a large part of it may not be suited to agriculture, the proportion is no greater than in many countries—Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, for instance—where sturdy peoples have been able to reach a high state of comfort and culture. The winters of course are cold and long, but the amount of summer sunshine is much greater than farther south, and the winter cold is often exaggerated. Many places in the northern states and the settled zone of Canada are quite as cold.

Now that the Canadian North is known to be the most important source of uranium, raw material of the atomic bomb, the whole territory takes on added importance, and its development becomes a matter of high political interest. However, it is quite possible that neither uranium with its destructive potentialities nor radium with its curative qualities will be looked upon as the area's most valuable asset. Its real worth for the whole northern half of the world may lie in the fact that the Mackenzie-Yukon region of Canada and Alaska is a land bridge to Asia. Only in the North do the continents nearly meet. Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska, the westernmost point of North America, is within sight of East Cape, Siberia, the easternmost point of Asia. Nome, Alaska, a short distance south of Cape Prince of Wales, is farther west of Seattle than Seattle is west of New York. It is halfway to China. This is easily seen if one looks at a globe rather than at a map on Mercator's projection.

The airplane has set these northern lands in the center of the world today. All the shortest air routes between important points in America on the one hand and Europe and Asia on the other are over the Far North. And the only possible route for land travel between America and Asia is also found in the North. A tunnel may well be dug under Bering Strait some day; it need not be more than fifty or sixty miles long. Of course before a tunnel could be built,

an agreement would have to be concluded with the Soviet Union, and before a tunnel could be of much value, a railway would have to be built connecting it with the settled portion of North America. The latter would require the co-operation of Canada and the United States.

The present Alaska Highway, built as a war measure, brings motor traffic to within 500 miles of Bering Strait. Parallel to the highway is a line of airfields over which planes were flown to the Soviet Union during the war. In a sense, therefore, it may be said that this peninsula stretching out to the Northwest is already the highway to Asia.

But although the Alaska Highway and the parallel line of airfields are already well established, the most suitable route for air, land, and water traffic is through the Mackenzie and Yukon valleys. The Mackenzie and Yukon together provide an almost continuous water route—it is interrupted by but one short, low-altitude stretch of land—from the present end of steel in northern Alberta to Bering Sea. The Mackenzie, including its tributaries and lake system, is 2,514 miles long. About 300 miles from where it flows into the Arctic Ocean, separated from it by low passes, a tributary of the Yukon begins and flows in a generally westerly direction to Bering Sea. The route chosen for the Alaska Highway, through tortuous canyons and over high mountains only a few miles west of the easy-grade Mackenzie-Yukon route, was a costly error which can scarcely be justified even by military necessity. Now that the highway has been built, it may help in the development of the adjacent country, but if the opening of the North is to proceed as it should, the use of the Mackenzie-Yukon water route must not be long delayed. After the initial error was made it was necessary to lay a pipe line across mountain ranges to provide oil for trucks and planes on the way to Alaska and Siberia. If highway and airfields had been built down the Mackenzie and Yukon in the first place, the oil would have been exactly where it was needed; and the \$134,000,000 Canol project would have been unnecessary.

Modern civilization is built on transport, minerals, and power resources—in addition, of course, to food. The northern two-thirds of Canada east of the Rockies, known as the Canadian Shield, is one of the world's richest mineral storehouses. At Yellowknife on Great Slave Lake, 700 miles from the nearest large center, a gold camp is mushrooming in typical gold-rush fashion. Some of the largest mining companies on the continent have been unobtrusively drilling and developing there since before the war, with spectacular results. Farther north, on Great Bear Lake near the Arctic Circle, are the world's greatest deposits of radium- and uranium-bearing ore. The Canadian government has already taken control of these deposits for the public benefit.

Although gold is found in large or small quantities almost

everywhere in Alaska, it is not so important to the Alaskan economy as fish or timber; and it would not be surprising if some day coal and copper proved more valuable—to say nothing of petroleum. Northern Alaska and the Mackenzie valley—with Siberia on the opposite side of the Arctic—constitute one of the world's outstanding oil-concentration areas. Because so little drilling has as yet been done, geologists are not able to say what place among the world's four greatest oil regions the Arctic will take, but they are certain that it is among the first four. A tract of 30,000 square miles has been set aside in Alaska for the exclusive use of the United States Navy, but so far nothing has been done to develop it.

How are these northern lands fixed for food? Taking the whole region into consideration, one may say that it can provide much more food than it will ever require for its people, no matter how populous it may become. It is potentially one of the world's greatest meat-producing areas. The grasslands of northern Canada and Alaska are exceeded in extent only by the steppes of Siberia. If a Texas or Alberta cattleman were to be transported magically to the Far North and to awaken on the Arctic tundra in midsummer, he would go mad with joy, for he would see grass such as he had never dreamed of. There would be a catch, however: the grass would be useless for cattle since cattle must be housed and fed in winter, and this would be too expensive. But these grasslands already support such grazing meat animals as the caribou and the musk ox, for which no one needs to cut hay or build barns.

After the Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867, the most pressing problem facing the Canadians was the settlement of the West. It was solved by the offer of free land, which attracted settlers from every country in Europe as well as from the older parts of the United States. The opening up of the North is a very different matter. Sporadic individual efforts would surely fail. So far as Alaska and that section of Canada which is part of the natural bridgehead are concerned, it should be undertaken as an international project. We should forget the boundary line and put the whole region in the hands of a joint commission having full power to proceed.

Surely with the disastrous consequences of economic imperialism in evidence all over the world, it should be possible for us to evolve a plan by which the vast wealth of this favored region might be conserved for the common good. The need for uranium control should point the way; the wasteful manner in which oil resources everywhere have been exploited should furnish an additional incentive. When it was a matter of dislodging the Japanese from the Aleutians, no question of national sovereignty was allowed to stand in the way of the United States building the Alaska Highway through Canadian territory. And when oil was needed for trucks and planes bound for Alaska and beyond, the United States government did not hesitate to drill wells in Canada or to pipe oil from one point in Canada to another. Now that the war is over, the two countries should not withdraw behind their own borders and cut cooperation to a minimum. The wealth of the North could justly form the nucleus of a peace-time Lend-Lease. A further and yet more courageous experiment in international collaboration should be inaugurated.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



Human Needs and Human Nature

I HAVE been shopping with a friend just discharged from the army. He needed to stock up on shirts, socks, ties, gloves, and so forth, but he wasn't able to make much headway. In fact, the net result of our expedition was that I returned with one shirt—the store had a few in my size but none in his—while he was empty-handed! It wasn't because he was unduly choosy but because there was very little to choose from without going into the fancy price ranges. There were plenty of swagger sports shirts at \$6 and upward but nothing suitable for a G. I. who wanted to get back to work as soon as possible and meanwhile had to make his muster-out pay stretch a long way.

Millions of veterans have been sharing this experience, and of course every housewife knows what a headache shopping has become. The Christmas season was a fine time for the stores; they did a record business and were able to unload most of their stocks of *Ersatz*, with great benefit to their balance sheets, for the customers were in a buying mood and if they couldn't get what they wanted took expensive or sleazy substitutes. But in spite of their open-handedness the customers were not satisfied; so far as their relations with the retailers were concerned it tended to be a season of ill-will.

What is the reason for the current shortage of goods, and how can it be overcome? How are we to get a volume of production which will match the tremendous pent-up buying power that is now manifest? The answer of the National Manufacturers' Association is simple: Release all controls, abolish all price ceilings, and give business its head. Free the boys from red tape, offer them the incentive of increased profits, and production will roll forward in a mighty flood.

Well, Congress recently added very considerably to business incentives by ending the excess-profits tax, and the result seems to have been to dam the flood rather than add to the flow. The knowledge that business transacted after January 1 would not be subject to this levy appears to have induced a great many firms to hold back either on production or sales during the last two months. This fact has, of course, been indignantly denied, but there is a good deal of evidence to support it. As early as November 13 Raymond Moley reported in the *Wall Street Journal* complaints "that something very like a strike is going on among the manufacturers of cotton goods." This did not appear at all remarkable to Mr. Moley, who pointed out that it was "only human" for a manufacturer in the excess-profits bracket to defer sales he could be sure of making after the beginning of the new year.

The *United States News*, a very conservative periodical, has been equally frank. In its December 14 issue it declared that "tax-law changes have been a factor" in the lag in production. "Some kinds of goods," it added, "should begin to come to market early in 1946, when taxes will take 38 per

cent, not 80 per cent, of profits for many producers and distributors. *It has paid to board*" (my italics).

Shortages in the textile field have been particularly severe, and it is worth noting that the textile industry is one of the chief beneficiaries of tax relief. As the following table shows, textile manufacturers have been making excess-profits payments equal to two to five times their final net profits, which, nevertheless, have represented a handsome return on capital.

	1944 Excess- Profits Tax	1944 Net Profit
American Woolen Co.	\$25,540,000	\$5,294,909
Arlington Mills	2,119,000	596,832
Merrimack Mfg. Co.	832,000	244,861
Pacific Mills	7,850,000	1,871,609
West Point Mfg. Co.*	3,352,500	1,714,273

* Year ended Aug. 31, 1944.

If costs, prices, and volume of business remain the same in 1946, earnings would be equal to the sum of these two columns. Of course there will be some changes in these factors, but they may tend to cancel out. For instance, wages will almost certainly go up if only to attract enough labor to keep up with demand. But with additional labor a larger volume should be possible. As to textile prices, there is not the slightest probability that they will be reduced this year. For while it is true that in a sellers' market corporation taxes are to a large extent passed on to consumers, a reduction in taxes does not mean cheaper goods as long as supply is unequal to demand. Consequently, for many industries, including textiles, abolition of the excess-profits tax means a tremendous windfall that ought to end all the clamor about profits being insufficient to induce production.

Nevertheless, I expect that clamor to continue, since it is also true that under present price controls business is being prevented from charging all that the traffic will bear, and nothing less will satisfy it. But it doesn't follow that if the OPA were ended and the free market reestablished goods would suddenly become plentiful. For the sharp upward movement of prices which would certainly follow would encourage hoarding in anticipation of further increases. Manufacturers would scramble to build up their inventories of materials, wholesalers to fill their warehouses, retailers to stock their shelves, while the panic-stricken consumer, who in a race like this always gets the worst of it, would buy whatever he could lay hands on. Yet the *Wall Street Journal* in a recent editorial declared that there was absolutely no need for an OPA to protect consumers since consumers could always protect themselves by ceasing to buy. So they can, in theory, but it is a theory much more comforting to a financial editor with a well-furnished apartment and an amply stocked clothes closet than to a veteran seeking to establish a home. His demands are not postponable, and for him inflation means the rapid exhaustion of his savings.

Henry Hazlitt, another champion of the free-market cure for scarcity, writing in the *New York Times* on December 17, complained that price controls prevented "trustworthy comparisons of relative shortages" and thus were an obstacle to the concentration of productive facilities at "the points where they were most needed." For example, he asserted, no more effective way of preventing a building boom could be devised than setting price ceilings on new houses. Mr. Hazlitt's underlying assumption is that need

can be measured by ability to pay. But we know that in housing the greatest need is for low-priced dwellings and that in a free market building facilities would inevitably be concentrated on the production of high-priced houses and business structures. Nor is it at all certain that a boom would occur. After the last war, controls were abandoned within a few weeks of the Armistice, but the Federal Reserve Board index of residential construction (1923-25 equals 100) stood at 44 for the year 1919 and at only 30 for 1920.

Comparisons with World War I are also illuminating in regard to other forms of production. Then controls were much milder, and prices rose faster and higher. Prices of industrial goods, for instance, increased 88 per cent, while production advanced only 20 per cent. During World War II industrial prices were held down to a 21 per cent increase, but despite this discouragement to enterprise, production jumped by 116 per cent. On the basis of these facts it cannot be claimed that there is any direct correlation between a free market and the level of production.

It cannot be claimed, either, that a tight rein on prices in the past four years has unduly restricted profits and left business financially weakened. On the contrary, most corporations have reported much higher earnings, after taxes, throughout the war, and now find themselves in a very healthy position, with ample reserves for reconversion and expansion. For if they have not enjoyed the speculative bonanzas which World War I brought to many businesses, they have reaped a harvest through their huge increase in volume.

In this first crucial post-war year it is vital that business should be encouraged to seek prosperity through maintenance of volume rather than through the increased profit margins which would result from the cancellation of price controls. More than that, business ought to be encouraged to think in terms of a stable price level and strongly discouraged from holding back production or building up stocks in the hope of making a speculative killing.

That is one reason why the extension of the OPA beyond next June 30 should be considered by Congress, not in the late spring, but immediately it reconvenes this month. If manufacturers and merchants are given any cause to hope that price controls will be abandoned after mid-summer, they will inevitably tend to hold goods for a higher price. As Mr. Moley says, it is only "human nature" that they should do so. No smart free enterpriser worth his salt will sell today for \$100 something he may reasonably expect to get \$125 for in a month or two, unless he is hard pressed for cash.

If, therefore, we are to avoid hoarding and stimulate production, business should be given early notice that the price line will be held for at least another year. This does not mean that there should be no adjustments in price; in certain cases they will be needed to induce the investment of new capital, in others to make possible higher wages. But by and large industry, fatly cushioned by the repeal of the excess-profits tax, can make handsome profits at current prices provided it maintains production schedules. Let Congress, then, adopt policies which will end the chase after speculative profits and set off business in a steady pursuit of volume.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

OF COURSE it would have been more fun for the little Doctor to write a German Charter for the World, but when Allied victory made that impossible, he doubtless drew a certain satisfaction from composing a charter for the post-war fascists. Throughout Hitler's political testament the personal style of Dr. Goebbels—insolent, vindictive, fanatical—is unmistakable. A commentator with a sense of humor is inevitably tempted to make political satire out of the document disclosed by the Allies on December 30. But I remember the Théâtre des Dix Heures in Paris where French chansonniers used to delight the audience with jokes about "Mein Kampf"—and while Paris laughed, Hitler armed. So I shall take his testament for what it is: the arrogant claim of a man who, though beaten, is confident he leaves behind a movement that will survive.

Hitler was not a fool in assuming the possibility of a fascist revival. Indeed, no revival is necessary, for fascism has weathered the storm; it has injected even into the blood of the victors a poison that is sapping their strength. The record of the FBI in the field of military counter-intelligence is magnificent, but in combating political espionage its performance is rather less brilliant than the sample provided in "The House on 92nd Street." No more than a fortnight ago a certain Demetrio Carceller checked into the Savoy-Plaza Hotel in New York; when he signed the register he should have added: "Franco agent; former Minister of Industry and Commerce of the Spanish fascist regime." Demetrio Carceller, one of the ablest Phalangists, can come and go freely in the United States while José Rodríguez Vega, Republican exile and general secretary of the Spanish U. G. T. (General Workers' Union), was refused an American transit visa from Mexico to Paris—on the wholly unfounded charge that he was a Communist.

Through Hitler's mind, as he dictated his testament during the forty-eight hours before his death—if he is really dead—must have passed a panorama of the six years before 1939, when he had only to bluster and threaten to win concessions from the terrified democracies. Chamberlain is dead and Daladier is politically also dead, but many appeasers still occupy responsible posts in government, business, the church hierarchy, and the diplomatic corps of the United Nations. Interpreting the nationalization laws as the hand-writing on the wall for capitalism in Europe, they already begin to long for a new Führer. In Italy they have found a willing candidate in the person of Guglielmo Giannini, founder of the *Uomo Qualunque* front. This swashbuckling, gun-toting clown speaks a language which Italians have heard before: what Italy needs is a government of experts—the politicians and the parties must go.

Remembering things past, Hitler may have lingered pleasantly over the thought of the democracies' excessive zeal in safeguarding freedom. Even now in the special hell to which he has been consigned he must be smiling at the spectacle of an Oswald Mosley again in command of his pre-war fascist

organization, while a British Labor government, as if oblivious of the thousands of young Britons who died fighting Mosley's allies, proclaims that it will never use "totalitarian methods" to suppress him. There would be less danger of totalitarian methods being one day employed in Britain if Sir Oswald and his beautiful wife joined the Nazi labor battalions rebuilding the devastated cities of Europe.

Of course the question will be raised: What about the countries occupied or influenced by Russia? Let me say plainly that an old fascist holding public office in Rumania is as obnoxious to me as one in office in Italy. And when the Italian Communists supported Badoglio and appeared to attach little importance to the demand for the abdication of King Victor Emanuel, I condemned their stand strongly in a *Nation* article. But while the use of isolated fascists by the Russians may have an immediate demoralizing and confusing effect, it is a very different matter from the use of fascists by the Western powers. The Russians are single-minded in their determination to liquidate fascism as a system and a movement; and this purpose will not be altered even if they employ fifty fascists to carry out one of those political maneuvers to which Communists in recent years have become so addicted. Nobody can seriously believe that Russia, after what it has suffered and accomplished, is going to permit any fascist regime to return to power in Europe. Unfortunately the same cannot be said with equal assurance of the West. When British or Americans use fascists in their zones of occupation or encourage reactionaries in office, one cannot write it off as a mistaken but temporary expedient, for nothing has happened to convince us that the democracies have learned—even yet—that fascism must be rooted out completely and everywhere.

Having ended the war without winning a clear political victory, the Western Allies are now confronted with some unfinished business which must be wound up quickly if Hitler's testament is not to be put into effect by his disciples in every part of the world. We "premature anti-fascists," who were the objects of such unfriendly attention from the intelligence services of all the democratic countries, will continue our role of gadfly until the destruction of fascism renders the very word "anti-fascist" obsolete. As a start we suggest that the Assembly of the UNO which meets in London this month undo the damage done when Argentina was admitted to membership in the United Nations. The Assembly should immediately serve notice on Argentina that, having failed in the obligations agreed upon at Chapultepec and San Francisco, it will be suspended until a clearly democratic government takes power. Following that the Assembly should carry to its logical conclusion the San Francisco resolution on Spain, asking all the member states to end diplomatic relations with the Franco regime. And, above all, it should proclaim the principle of collective sanctions against any country that chooses fascism as its form of government.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE SICK CITY AND THE FAMILY ROMANCE

BY DELMORE SCHWARTZ

THE books of Abram Kardiner* are based upon the concept of "basic personality" and upon a union of the disciplines of psychoanalysis, sociology, and anthropology. Basic personality is a technical term far from equivalent in meaning to the popular sense of personality, or to such colorful personalities as John Barrymore and Alexander Woollcott. The recent biographies—or, more exactly, disguised jokebooks—by Gene Fowler and Samuel Hopkins Adams which deal with these gifted, unhappy, and wasted human beings do touch, however, upon Kardiner's important researches. The reader of Kardiner will be able to rescue from the two grab bags a few significant facts—the fact that Barrymore was afraid he would go insane, like his father, and that Woollcott detested his father, adored his mother, and as a child was dressed as a girl. Fowler refers in passing to "the neo-Freudians," and Adams mentions intimate psychological matters, but both books might have been written forty or one hundred years ago, for all the use they make of insights which should by now be familiar to the biographical author. The distance which separates Fowler and Adams from Kardiner is significant because Barrymore and Woollcott were human beings whose lives represent and illuminate life in America. Moreover, one of the limitations of Kardiner's studies is the singling out of a small rural community in the Middle West as typical of America. Kardiner has some methodological justification for taking a backward community as representative of our culture, but one cannot help speculating repeatedly on whether a big city or an academic community might not have been more fruitful. The question becomes all the more pressing when Kardiner analyzes the characters of four human beings in Plainville, the pseudonymous name of his rural community. For it seems likely enough that celebrated and gifted beings such as Barrymore and Woollcott might have yielded richer and more illuminating results. In reading about Plainville, one also remembers such a work about rural people as James Agee's "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men." The anthropologist's picture has the same relation to Agee's as photographs of the moon's craters have to an actual sight of the moon. No doubt one must keep both purviews in mind if one is interested in the truth, but in this instance it is clear that the poet has come closer to intimate knowledge than the scientist.

The concept of basic personality begins with the premise that human nature is not the same the world over but that each society develops a basic personality or character structure which distinguishes it from other societies. Thus

a Wall Street broker and a Dutch fisherman, different as they are, resemble each other in character structure much more than they resemble an Eskimo. Their resemblance and their fundamental sameness is produced by the institutions of Western culture. A great deal of variety—an infinite variety, says Kardiner—is possible within the framework of basic personality: the same society gave being at about the same time to Horatio Alger and Henry James, and the same family included Henry James, William James, Alice James, and the two now forgotten brothers. Yet if we compare any of these human beings to Fantan, a fascinating character who belongs to a primitive people named the Alorese and is continually on the verge of divorcing his wife, the Western human beings show a likeness as obvious as red hair, and their difference from Fantan is not at all like their difference from each other.

This profound difference Kardiner attempts to explain by a detailed comparison of Western culture with four primitive societies. As a psychoanalyst Kardiner is predisposed to emphasize the institution of the family and the child's relationship to his parents. Yet one of his great virtues is his effort to connect the family relationships with the economic system and other institutions of any society, institutions which most analysts tend to regard either as derived from the family life or as not really crucial in determining the fate and the character of the individual. Freud, for example, makes much of the fact that one of his patients, after being cured in 1914, lived through the World War and the Russian Revolution without breaking down under the strain of the social crisis. Kardiner shows, however, how just such social crises can "mobilize" the latent neuroticism of a human being. It is, at any rate, the institutions peculiar to a given society, the chief of which is the parental care of the child, which bring into being the fundamental structure of character of all the human beings of that society. Thus among the Alorese, who inhabit an island in the East Indies, the mother is the breadwinner. She works all day in the rice fields which are the economic basis of this people, and consequently she does not take care of her child as a Western mother does. The effect of this economic role of the mother upon the child is extraordinary. Maternal neglect of the child creates an adult human being who is full of anxiety, mistrust, and emotional instability; and who is without constructive ability, an interest in the outer world, or executive capacities. The Alorese men resent the women and suffer from a repressed longing for tenderness and affection. The women in turn suffer from a resentment of work, an aggressiveness toward the male, and a repressed longing for the maternal role. This example ought to illustrate the

* "The Individual and His Society." Columbia University Press (1939), \$5. "The Psychological Frontiers of Society." By Abram Kardiner, with the Collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora Du Bois, and James West. Columbia University Press (1945), \$5.

intimate connections between the economic order, the family life, and the development of individual character.

Our own society, by making as much as possible of maternal care, brings into being the Oedipus complex, which Freud, with his genius for phrases, entitled "the family romance" and which Mr. Fowler might describe as "boy meets mother." To most human beings the idea that the Oedipus complex, the sexual feelings an infant has toward his mother and his hatred of his father as a rival, is crucial in the formation of the character of all Western beings will seem like a strange, silly, and doubtless repugnant conception, although in America Mothers' Day is the national celebration of the Oedipus complex. Repugnant or not, Kardiner demonstrates how, in Plainville, U. S. A., as in Western society since the Pharaohs, good maternal care brings about strong attachment to the mother, the tendency to idealize the parent and thus authority in general, the strong "development of curiosity and executive capacities," and all the other traits of character which have made Western man active, self-reliant, and ambitious. But precisely this attachment to the mother, involved as it is with a repressed hatred of the father, brings about also the tendency toward extreme aggressiveness, competitiveness, and hostility, the consequence of which is the systematic anxiety and insecurity which also have always characterized Western society. The child's sense of rivalry with his father soon becomes a competition with his brothers and sisters, and as an adult human being he feels that all men are enemies at the same time as he seeks to believe that all men are brothers. So, too, the child's idealization of his mother creates extraordinary inhibitions of sexual desire. Consequently as an adult human being he suffers from an overwhelming sense of shame and guilt about the act of making love, one of the results being a tendency to take success and social esteem as a substitute. But "there is no substitute for sexual gratification," and the emphasis upon success as a means of winning the esteem of the loved parent is already overwhelming for other reasons. Hence the adult Western man is weakened by tensions, conflicts, and anxieties which often become unbearable. Guilt, depression, and suicide prevail in Western culture—Western religions, for example, may be regarded as techniques for the forgiveness of guilt—while among the Aloreses guilt, depression, and suicide do not exist at all.

The rise of science, the discrediting of religion, and the abiding triumph of capitalism have focused the basic personality of Western man upon one goal, success, the only proof of which is the endless acquisition of money: the chief ideal of Western culture is the possession of one million dollars. In discussing this edifying ideal Kardiner attempts to show how social and economic changes are effective only in so far as they draw upon traits of character determined by parental discipline. Parental discipline does not create social change, but it provides the psychological forces within the human being necessary to accomplish the change. Thus the rise of capitalism drew upon the denial or postponement of pleasure which is part of the training of the Western infant, and which was transformed into thrift, industry, obedience, and the other traits necessary to the growth of capitalism. But this kind of training, as it emphasizes striving for self-esteem and success, releases at

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of The Nation's

Special Class Room Rate—

25¢

Monthly per Student

for orders of ten or more copies to be sent to one address — Desk copy is supplied free.

ADDRESS YOUR ORDER TO

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.

The New Statesman and Nation

England's Leading Weekly Review

may now be obtained through

THE *Nation*

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

Yearly subscription

\$6.50 including postage

SPECIMEN copy on request

WHY has the Catholic Church

Supported

Mussolini
Hitler
Tiso
Franco
Salazar
Peron

?

Why did the Catholic church support Roosevelt's domestic policies and oppose his foreign policy?

Why is the Catholic church anti-Capitalist as well as anti-Communist?

What kind of a political, social and economic system is the Catholic church attempting to bring about?

How has this affected your life and how may it affect the lives of your children?

READ:

"The True Nature of Roman Catholicism"

by L. H. Lehmann

An important series of articles describing aspects of the Catholic church never before revealed.

Beginning in the January issue of

THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC MAGAZINE

Edited by former Catholic priests

Subscription only \$1.00 a year (10 issues)

Sample copy 15¢

A limited number of January copies are being reserved for readers of The Nation. To make sure of getting your January copy include Dept. number in the address as follows, or return this ad.

Agora Publishing Company, Dept. I-T-51

229 WEST 48TH STREET

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Anna Louise Strong

I saw the NEW POLAND



Here is the first eye-witness account of the shape of things inside Poland as the Lublin government took over.

At all bookstores ■ \$2.50

An Atlantic Monthly Press Book



LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY

the same time the extraordinary aggressiveness which takes so many cruel forms. Aggressiveness turned inward results in masochism, feelings of inferiority, passivity, and other kinds of weakness. Turned outward, the result is sadism, extreme rivalry, envy, and conflict, the social climax being war. Competitiveness, which motivates the entire psychological formation, is not in itself evil, since it may create a strong and self-reliant human being; but in a scarcity economy such as ours the combination of the social system with a basic personality focused on competition for success overburdens the lives of most human beings with tensions and insecurities for which there is no relief and for which only one term is adequate—lifelong neuroticism.

It should be remarked that as a psychoanalyst Kardiner is involved in the revision of Freud initiated by Erich Fromm and Karen Horney, a revision in which the human being's need of support and security is as much a primary motive as sexual desire. Indeed, Kardiner describes the Oedipus complex itself in terms of the infant's desire for maternal care as well as sexual gratification. The correctness of this criticism of Freudian method cannot be determined by argument, of which there is no lack, but only by actual clinical practice. This suggests that many of us may have been born too soon to know what the whole truth is. But at any rate to a layman Kardiner's explication of his departure from Freud is remarkable for clarity of statement, absence of polemic, and scrupulous effort to account for the view which Freud himself wrongly adopted.

This necessity of justifying the revision of a scientific method is but one of the causes for the difficulty and abstruseness of Kardiner's prose. Indeed, the abstruseness of the terminology may very well conceal the fact that these books seek out the very depths of our lives. The reader can be forgiven for not recognizing a phrase like "the social discomforts of our time" as a description of wars, depressions, and the unhappiness of most human beings. It is a fact, however, that few books have attempted as these books do to examine the assumptions, habits, and institutions of our lives.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I WONDER how many people in this great age of technology are sometimes oppressed, as I am, by the feeling that we live in a kind of vast prison with invisible walls, from which we catch glimpses once in a while, as out of a high small window, of the life we should be having, considering how short our sojourn on this earth must be? It is a self-made prison; who's to stop us from spending at least one-third of our time "outside"—looking at wonderful pictures, walking in the moonlight, watching a garden grow and wither and grow again, talking good talk, writing a paragraph for the sheer pleasure of it, or whatever it is that seems to each of us to constitute the good life? Yet how often do we do any of these things? Or do them as if they were not, like all our other activities, things we *ought* to be doing?

Some people, a very few, do manage to live "outside" or to get there and bring us back reports. The wonderful thing about Dylan Thomas's poem, "Fern Hill," which I printed some weeks ago was the sense it gave me of having been released, turned loose in a sunny meadow "painted with flowers," and the further sense that this was the "real" world. In a different, much less dramatic way, one gets a similar feeling from "All Trivia" by Logan Pearsall Smith (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.50).

It takes courage to name a small book "All Trivia" and send it out into a world of vast events, significant works in two volumes, best-sellers half a foot thick, and titles that scream each other down. But I suspect that Mr. Smith's unpretentious little volume, in which he has gathered together "Trivia" and "More Trivia" and added Afterthoughts and Last Words, will outsit most of its contemporaries on the shelf of books one keeps. As most people know, Mr. Smith's Trivia are comments, brief and very brief, on everything under the sun. And he has distilled the experience and thought of a long and sentient life into drops of prose as limpid and pure as you are likely to find.

Mr. Smith admittedly takes great care with his words, sentences, paragraphs. But if I'm any judge he also gets a direct simple pleasure out of the actual writing that is not as common as non-writers may think—the same sort of pleasure those old cabinet-makers must have got out of turning a chair or a table. And this joy of his is embodied in the product, just as the joy of the craftsman, or so I've always felt, is embodied in the chair or table—and almost as palpable as the seasoned silky wood or the good design.

There is no "fine writing" in "All Trivia." Mr. Smith's taste and his nice sense of the ridiculous save him from that just as they save him from whimsicality—even though he writes as often as not of subjects that would betray more assuming writers. He is disillusioned and sophisticated, sardonic and irreverent. But he can still become lost in wonder at the thought of the universe, and his book has a sweetness and equability of temper in itself as refreshing as spring water fresh from the "outside."

I WENT TO SEE the first production of the Readers' Theater, which is putting on a series of dramatic works of the past. "In order to avoid the great technical and financial responsibilities that full production entails" the plays are being presented without scenery or costumes, and the parts are read from scripts, but by professional actors. The project is sponsored by two committees, one of people connected with the theater and one of critics and writers; the theatrical unions have made concessions and Lee Schubert is providing a theater for the first three productions. James Light, Joel Schenker, and Henry G. Alsberg are in charge of operations.

The first play to be given was Sophocles's "Oedipus Rex" in a version by William Butler Yeats. The second will be Calderón's "The Mayor of Zalamea" (on January 13), the third John Ford's "'Tis Pity She's a Whore."

"Oedipus Rex" (Majestic Theater) got unfavorable critical notices but I enjoyed it—and the audience seemed to me surprisingly enthusiastic. Eugene O'Neill, Jr.'s introduction was too long drawn out and its cosy tone a bit out of line with Sophocles and Yeats. Of the players, Frederic

Have You Read—
"CHINESE
PUBLIC
OPINION"?

ARE YOU SATISFIED with just reading official statements by Chinese leaders such as the Generalissimo, or do you want to read the opinions of the common people, the really important elements in Chinese national life—opinions which serve, when soundly interpreted, as a true barometer of coming events.

CHINESE PUBLIC OPINION, a weekly newsletter, accurate in its facts and suggestive as to developments in China, takes no sides, "sells" no goods, and represents no "interests," but stays right on the job of giving you each week a clear, concise appraisal of developments in China.

You can now subscribe to CHINESE PUBLIC OPINION for the next 26 weeks at the special rate of only \$5. If you are not satisfied after reading the first issue, we shall be glad to refund your money. Just fill out the convenient subscription form below, and mail it to us with your remittance.

Use This Convenient Order Form

CHINESE PUBLIC OPINION
National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

I enclose \$5 for a 26 weeks' subscription to your weekly newsletter CHINESE PUBLIC OPINION, with the condition that if I am not satisfied after reading your first issue I shall be entitled to a full refund.

Name
Street
City Zone.... State.....

Tozere as Oepidus was the least satisfactory, Harry Irvine as Tiresias the most convincing, but in general the plainclothes cast was adequate and the text itself is so fine, the play so powerful, that once it was set in motion the lack of props and the reading from scripts didn't much matter.

I came away brooding, once more, on the really scandalous fact that there are no repertory theaters in this country. Everyone would consider it intolerable and absurd if only contemporary poetry and fiction, music and art were available. Yet in the theater we are almost entirely limited to contemporary plays. To be sure, the great and not so great dramatists of the past are accessible as literature; they ought also to be accessible in the form in which they were meant to be presented.

There should, of course, be a repertory theater in every city, supported if necessary by government funds. After all, federal and state funds are used to train physicians, lawyers, musicians, and journalists and to maintain libraries for their use. Why not repertory theaters which would provide experience and training for professional workers in the theater? They would certainly improve the quality of acting; they might improve the quality of plays by setting good examples. And it is hard to see how such a project could hurt private theater interests. On the contrary it would probably increase the public demand for "legitimate" plays, and a string of repertory theaters purveying adult works might create a healthy backfire against radio drama and the movies, which, whatever their technical proficiency, are deliberately geared to a middling if not lower level of intelligence and taste—

Henry Miller

has written a book about the USA. Like every-

thing this extraordinary author does it is dis-

turbing and revelatory and prophetic. It's called

Air-Conditioned
Nightmare

This book will infuriate people who think

"the American way" is now perfect. It will

give Americans who want to make our spir-

itual standard of living as high as our ma-

terial one plenty to think about. \$3.50.

New Directions, 500 5th Ave., N. Y. C.,

also publish Miller's "Sunday After the War",

"Cosmological Eye", "Colossus of Maroussi",

and "Wisdom of the Heart" (\$3 each)

New Directions

and completely dominated by a stupid and stupefying code of "inoffensiveness" which professes to reflect the mores of the country but is in reality at least twenty years out of date.

A COMMITTEE of the Association of Research Libraries, whose chairman is William Warner Bishop, Librarian Emeritus of the General Library of the University of Michigan, is issuing a "photo-lithoprint reprint" of the "Catalogue of Printed Books of the British Museum." A new edition now being issued by the museum itself will not be completed for years. Meantime the paper in the original edition is disintegrating under use. The reprint is to be financed by subscriptions, and the final price will depend upon the number of subscriptions received. They may be sent to Paul North Rice, executive secretary of the Association of Research Libraries, at the New York Public Library or to Mr. Bishop or to the publisher, J. W. Edwards, at Ann Arbor.

Librarians and scholars will no doubt be delighted to hear this news since, as Mr. Bishop says, the "Catalogue" is an indispensable book for all literary, historical, and scientific research. I am happy to pass the news along, if only because it is reassuring to find anyone taking peace and international cooperation so much for granted.

WE WERE TALKING about superstition in a condescending way. But when a dissident demurred we agreed that superstitions have often had a base, far back, in some experience of the race. "Truth," mused the dissident, "usually begins as heresy and ends as superstition." "And yet," he continued after a self-searching pause during which he might have been passing under review his own long life as a fancier of truth, "truth is still worth looking for. It's interesting." One could wish it were fashionable as well.

Canada and the United States

NORTH ATLANTIC TRIANGLE. By John Bartlett Brebner. Yale University Press. \$4.

MEMBERS of Congress should be required to read this book. So should members of Parliament in Canada and Great Britain. Because misunderstandings between nations—and it has been particularly true of the three in question—arise all too often from bad teaching of history and bad reading of history. "North Atlantic Triangle" is a notable example of interpreting history from a point of view that is neither nationalistic nor yet aloofly internationalist. It is, in fact, the retelling of the common history of three great democracies whose pasts have been molded by mutual interests and by fierce antagonisms and whose destinies from the beginning to the present day have been inextricably bound together. I don't know why I have emphasized the *must* nature of this book. Any member of Congress or of Parliament who can read will find "North Atlantic Triangle" an exciting adventure in historical exploration.

The title is a little misleading: its full meaning does not become evident until the final chapters. The book is the concluding work in the distinguished Carnegie Endowment series: "The Relation of Canada and the United States." Chiefly the book is concerned with the conquest and settle-

ment of a continent, with the emergence of a North American economy and a North American culture, with the political preferences which determined that there should be two nations north of the Rio Grande and not one. Geography and topography played important roles. The great shield of granite which circles Hudson's Bay and covers most of northern and eastern Canada had much to do with the economy and politics of North America. Until quite recently, when mining, power, and timber have attracted some settlement, it remained a great wilderness in contrast with the thickly settled land south of the border. Moreover, it constituted for Canada a barrier between the eastern provinces and the western plains until the railway drove its steel west to the mountains and beyond. The four main entrances to the continent—the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, Hudson's Bay, the Mississippi—set the pattern of commercial warfare from the earliest days of the French and English fur traders to the days when canals and railroads superseded the great natural waterways. It is interesting to speculate what might have happened had Champlain, instead of returning to the St. Lawrence in 1607, continued his explorations down the New England coast beyond the Cape and discovered the great Atlantic entrance a year or two before Hudson.

Professor Brebner's important contribution is to show how closely the political acts of France, Spain, and England, then England and the thirteen colonies, and then England, Canada, and the United States were related to basic economic interests, frequently conflicting, often complementary. That does not mean, of course, that the development of political democracy in North America was simply a rationalization of economics and geography. For England, Canada, and the United States all developed under the impact of political ideas that sprang from ancient battles against the privileged claims of kings and feudal overlords. In North America this battle came to a head at the unhappy moment when England was making a belated experiment in royal rule. It continued in England through the nineteenth century. It continued in Canada, where native democrats found themselves at odds with stupid colonial administrators and native landed Tories—reinforced after the War of Independence by Tory loyalists who flocked across the border to take up their land grants and add their weight to reaction. Fortunately Canadian democracy was tough enough and wise enough to survive. The new ideas of Adam Smith had shattered the dreary mercantilist framework of British colonial thought, and the economic interests of a united Canada reaching from sea to sea coincided with the pressure for self-government.

The emergence of the "North Atlantic Triangle" of counter-balanced economic and political interests has become an important fact in world affairs. Each of the three nations has recently experimented in political isolationism and its own brand of economic nationalism. Each has learned the lesson of interdependence the hard way. In the war the three powers developed the highest degree of joint action in planning military defense, war production, and economic controls. In the post-war world the Canadian-American-British triangle is important because it has demonstrated the possibility of close international cooperation between nations that in the past frequently sought solutions by conflict. It is important because it constitutes a bridge between North

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation*

- ☐ with *Harpers Magazine* . . . \$6.50
You Save \$2.50
- ☐ with *Consumers Union* . . . \$7.00
You Save \$1.50
- ☐ with *Harpers Magazine*
and *Consumers Union* . \$9.00
You Save \$3.50
- ☐ with *Free World* . . . \$7.50
You Save \$1.50
- ☐ with *Saturday Review* . . . \$8.50
You Save \$1.50

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION *by itself*

- ☐ One Year \$5 ☐ Two Years \$8 ☐ Three Years \$11
- ☐ Servicemen's Rate \$3 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra



SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy, but you will make a considerable saving in money over the newsstand price.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

America and Europe—Canada in the air age is almost as close a neighbor of Europe as is England. The advantages and the dangers of this close relationship were evident in the development of the atomic bomb and the more recent moves toward international control. The Truman-Attlee-King statement represented a compromise between an attempted one-nation monopoly and the full sharing of secret and control. According to rumor, it was William Lyon MacKenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, who worked out the compromise formula that bridged the gap between Mr. Truman and Mr. Attlee. It is perhaps not without significance that Mr. King, who today asserts the necessity of a world government if our democratic civilization is to survive, is the grandson of that William Lyon MacKenzie who more than a century ago led an armed rebellion in protest against an intransigent British Cabinet's refusal to grant self-government to Canada. In a world desperately needing proof of a workable international system to free it from the overwhelming dread of war the North Atlantic Triangle provides more than a shred of convincing evidence.

J. KING GORDON

BRIEFER COMMENT

Villa Diplomacy

KENNETH PENDAR, author of "Adventure in Diplomacy" (Dodd, Mead \$3), was in a social sense Robert Murphy's right-hand man in French North Africa. At the incredibly beautiful villa of La Saadia in Marrakesh, "one of the showplaces of the world," which had been lent to him personally by the widow of a rich American, Pendar lived in the "quasi-Oriental splendor" which, he says, "the Arabs enjoy and respect." There he was host to President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and many other important persons who also enjoy and respect the gracious living that only great wealth can make possible. As a gossipy account of high life and low intrigue Pendar's book makes pleasant reading. Unwittingly, moreover, it contributes to a solution of the mystery of our war-time policies toward France. For despite its trivialities and many factual inaccuracies, the book reveals with naive frankness what Bob Murphy's boys really were up to.

Pendar believes "we were defeated diplomatically in North Africa and in our French policies generally." Although he overflows with affectionate admiration for Murphy, he also takes him to task for being too indulgent, too friendly with the wrong people, too little "tough-minded with the people who eluded, outwitted, or betrayed us." At first glance it is startling to get from this Cholly Knickerbocker of diplomacy what seems a sensible explanation for the mess we made. "The State Department," he says, "should have immediately removed Mr. Murphy and every one of his assistants, once the French were fighting as our allies in Tunisia. Our American diplomatic policy should have been carried out by a man with no personal debt to anyone. Diplomacy cannot be implemented by 'provocative agents.' Mr. Murphy and the rest of us had been bogged down in the details of the pre-landing job too long and had lost our usefulness in the bigger picture. Fresh minds and energy were needed."

This, however, is not the refreshing candor it appears to be. The trouble with Murphy, in Pendar's view, is that he did not go far and hard enough in the wrong direction. Pendar complains that "we awkwardly and grudgingly allowed De Gaulle to come to power." The "adventure in diplomacy" which failed was an effort to prevent France from falling into the hands of Frenchmen more concerned with bread and butter for the masses than with gracious living for the few. The book professes to be an attack on De Gaulle as an illiberal, fascist would-be dictator. Some of the criticism is sound, but all of it amounts to a foil for a covert attack on the French who choose to go their way to the left. Pendar laments that we have failed "to keep France in the Atlantic democratic world." Although he never once mentions it, the enemy to which he feels we have lost is not De Gaulle but French socialism.

Pendar's book, which in parts reads much like the effusions of Carlton Hayes and Patrick Hurley, is another straw showing the direction of a rising wind from the right. He wants the State Department purged of any democratic fellows who may have managed to worm their way in. He would like the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to take over control. And his notion of the diplomacy we now need is a new variety of "big-stickism," by which American ambassadors—preferably generals and admirals—"will not force a foreign leader" to take "advice" but will present policy "so clearly and forcefully that a foreign leader will be persuaded."

By the way, Pendar's "head man" in the "enchanted castle" of La Saadia, the half Syrian, half Indo-Chinese Louis, is now with Bob Murphy, thereby assuring a continuity of culinary if not of democratic policy.

PERCY WINNER

The Art of Communication

ANYONE WHO IS WILLING to be convinced that the acquiring and communicating of knowledge can set as many red corpuscles dancing as the next pursuit can, provided the knowledge is brought out into the sunshine, dust, and heat and not sequestered as a frail and sterile museum-piece, should be interested in "Pursuit of Understanding" by Esther Cloudman Dunn (Macmillan, \$2.50). Miss Dunn, a professor of English at Smith College, found herself surrounded by books throughout her childhood, both at home and in school; yet neither her teachers nor her book-loving father managed to impart any awareness of the reality of the people who had written those books, of the events that had shaped them, or of the real value of the ideas they embodied. It was her Greek professor in high school who first made her appreciate "what magic is in the greatest teaching," made her realize, for instance, that the coin pictured in her Greek grammar had been fingered by people of flesh and bone, people who labored and conspired and discussed their daily affairs in the very words that looked so lifeless spread out in glossaries and tables of conjugation.

That Miss Dunn's own attitude toward teaching is zestful and human rather than merely professional is shown by the incident of the fractious boy whom she punched in the nose during her first term as a high-school English teacher. "This

prize-fighter's triumph," she writes, "was probably the first real connection that I made with my class. . . . It showed at once that we lived in the same world, my pupils and I." Not that Miss Dunn is beating the drum for pugilistic pedagogy; in fact, she puts up a vigorous defense of the potential and often actual waywardness of students, who, being young, naturally demonstrate their vitality by "intermittent attention and submission," a mixture which she finds preferable to mere docility or slavish plodding. But the point she stresses most in her little "autobiography of an education" is that the teacher's knowledge of his subject is not enough: what counts more than anything else is communication—the ability to transplant into a student's mind, not necessarily by means of a left jab to the beak but better so than not at all, some of the teacher's own store of information and much or all of his conviction of the importance of learning.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

You may again buy BOOKS through *The Nation*

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division
THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

ALHAMBRA
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
COLISEUM
81st STREET
86th STREET
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
14th STREET
14th & 15th STS.
HAMILTON
HAMBURG HILL
125th STREET
PELHAM
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
SUNSET
23rd STREET
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCHELLE
WHITE PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO

"DISTINGUISHED AND DRAMATIC BIOGRAPHY"
—N. Y. SUN

'Rhapsody in Blue'

The Jubilant Story of
GEORGE GERSHWIN
—EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION—
FRANK SINATRA
'The House I Live In'

B. G. DeSylva presents
BETTY HUTTON in
"THE STORK CLUB"
—with—
BARRY FITZGERALD
DON DE FORE
Robert Benchley • Bill Goodwin
Iris Adrian • Mikhail Rasumny
Mary Young
and introducing **ANDY RUSSELL**
Midnight Feature Nightly

In Person
WOODY HERMAN
and his
ORCHESTRA
—featuring—
FRANCES WAYNE
—plus—
DOROTHY KELLER
Extra added attraction
BUDY LESTER
Don Baker at the Organ

NOW PLAYING **PARAMOUNT** TIMES SQUARE

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents
MAURICE EVANS
In His New Production of Shakespeare's
HAMLET
Columbus Circle Thea. 8'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Eves. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30

UP IN CENTRAL PARK

Book by HERBERT Lyrics by Music by
& DOROTHY FIELDS DOROTHY FIELDS SIGMUND SCHIMMELG
BROADWAY THEA., B'way at 53 St. Eves. Incl. Sun., 8:30. Mats. Sat. & Sun.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS!"—Nichols, Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S
I REMEMBER MAMA
from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West at Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4836.
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

Kermit Bloomgarden & George Heller present
DEEP ARE THE ROOTS
A New Play by ARMAND d'USSEAU and JAMES GOW
Staged by ELIA KAZAN
FULTON THEATRE Forty-sixth Street West of
Broadway. Circle 6-6380.
Evenings: 8:40, \$4.20, \$3.60, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Matinees
Wednesday and Saturday, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Tax inclusive.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

ELMER RICE produced his first play in 1914. If Miss Crothers and Owen Davis may be regarded as retired, then I cannot recall offhand any other currently practicing American dramatist whose history goes back so far, and though Mr. Rice is by no means venerable in either years or appearance he is any day now in danger of being dubbed the dean of Broadway playwrights. O'Neill was unheard of even in Provincetown when "On Trial" made a hit, and by comparison with Mr. Rice such so-called old hands as George Kaufman, Philip Barry, Maxwell Anderson, and S. N. Behrman are mere newcomers. "The Adding Machine" was the first substantial native play produced by the Theater Guild, and "Street Scene" was one of its biggest hits. If memory serves me, Mr. Rice, with a long career already behind him, renounced the theater sometime in the early thirties when the public showed a considerable lack of enthusiasm for the sociological dramas he was then determined to write, but he came bouncing back when the Playwrights' Company was organized, and the prospects seem to be that he will go merrily on for another generation or so.

All this is by way of leading up to two observations concerning "Dream Girl," his new hit at the recently rechristened Coronet Theater. One of these observations is that "Dream Girl," though a very agreeable divertimento, will probably not be remembered as one of its author's major efforts. The other concerns the fact that its greatest charm seems to be a certain fresh, youthful quality; and I say "seems" for the obvious reason that what looks like youthful freshness is no doubt in reality the effect of long-practiced skill.

Last season, in the piece called "Foolish Notion," Philip Barry over-elaborated, over-wrote, and so rather bungled a play in which much of the action was concerned not with what actually happened but with what one character or another day-dreamed as happening. Mr. Rice has adopted a somewhat similar "notion," and by keeping it simple as well as relatively unpretentious, he has achieved something which may never be more than lightly amusing but at least never makes one painfully aware that it is trying too hard to be something more.

His heroine is an attractive young lady beset by an only slightly more than average tendency to react to all situations by going off into a fantasy either triumphant or disastrous. When, for example, she listens to the radio she almost immediately sees herself confessing to Mr. Anthony, and when a professional seducer suggests a trip to Mexico she sees herself, first, bandying politenesses in impeccable Spanish with the native serenaders and then, by a swift transition, as a Sadie Thompson in flame-colored taffeta standing beneath a lamppost explaining her fate to a man from the past whom coincidence has brought face to face: "The second time it was easier to say 'yes'; the third and fourth times it was easier still . . . and after that I had to do the asking." To make things really serious she becomes ultimately not quite sure what is real and what is not, with the result that she is just about to elope to Reno with a feeble brother-in-law who has been figuring in some of her favorite dreams when a tough newspaperman shakes her rudely awake and she elopes with him instead. This ending or something like it is, I suppose, necessary to turn what is really only a series of skits into something resembling a play, but there is one respect in which it troubles me seriously. How do I know that this tough guy and his rough wooing were really real or that the real elopement really took place. The whole thing is suspiciously of a piece with some of the preceding fantasies. If Mr. Rice expects me to notice this and have my doubts, then his play is very tricky indeed. But I do not think that he does.

Publicity notices inform me that "Dream Girl" was not written with Betty Field (in private life Mrs. Rice) in mind, but my contention is that it must have been, subconsciously at least, for the role fits her to perfection, and no small part of the play's predestined success will be due to her performance. She is not only a very appealing actress but also one who helps create precisely the right atmosphere, as she did on that previous occasion when she played the heroine of Mr. Rice's "Two on an Island." Mr. Rice's farce-comedies do not strive for either the painful sophistication of the ultra smart or the frenetic action-at-all-costs which George Abbott made popular. They are, instead, cheery, fundamentally wholesome, and rather more thoroughly American than a good deal of what passes for American comedy. Miss Field manages somehow to suggest the same spirit, and for all her

experience in Hollywood to seem closer to the real thing than the Hollywood version of the emancipated young business woman usually is. In this play I do not think that her fantasies are usually either quite as funny or quite as embarrassing as those imagined by Mr. Thurber in "The Private Life of Walter Mitty," but many of them are highly diverting, and "Dream Girl" is a very pleasant addition to a theatrical season which would be grateful even for plays a good deal less entertaining than this one.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THIS is my first opportunity to speak of the festival of Fauré's music with which the Department of Music of Harvard University honored the hundredth anniversary of his birth, and of the various pleasures which the occasion gave me. Not just the pleasure of hearing two beautiful and moving works—the Requiem, which I had known, and the opera "Pénélope," which was a new experience—beautifully performed by members of the Boston Symphony, the Harvard Glee Club, the Radcliffe Choral Society, and soloists under the direction of Nadia Boulanger. But also certain pleasures from the entire occasion—the way the music for all five concerts was selected; the way it was performed; and the way it was listened to. Not since London many years before had I experienced so agreeable an atmosphere at concerts—an atmosphere of quiet and interest created by people, young and old, who seemed to be present for no other reason than their desire to hear the music, and who were completely unself-conscious about it; as against the atmosphere of New York concerts, particularly the New Friends of Music concerts and the Budapest Quartet concerts at the Y. M. H. A., which is heavy and noisy with the ostentatiousness and restlessness of people who are there because it is the musical place to be and to say one has been.

I had been urged to attend the festival by a distinguished musician—one of "the true believer[s] in the genius of Fauré," as Aaron Copland put it in a New York *Times* article, who are "convinced that to hear him is to love him." This musician, long disturbed by my lack of interest in Fauré's songs and chamber music, thought I had not heard

enough of the songs or the best of the chamber works. And so I went up to Harvard, and did hear a large number of songs, and the late chamber works—the second Piano Quintet, the second Sonata for violin and piano, the Piano Trio—which the true believers consider representative of the greatest Fauré, the products of his fully matured powers. But I found all these no more interesting than what I had heard before.

Mr. Copland would explain this very easily. "It is perfectly true," he wrote in the *Times*, "that you must listen closely if you would savor the exquisite distinction of Fauré's harmonies or appreciate the long line of a widely spaced melodic arch. His work has little surface originality. . . . To the superficial listener he probably sounds superficial. But those aware of musical refinements cannot help but admire the transparent texture, the clarity of thought, the well-shaped proportions." I would say, on the contrary, that it does *not* take any effort on the part of the listener to perceive the exquisite harmonies and textures in one of the chamber works; but that the greatest effort discovers nothing beyond these exquisite surfaces; and that the endless progression of these surfaces may please the ear of a superficial listener (to say nothing of a composer fascinated by their craftsmanship), but it wearies the mind of the person who requires something beyond them—the something that he finds in the Requiem or in "Pénélope," each of which is also beautifully wrought, but in a very different style that is the medium of a very different and moving expressive content.

I should speak of the singing of many of the songs by Isabel French—of her musically intelligent use of a very limited voice. A young soprano, Olympia di Napoli, who was excellent in "Pénélope," also sang some of the songs effectively; but in "La Bonne Chanson" William Hain's voice was frayed in its upper range and his phrasing was dull. The chamber music was excellently performed by Melville Smith and Beveridge Webster, pianists, Ruth Posselt, violinist, and members of the Boston Symphony—Gaston Elcus and Norbert Lauga, violins, Jean Lefranc, viola, and Alfred Zighera, cello—who formed a quartet of perfectly matched players that astounded and delighted me with its refinement and beauty of sound and execution. It may be that the group would play with exactly the same sound and style in a Beethoven quartet, where I would find they were incongruous; but in Fauré it was wonderfully right.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Point of Principle

Dear Sirs: The following appears in Del Vayo's article, Clerical Offensive in Mexico, in *The Nation* of December 15: "In direct violation of the Mexican constitution, which provides that 'ministers of religion will not be permitted, either in public or in private meeting, to criticize the basic laws of the country, the authorities, or the government,' the celebration was a bitter attack on the accomplishments of the revolution."

In regard to that passage, I wish to raise with Del Vayo a point of principle.

Del Vayo implies that his opponents have committed an outrage in doing or saying anything "in direct violation of the . . . constitution." Supposing liberals everywhere refrained from opposition to, even defiance of, any law written on the statute books. Where would they get? Nowhere! In Del Vayo's view were certain people dastards around Boston back in 1776 when they had the audacity to demur about some laws 'well and truly' written by the British?

Let us at least be magnanimous enough in controversy not to accuse opponents of outrageous tactics which miraculously become quite all right when we see fit to employ them.

F. H. HOGAN

Moncton, New Brunswick, December 18

Destroyers and Nuernberg

Dear Sirs: In his book "The Riddle of the State Department" Robert Bendiner told of the opposition of certain members of the department to wise and far-seeing measures which President Roosevelt desired for the well-being of our country.

For example, on page 191 he told of the refusal of Green Hackworth to prepare a brief providing legal argument for the bases-for-destroyers deal to aid Britain in the dark days of 1940. "In justice to Hackworth," he continued, "he was prepared to state that the deal, while neither neutral nor in accord with international law, was justified by the overriding power of a sovereign state acting in self-defense."

This passage came to mind as I read the leading article on the Nürnberg trial in your issue of December 1, 1945, and it strikes me that in permitting this statement to stand as it is you are doing

the same thing Bendiner charged Hackworth with doing, namely, you are putting a fetish before dire necessity.

If the bases-for-destroyers deal was a political act disguised as law, would you say that both politics and law were vitiated by our support of the British against the greatest treaty-breaker of all time?

JOHN D. WILLIAMS

Glastonbury, Conn., December 7

Unity for China

Dear Sirs: The civil-war-in-China diet that the American press insists on feeding its readers these days is a source of great unhappiness to us Chinese young people, studying and working in the United States. Not only because civil war will mean years more of unprecedented suffering for our loved ones at home, but because conflicting and unreliable reports may cost us the friendship and understanding of the American people.

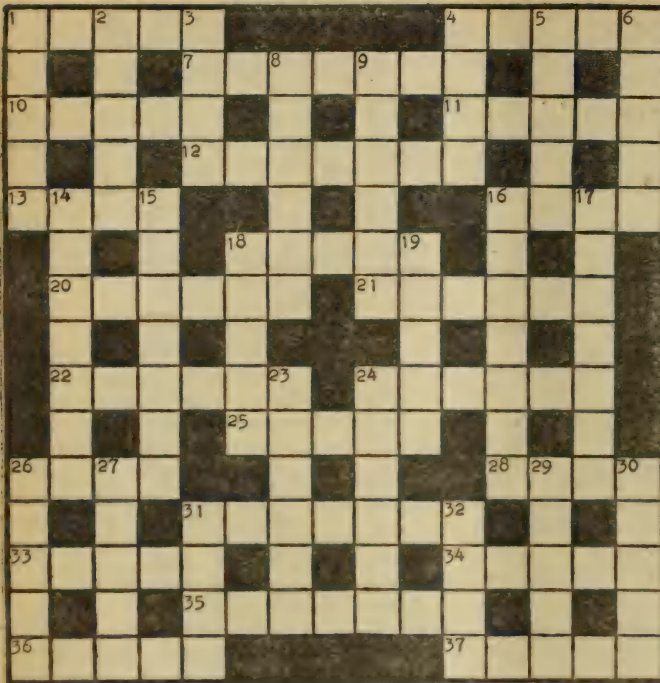
We believe too much stress has been laid on the inevitability of internal strife in China and the disunity of the Chinese people. Little mention has been made of the basic and common desire of the Chinese to arrive at a quick and equitable solution of their internal problems and establish a strong and democratic government.

We feel, in reiterating the following national goals, that we are representing the heart-felt desire of all Chinese, regardless of party and faction. (1) China must have unity. A divided house cannot shoulder the burden of internal reconstruction and the responsibility of international cooperation. (2) China must be democratic. She must have a government in which the people are fully and justly represented not only in theory, but in actuality. (3) China must maintain her national sovereignty, free from the fear of foreign military aggression or economic imperialism. She must build herself up to be worthy of her place as a member of the Big Five. (4) The new government must observe the principle of people's livelihood.

To bring these goals closer to realization, we believe that the following steps are necessary: (1) Immediate cessation of hostilities between all Nationalist and Communist forces. A definite day and hour in which all forces will cease firing must be set and adhered to by both sides. (2) Open sessions of the

Crossword Puzzle No. 143

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 No cab has returned for the philosopher!
- 4 Looks like 100 to 1 on Vic
- 7 If it buries its head in the sand, it's probably to get at the insects
- 10 Very keen on beards
- 11 "Needs must when the devil drives." He begins to here
- 12 Driven from pillar to post, so to speak
- 13 "---- teeth, ---- eyes, ---- taste, ---- everything"
- 16 The best cheese, according to many
- 18 He'd be a deep pink if Ma were about!
- 20 We sing (anag.)
- 21 Ted is about to gain the victory
- 22 Glass "eyes" for eyeglasses
- 24 They buried the old Hun in three coffins
- 25 Not what you say, but how you say it
- 26 "Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die," was his motto
- 28 Boy gun, great fun, gun bust, boy ----!
- 31 Instrument that has nothing to do with a tobacco pouch
- 33 It's all right to drop an aitch in this Eastern country
- 34 Where the bee sucked, there sucked he
- 35 Oh, rats!
- 36 Word mentioned once in these clues
- 37 Ever yours, not ours

DOWN

- 1 "Smally foulies," Chaucer calls them
- 2 Cheat—sounds like Cousin, that!
- 3 Rule broken in the morn

- 4 Don't advise a boxer to take it on this
- 5 Englands one poisonous snake
- 6 Shepherdess in *As You Like It*
- 8 Why is it "dry" gin—because wet gin can be painful?
- 9 Voltaire thought that if there were no God it would be necessary to this him
- 14 Son of David—remarkable for his good looks, popularity and "undutifulness" to his father
- 15 Jenny, for one
- 16 Exchanged words, or blows, perhaps
- 17 One of them threw away a pearl richer than all his tribe
- 18 She was a true friend to Dora Copperfield
- 19 A tit we find is a linnet
- 23 Presented in theatrical fashion
- 24 Poetic name for Britain
- 26 Alternative for controlling a horse
- 27 Character in *The Rivals* noted for his cowardice and picturesque language
- 29 Make one
- 30 For keeping accounts
- 31 Having nothing on
- 32 "O woman! in our hours of ---- Uncertain, coy, and hard to please"

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 142

ACROSS:—1 BLACKOUT; 2 BAYARD; 10 ABBEY; 11 CONFUCIUS; 12 TESTERN; 13 ARDMORE; 14 PANTY; 15 YONKERS; 18 AVERNUS; 21 ARCTIC; 24 HALFWAY; 26 TESTATE; 27 DALMATIAN; 28 INCOG; 29 POCKET; 30 POSEIDON.

DOWN:—1 BEAUTY; 2 AMBUSCADE; 3 KEY WEST; 4 UNCANNY; 5 ASUDDEN; 7 AMIGO; 8 DISPERSE; 9 UNEASY; 16 ENTRANCED; 17 WASHED UP; 19 NEWGATE; 20 STYMIE; 21 ANTONIO; 22 CASTLE; 23 BERGEN; 25 LILAC.

The NATION

Political Consultative Council. All parties should be represented and given equal opportunity for voicing opinion on all subjects of national interest. The assembly must agree to abide by majority decision. (3) Carrying out of all mutual commitments and treaty agreements among the Allied powers in the Far East. In this respect, we feel the continued presence of American forces in China will tend to stabilize rather than confuse the situation. (4) Should further attempts at peaceful internal settlement fail, we strongly urge that the matter be placed before a final and impartial United Nations arbitration board. There is no use pretending that the situation in China does not have international implications. It is therefore within the province of the United Nations Organization to intervene, but we sincerely hope that this last step will not be necessary.

We hope that through the enumeration of a positive and concrete program for the settlement of the crisis in China we may be able to restore the confidence of the American public in the peaceful and democratic desires of the Chinese people.

JANET CHANG
SHELLY M. MARK
EDWIN KWOH
MAE ENG
WELLINGTON LEE

New York, November 20

RESORTS

- **The Fieldstone**
On Round Island Lake
• A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York.
- ALL SPORTS — OPEN ALL YEAR
- MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7985

HATHAWAY SKI LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 502-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Lush, luxuriant woods, many with open fireplaces and private porches. Winding Mountain Trails. Ski Tow. 700-foot Ski Slope. Delicious food. Easy transportation.
Attractive Winter Rates
For reservations or further information write or call HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 259

The Rein House
Lake Mohogan 42 Miles from N. Y.
FOR REST AND RELAXATION
Skiing in season. Beautiful lake estate.
Horseback Riding nearby. Hunting. Steam-heated. Delicious Food. Reasonable. Informal.
Accommodated by Reservation Only. Dietary Laws.
Mrs. M. F. Rein Tel. Peekskill 1747-J

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, \$1; Canadian, \$1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Three weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 19, 1946

NUMBER 3

The Shape of Things

ON THE WHOLE THE UNO HAS MADE A GOOD start. In contrast with the gloomy deadlock that ended in the failure of the five-power conference in London, fifty-one nations have rapidly agreed in giving the new organization the tools it needs for its global job. Coincidence in every detail could not reasonably have been expected, but differences were ironed out in a matter of hours without producing any of the ill-feeling we witnessed even in San Francisco. Both the United States and Russia won and lost some of their moves, but neither attempted to dominate the Assembly at the expense of the lesser powers. The selection of the six nations to serve with the Big Five on the Security Council showed a general desire to make the executive of the UNO as representative as possible. Canada's decision to withdraw in favor of Australia, after the southwestern Pacific countries had failed by themselves to secure a seat on the Council, provided a notable example of cooperation and magnanimity. The extraordinary ability shown by Manuiski in a similar post in San Francisco gave the Soviet Union the chairmanship of the important Political Committee. Sponsored by Russia, Great Britain, the United States, Canada, France, and China, the establishment of a commission to deal with the problems created by atomic developments will be presented this week from the Assembly floor definitely bringing the controversial and fateful control of the atomic bomb under the UNO.

✱

IT WAS GOOD TO SEE REPUBLICAN SPAIN TAKEN into consideration even in the limited form of the nomination by France of Rafael Altamira, an exile in Mexico, for the International Court. His candidacy was supported by several Latin American countries, significantly eager to proclaim their opposition to Franco. Mr. Bevin has reiterated his disinclination to allow the question of Spain to come before the Assembly, or any international conference, but world opinion will be most disappointed if the first meeting of the UNO ends without finding a way to give practical effect to the San Francisco resolution outlawing the Franco regime. Perhaps the excellent proposal for "multilateral intervention" issued by Argentina's leading democrats can be made the basis of UNO action against both Franco and Perón.

✱

BETWEEN MAY, 1945, AND JANUARY, 1946, THE Argentine government has systematically and defiantly violated every obligation assumed as a member of the UNO. At this moment, while its representatives sit in the Assem-

bly at London, the Perón regime is consolidating its fascist control over the country by every method known to Hitler: a demagogic appeal for labor support based on sweeping wage decrees coupled with attempts to reassure and enlist "little business;" police terrorism; bands of rowdies who break up gatherings of citizens and attack individuals wearing buttons of the Democratic Union; widespread and unchecked attacks on Jews and Jewish places of business; jingoist plans for Argentine domination of the continent. The list could go on; indeed *The Nation* plans to publish a more complete indictment in an early issue, for we consider the Perón dictatorship comparable in importance with Nazism when Hitler first came to power. The solid resistance of Argentina's business elements is the most striking difference to be noted. But this has its danger, too, the danger of dividing the nation on class lines, with labor yielding more and more completely to the persuasion of the Perón "revolution." The three-day shutdown called by organized business as a demonstration against the bonus and salary increases decreed on December 20 may help to consolidate Perón's support among the unskilled workers and their families, making his election in February even more certain. The democrats of Argentina badly need the support of world opinion, and there could be no more fitting instrument of that opinion than the first meeting of the General Assembly.

✱

THE POLITICAL PURGE DEMANDED IN THE TWO directives to the Shidehara government early this month has given great encouragement to the liberated progressive forces now preparing for the coming elections. The Japanese government was ordered to ban from the elections and from public office all active exponents of militarism, fascism, and aggressive nationalism, and to abolish or prevent the rebirth of twenty-seven jingoist and fascist societies. The terms of the directives were so broad and at the same time so specific that they banned some 20,000 officials and forced a tortured and unstable reshuffling of the Shidehara Cabinet; they also played havoc with the reconversion plans of right-wing politicians who had been donning democratic make-up for the coming elections. Three-fourths of the members of the outgoing Diet will be unable to run for reelection because of membership in the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and similar organizations. The order has not only barred virtually all the reactionary Progressive Party and most of the rightist Liberal Party candidates but has crippled their machines. Many right-wing party organizers in the towns and villages are abandoning their positions because they see the end of the patronage on which their livelihood depended. The result of the purge may be a left majority

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	57
Why G. I.'s Demonstrate	60
Peace in China?	61
Squeeze on Turkey	61

ARTICLES

U. S. Industry's Grand Strategy	
<i>by Alfred Friendly</i>	62
What Do the People Think of Truman?	
<i>by Richard L. Neuberger</i>	63
"The New Veteran"	
<i>Walter Bernstein vs. Merle Miller</i>	65
In the Wind	68
Britain and Empire Planning	
<i>by Aylmer Vallance</i>	69
Reveillon in Paris	<i>by Ida Treat</i>
Everybody's Business	<i>by Keith Hutchison</i>
The People's Front	<i>by Del Vayo</i>

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes by the Way	<i>by Margaret Marshall</i>	75
Oh, My Name It Is Sam Hall. A Poem		
<i>by Randall Jarrell</i>		76
Science and the State	<i>by Benjamin Harrow</i>	76
Briefer Comment		77
Drama	<i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	81
Films	<i>by James Agee</i>	81
Music	<i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	82
In Short	<i>by K. H.</i>	83

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 144

<i>by Jack Barrett</i>	84
------------------------	----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:

Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 319 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two Years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

in the next Diet if the Socialists and Communists succeed in carrying their campaign to the countryside in the next two months.

✱

WHEN THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS accepted the 19½-cents-an-hour increase recommended by the fact-finding board in the General Motors strike, they provided President Truman with an opportunity to win a great victory for labor and industrial peace in this country. If the White House forces G. M. also to accept the decision of the fact-finding board, the way will be cleared for a similar upward revision of wages in other industries and for the resumption of production. The U. A. W.'s move and the narrow margin which separates the two sides in the steel dispute hold out the hope that we may avoid the knock-down and drag-out fight envisaged in Alfred Friendly's article in this week's issue. The crucial point in the letter sent by the General Motors Council of the U. A. W. to President Truman is that the fact-finding board's decision is based on the assumption that 1946 production levels will not exceed those of 1941. Considering the big backlog of demand for automobiles, production during the next few years should far surpass the 1941 volume and thus allow a correspondingly wider margin of profits to General Motors without a price increase. It is up to the President to demand a showdown. Does the General Motors crowd want a reasonable settlement, or do they want to try and smash the labor movement?

✱

THE "JUDICIAL" SPIRIT IN WHICH THE HOUSE Committee on Un-American Activities—successor to Martin Dies and Co.—is carrying on its labors is well illustrated by the following chronological account of its recent dealings with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

December 1. Ernie Adamson, counsel to the Un-American Committee, asks the President's War Control Board to cancel the Joint Committee's license to collect and distribute funds for relief of refugees in Europe.

December 8. The Joint Committee receives a letter from Mr. Adamson saying in part: "In the interests of saving time I suggest that you permit one of our investigators to make a preliminary investigation of your organization to determine whether or not this committee is *interested in your organization*" (italics added).

December 10. The Joint Committee receives a subpoena to produce all its books and records at a hearing of the Un-American Committee on January 23.

Thus, after trying to execute a death sentence on an organization whose work for the relief of Franco's victims is a matter of public record, the Un-American Committee now wishes to launch a fishing expedition in the hope of finding something that looks like evidence to back the verdict it has already reached. There is nothing surprising about these tactics. The Un-American Committee was created by Representative Rankin to carry on just such political hatchet work against left and liberal organizations. What is surprising is that even a conservative Congress should continue to tolerate in its midst a group which, as Representative Ellis Patterson has said, "has violated every concept of American democracy."

THE PROPOSED EIGHTEEN-CENT INCREASE IN butter prices is the most direct challenge yet offered to the stabilization program from within Administration circles. Money spent for butter is an important part of the living expense of most American families. If this 35 per cent rise proposed by Secretary of Agriculture Anderson is permitted, the door will be opened not only to pressure for higher prices from other producers but to new wage demands based

on the rising cost of living. Minor price adjustments have been made without serious consequences, but drastic increases of this type will almost certainly start off the inflationary cycle. There are several ways to obtain increased butter production without a rise in price. During the war steady production was achieved by a subsidy enabling creameries to pay above-market prices for butter fat. As an alternative to restoring the subsidy, the Department of Agriculture could impose a ceiling on butter fats that would be sufficiently low to divert cream into butter production. A system of allocations might be set up if the price ceiling failed, to insure the butter producers a sufficient amount of cream.



FRANK FAY OF "HARVEY," WHO WAS RECENTLY censured by Equity for charging five actors with religious bias because they attended a left-wing rally at which Harold Laski "attacked" the Catholic church—Laski criticized the Vatican for its pro-fascist role in Spanish affairs—has now been taken over by the Friends of Frank Fay and raised to the status of a crusader. Last week Mr. Fay was the star performer at a Madison Square Garden rally which, to judge by the people who spoke or occupied prominent boxes, might have been a joint convention of every pro- and proto-fascist group in the country. The hall was alive with America Firsters, Coughlinites, Franco apologists, and assorted anti-Semites. The publicity for the affair was handled by a former office manager of America First. The chairman was state Senator John J. McNaboe, a frequent speaker at Coughlinite rallies. Joseph P. Kamp, whose friends include Lawrence Denais and G. L. K. Smith, is said to be the brain trust for the Friends of Frank Fay. Needless to say, the speakers roundly denied that they were anything but "fine American citizens." But they attacked the "more deadly of the Roosevelt species" and denounced, significantly enough, John Roy Carlson, author of "Under Cover." One of them, Dr. Emmanuel M. Josephson, referred to "labor-union fascists and subversive labor unions," but Mr. McNaboe rose to correct Dr. Josephson, probably out of deference to Joseph P. Ryan, permanent president of the International Longshoremen's Union, who was sitting on the speakers' platform. Mr. Fay apparently enjoyed every minute of it. "I

want you to know from the bottom of my heart," said Mr. Fay, whose clichés, like his political opinions, seem to be a little confused, "that tonight I am a happier and prouder American than I have ever been," and so on. His sponsors no doubt are rubbing their hands with glee. What rabble rouser would not be proud to have pulled out of his hat a rabbit as amiable and long-eared as Mr. Fay.

THE NAVY'S INVESTIGATION OF THE CROATAN case led to interesting findings. The Croatan, it will be recalled, is the escort carrier reported to have refused to embark a contingent of high-point Negro troops waiting transportation home at Le Havre. According to the Navy report, when an army officer asked whether the Negro troops might come on board, the carrier's commander replied that of course he had no right to refuse but he would prefer not to have them. It was all very genteel, as if the sponsored applicant to a select club had suddenly been discovered to have come from the wrong side of the tracks. Discrimination, apparently, is not the rule of the navy—merely the prerogative of hypersensitive officers.

THE HUGE ADVERTISEMENT IN WHICH THE House of Seagram last week congratulated Ray Milland on his magnificent performance in "The Lost Weekend" was as nice a blend as we can remember of defense and tribute. "To the applause of motion-picture critics... we, of the House of Seagram, wish to add our own sincere and enthusiastic acclaim." But don't for a moment think that the advertisement went on to suggest a few drinks on the House. On the contrary, it said that the picture constituted an indorsement of its own earnest conviction that "some men should not drink."

Ever since Repeal in 1934 [it continued] the House of Seagram has exerted all its influence to further the cause of moderation in drinking. In newspapers and magazines from coast to coast we have published such significant statements as "Drinking and Driving Do Not Mix," "We Don't Want Bread Money," and "Pay Your Bills First."

This feverish protest would—if anything could—cause a prohibitionist to smile. To the innocent bystander who sometimes stands by a bar it is an interesting indication from a reliable source, the liquor industry, of the abiding strength in this country of what is so well described as dry sentiment.

A WHITE MUSICIAN WHO WANTED TO HEAR Duke Ellington's band, playing for a Negro audience, walked into Turner's Arena in Washington last week—and was promptly shown the door. We know a *cause célèbre* when we see one and should certainly raise a hue and cry

about this wanton persecution of the white race if we hadn't been beaten to the draw. No sooner had the episode occurred than Tomlinson D. Todd, Negro president of the Institute on Race Relations, rushed to the defense of the victim. He "was refused admission because he was white," said Mr. Todd. "Discrimination in the nation's capital must go." If Negroes should ever buy Constitution Hall, ladies of the D. A. R. will either be admitted, like first-class citizens, or find a champion in Mr. Todd.

Why G.I.'s Demonstrate

BOILING their commanding general in a public square of Manila last week, twenty thousand American soldiers set off a worldwide chain of explosions that may have blown to bits the army's badly bungled plans for demobilization. In Yokohama Secretary of War Patterson was greeted by a "hothead demonstration," to quote the officer who threatened its participants with prison terms. In Frankfurt 4,000 men stormed ETO headquarters and were turned back at bayonet point. From Paris came reports of G. I.'s parading down the Champs Elysées chanting, "We want to go home!" And from Mourmelon and Reims came stories of funds of several thousand dollars raised by the men to cover the cost of protest cables to American newspapers and Congressmen. Similar rallies and fund-raising drives were reported from London, from Batangas in the Philippines, from Vienna, from Andrews Field in Maryland, from Calcutta, and from Honolulu, where 1,500 demonstrators raised the slogan "Bust Patterson to a Private."

So far serious violence has been avoided. But the warning is plain. The patience of men who have been through years of agony, loneliness, strain, and insufferable boredom has worn paper-thin. These are not mercenaries or career soldiers; they are citizens of the United States who, willingly or not, left their homes, their families, and their livelihoods to fight a war. They do not see why they should be casually expected to bear the burden of a policing job for which they are poorly prepared. Much less do they see why they should be forced to rot in idleness in countries which are not conquered territory, and in no need of our policing—in France, in the Philippines, in the Caribbean, in China, or even here at home. Their discontent does not spring from "minor reasons" as the *New York Times* smugly editorializes, nor from the fact that they have "little except self-pity to occupy their minds." By what right do the editors of the *Times*, or any civilians, lightly assume that these fellow-citizens should without complaint, as a matter of course, add years—or even months—of forced labor to the years of sacrifice they have already contributed?

Somebody, to be sure, must perform the duties of an occupation force, or we stand to lose the very objectives for which we fought. That is obvious, and only the demagogues and the isolationists suggest that we should "bring the boys home," pull into our shell, and write off the war as history. But the need for occupation troops does not, numerically, justify the slowdown in demobilization which touched off the current wave of unrest in the armed forces. It does not explain the retention of large forces in friendly countries.

It does not warrant the use of veteran airmen to fly empty coke bottles over the dangerous "hump" of the Himalayas or to bring tile from Bombay to Karachi to build an officers' club; or the misuse of countless other men in equally galling variants of "polishing the brass." Nor, above all, does it excuse the bewilderingly conflicting statements and counter-statements, policies and counter-policies, which leave thousands of stranded men perpetually on the raw edge of doubt, filled one day with frantic hopes, only to be thrown into despair the next, convinced from first to last that those who have the power to move them about the world like so many pawns lack the slightest idea of what they are doing.

The present strength of the army is 4,100,000, which, despite a commendable speeding up in the discharge process over the past two months, is still 50 per cent of what it was the day our forces joined the Russians at Torgau last spring. The objective for next July, as set by the War Department, is 1,550,000. General McNarney, commanding our forces in the European theater, says that he will need no more than 300,000 men to occupy Germany, and roughly the same number are required by General MacArthur for the Pacific theater.

Why, then, the new order to apply the brakes? Especially since voluntary enlistments to date—and anything but an all-out recruiting effort has been made—total 400,000, of which 89 per cent represent experienced military man-power. What has happened in the two months since an accelerated demobilization was ordered to justify President Truman in warning of "the critical need for troops overseas" and a consequent slowdown in redeployment? And, finally, if a slowdown really is necessary, why, upon receiving word of the demonstrations, does Chief of Staff Eisenhower order all theater commanders to cut man-power requirements "to the minimum" and to return "without delay" and regardless of points all men for whom there is no military need? It is precisely this endless series of quick-change acts rather than the rate of demobilization that is driving our troops to increasingly heated demonstrations in the streets of Europe and Asia.

Statistics aside, a mountain of evidence is piling up to show that unless drastic changes are made, our occupation troops will do more harm than good. There is no space here to recount the voluminous and authenticated reports of the swift decay of our forces through idleness and frustration; of their degeneration from a spirited fighting machine to a loose aggregation of bitter men, thousands of whom have gone over to wholesale peddling on the black markets of the world, to looting and wanton violence. These men were not trained for police duty; they were trained for combat. Irrationally—and characteristically—thousands of men whose training would fit them for occupation duties, whose service should just now be commencing, are eligible for discharge under the same point system as that applied to the men who did the fighting. And, equally fantastic, new men now going through their basic training are given the old G. I. routine instead of being schooled in police work.

As a result of the demonstrations, a new and sweeping revision of the demobilization program is promised, despite Acting Secretary of War Royall's attempt to whitewash the

army and Congress and throw all the blame on public "hysteria." Public clamor is a minor factor alongside a Congress that refuses to bear the onus of framing a policy and an army that was able to raise volunteer parachute and submarine units but lacked the foresight to recruit, long ago, an occupation force—small, mobile, highly trained, and willing to see the job through to the end.

Peace in China?

FOR the first time since the split in the Kuomintang in 1927 the prospects for a basic settlement in China begin to look favorable. A last-minute compromise which permitted a "cease-fire" order to be issued a few hours before the opening of the Political Consultative Council enabled that body to get off to an auspicious start. For this achievement considerable credit must go to General Marshall, whose intervention to break a deadlock in the military talks would have been impossible if he had not gained the confidence of both sides. In contrast to the situation a few weeks ago, when the United States was actively cooperating with Chungking in its struggle with the Communists, this country is now playing a valuable and legitimate role as peacemaker. The importance of our influence on the negotiations now underway should not be minimized. The signing of the truce revealed a willingness to compromise on the part of both the Communists and the Kuomintang which has been notably absent in the past. Of even greater promise was Chiang Kai-shek's dramatic announcement legalizing the opposition parties and proclaiming full civil rights, abolition of the secret police, the establishment of local self-government, and the release of political prisoners. As Chou En-lai, the Communist leader, pointed out, these concessions make possible the creation of a genuinely democratic government in China. They represent acceptance of the basic demands of the Democratic League and the Communists; yet they will be welcomed by the people in Kuomintang territory quite as warmly as by those under Communist influence. The desire for democracy and civil liberties has no political boundaries in China.

Although great progress has been made, we must be on guard against excessive optimism regarding an early or complete solution of China's problems. Even where agreement has been reached on principles, there will be differences over their concrete application. All the old stumbling-blocks remain, chief among them Chiang Kai-shek's insistence that the Communist armies be disbanded. While the Communists do not defend the idea of political armies, they have refused to demobilize their forces or to place them under Chungking control until a representative government with a genuine national army has been established, and in this position they are supported by the Democratic League.

Another obstacle to peace has been the question of agricultural reform, which is bound up with the question of village democracy. Heretofore the Kuomintang has demanded that local officials be appointed in Chungking and that the national land laws be generally respected. This would mean the reestablishment of feudal land control in the Communist and guerrilla areas—an impossible condition. Chiang Kai-shek's promise of local self-government based on popular

elections from the "lowest strata upward" would seem to offer a basis for resolving this old and stubborn issue, although it is too early to assume that Kuomintang and Communist conceptions of popular local elections will coincide.

But certainly the most important long-range job facing the Political Council is the creation of a central administration body to carry through the reforms agreed upon. A hopeful beginning has been made with a plan to reorganize the State Council which served as the chief policy-making body until the war, when it was superseded by the Supreme National Defense Council. The plan, put forward by Dr. Sun Fo, leader of the Legislative Yuan, with the full support of the government, provides for an all-party coalition. The Communists have accepted the proposal as a basis for negotiations but the actual allotment of posts may prove a difficult matter.

The best hope of a solid settlement lies in the obvious desire of both sides to reach one. Events are moving fast for China. The commission charged with fixing the details of the truce and arranging for the protection of railways and the disarming of the Japanese has already set up headquarters in Peiping. The most important first step after the shooting stops is a demonstration by the government that Chiang Kai-shek means what he says. Compromise by both sides is necessary, but first of all confidence must be established. The enormous influence of the United States, wielded at last by a man whom everyone respects and whose mission has been clearly and publicly defined by the President, can go far to provide the guaranties of good faith that have previously been lacking.

Squeeze on Turkey

QUESTIONED about Turkey in the course of a press conference on January 8, British Foreign Secretary Bevin pointed out that one of the difficulties of the current Russo-Turkish dispute was that "no official claim" had been made. He added "The right way to deal with things is to deal with them and not carry on propaganda and wars of nerves. . . . The past record of that technique has given us great anxiety. We believe that when a war of nerves starts, the Security Council should step in and investigate and not wait until the aggression starts."

Mr. Bevin may have spoken with more bluntness than discretion, but his implied criticism of Russian diplomatic methods was well founded. For since last March, when it denounced its twenty-year treaty of friendship with Turkey, the Soviet government has been employing the classic strategy of a war of nerves. Its price for a new treaty has never been published, but a note presented to the Turkish government in June, 1945, is believed to have contained demands for exclusion of all warships except Russian and Turkish from the Dardanelles, for three bases in the neighborhood of the Straits, and for the cession to Soviet Armenia of the districts of Kars and Ardahan. Turkish rejection of these proposals was followed by increasingly sharp attacks in the Soviet press. Retorts in kind in Turkish newspapers brought accusations of "sword-rattling."

Then at the outset of the recent three-power conference great prominence was given in Moscow to an article by two Georgian professors setting up ethnological and historical claims for the return to the Georgian Soviet Republic of 10,000 square miles of Turkish territory along the Black Sea coast. Turkey has reacted with talk about preferring war to a surrender of any part of its land. Tension is naturally mounting inside the country, and the danger of incidents involving minorities like the Armenians, to whom Russia is giving ostentatious patronage, is growing. Such incidents might provide a pretext for intervention.

The provocative methods which Russia has been employing can hardly be excused; the merits of its claims against Turkey are another matter and one much more difficult to judge. So far as the Straits question is concerned, a new settlement affording Russia reasonable security against the invasion of the Black Sea by hostile navies is urgently needed to replace the out-of-date Montreux Convention. But Moscow's proposals appear to be the equivalent of a demand for exclusive guardianship of the Dardanelles, a demand not compatible with either Turkish independence or the legitimate rights of all nations for the peaceful use of an international waterway. America and Britain, however, are in a

rather weak position to press this second argument as long as they maintain their respective holds on the Panama and the Suez Canal.

The problem of the Turkish-Russian boundary districts is very involved. The Turkish view is that the question was amicably settled by treaty after the last war and that until recently there had never been any hint of Russian dissatisfaction with the settlement then reached. Moreover, the Turks say, these lands have been Turkish for hundreds of years and the vast majority of their inhabitants are Turks. Actually this whole area has a very mixed population, and at different times different peoples have obtained temporary ascendancy. The confusion is illustrated by the overlapping claims of the two Soviet Republics, Georgia and Armenia.

But of course national rights are not the real issue. Georgians, Armenians, and the Turks themselves are all pawns in a much bigger game involving Russia's traditional pressure on southeastern Asia and Britain's traditional resistance. Should a conflict be precipitated, it could not be localized. Mr. Bevin's suggestion that the issue be brought before the Security Council is therefore very much in order, provided Britain, which is calling on Russia to put its cards on the table, is ready to display its own imperial hand.

American Industry's Grand Strategy

BY ALFRED FRIENDLY

A staff writer for the Washington Post on labor and economic subjects

Washington, January 13
THE White House statement issued last night announcing that the steel strike had been postponed for one week noted that the union and the United States Steel Corporation would meet again on January 16 for further collective bargaining. But it neglected to point out that the decision of whether or not there will be a strike does not depend on the results of that prospective negotiating conference. The decision will be made in New York, and the attitude of the C. I. O. United Steel Workers will have nothing to do with it. The issue is no longer one of wage increases. It is whether industry will decide to get into production or whether it will plunge this country into an insanely dangerous campaign to repeal what is left of the New Deal.

Hard to prove, but much harder to doubt, is the existence of a wide cleavage in the ranks of America's large financial and industrial interests. On one side, the side whose lunatic fringe was responsible for the "Sentinels of Detroit" advertising, is the crowd that wants a finish fight with government and labor. Like the German General Staff, it seems to have a Plan A and a Plan B. Plan A contains the maximum objectives, to be achieved by several months of strikes and industrial paralysis. By these means, anti-labor legislation is to be crippled, the "ability-to-pay" heresy scotched—at least while profits are rising—and all governmental interference, or even interest, in the subjects of wages, prices,

production, and profits removed. Plan B appears to have more limited goals, which are to be won merely by threatening factory shut-downs this winter. It contemplates the extortion of such large price increases that the stabilization program and the OPA will be destroyed. Looking at their long-enduring markets, their carry-back tax relief, a labor-baiting Congress, and an indecisive White House, these interests feel they are in an inordinately powerful position, able to hold out in a long fight.

The difference between this gang and the other faction in industry is mainly one of procedure. The more moderate side is certainly not composed of Henry Wallace converts; its members simply feel that at this stage the financial impetus to settle with labor and thereby step into a world of gorgeous profits offers more certain gains than those that can be won in a dubious battle to move the nation's capital back to New York.

Last week's developments in the steel and General Motors disputes clearly revealed this intra-industry conflict to government officials obliged to carry on negotiations. They disclosed even more vividly the line-up. Leaders of the fight-to-a-finish group, it is now fairly obvious, are the du Pont-Alfred P. Sloan-G. M. financial-control (as distinct from factory management) coalition. Strangely enough, United States Steel leads the rest of the steel industry in the drive to settle up and get to work. The announcement last Friday afternoon by General Motors that it had rejected the

report of the President's fact-finding board—an announcement perfectly timed to hit while negotiations were in progress between Philip Murray and President Fairless of Big Steel—was designed to support the hand of other steel companies in pressing Fairless to block a settlement.

Despite their surface differences, the steel and G. M. cases go hand in hand. Or rather, steel leads, and G. M. must inevitably follow whichever course steel takes. Tagging in the rear and bound to the same path are most of the other big manufacturing industries. In none of them is the payment of the 17½ or 18 per cent wage increase—by this time clearly the settlement amount for the C. I. O.—a decisive issue. Steel and G. M. will do for illustrations.

In the steel industry the OPA concluded after a most intensive study that to raise the over-all price ceiling by about \$2.50 a ton was a super-generous way of giving the companies a profit on the products they traditionally sold at a loss—in order to keep volume high and make more profits on other items. But because of admitted difficulties in getting definite data on some items in the calculations, and because considerable figuring on future cost and operating factors was necessary, some OPA economists are willing to grant that the amount could be modified by as much as plus or minus \$1. Assume for the argument that plus \$1 is right and that the price increase should be nearer \$3.50. Under terrific pressure from the steel industry Reconversion Director Snyder offered a figure which, although not officially announced, is almost certainly in the neighborhood of \$4. He made the offer contingent on a wage settlement acceptable to the union, therefore an increase about 19 or 20 cents an hour. In view of the industry's prospective volume,

productivity, tax relief, and even its present profits, it is inconceivable that the \$4 would not cover 20 cents and much more. At this writing the union and Big Steel are less than five cents apart, literally a trifle in view of the price increases about to be granted to the companies.

The ability of G. M. to pay the increase of 19½ cents recommended by the fact-finding board is even clearer. No one knows it better than G. M. It has never denied it, even in its enigmatic and subject-changing rejection of the recommendations. Indeed, the disquisition on G. M.'s rich position and lush prospects was the one touch of irony in the altogether honest, convincing, and shrewd report of Dean Garrison and his fellow fact-finders. Their prognosis of G. M.'s future was almost lyrical in tone and should have sent investors scurrying to their brokers with orders in hand, while the SEC considers whether to complain against too glowing prospectus-writing.

No, paying the unions 19 cents more is not of itself the bitter draft that is gagging G. M. and the steel tycoons. Between now and next Sunday, when the steel-strike deadline is reached, their problem is to decide whether they want to make a killing in their profit account—or to kill a potentially progressive economic system. If they abandon hope of promoting industrial civil war, they can still be expected to put enormous pressure on Snyder and the OPA in order to make sure that a higher ante than \$4 is put in the price-ceiling kitty for steel and to make doubly sure that a similar price increase is strewn with light and inflationary hand throughout all industry.

If the President wants to stand firm, this is his chance. If he yields, he will never have another.

What Do the People Think of Truman?

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Magazine writer and journalist, author of books on the social and political problems of the Northwest. During the war Mr. Neuberger served with the army in Alaska

Pendleton, Oregon, January 5

IN THE depths of the brick roundhouse locomotives idled rhythmically. A 4-8-8-4 Mallet towered in black grandeur over a pair of bob-tailed switch engines. On a siding a mountain-type waited to take the high iron with fifty-four cars consigned to Puget Sound. The train crew, waste and oil cans in hand, leaned against my coupé parked in the snowy gravel beside the roundhouse. From the radio grille in the car came a twangy voice, the voice of the President of the United States.

The men listened attentively. Once the words were lost as a passenger sped past with a flash of lights and staccato clicks from the switches in the yard. The President finished, and the arrogant voice of the announcer returned. Wrigley's chewing gum was thanked for allowing the President to speak.

The gray-haired engineer gave a hitch to his jumpers and put on a pair of yellow gauntlets. "Been waiting half

a year to hear him talk like that," the engineer said. "He shoulda done it last spring. You can't win over them do-nothings in Congress with a free meal. You've got to go to the mat with 'em." A young brakeman, lantern in hand, nodded assent. "He's gotta be a real President, the way F. D. R. was. We don't want a namby-pamby. We want a guy who'll make those fellows sit up and take notice. I hope he stays tough now and doesn't kiss and make up in a week or so."

After the train crew had gone and a highball had been given from the darkness, the yardmaster kept his foot on the running-board of the coupé. "Those trainmen all probably voted for Roosevelt four times," he said. "Me, I'm a Republican. I never voted for him. Yet I think we could use him now. Congress doesn't want to do a damn thing. Democrats and Republicans—they're all gutless wonders. Truman's only chance is to get the home folks to put pressure on every one of them."

When Harry Truman first moved into the White House, his associates may have convinced him that what the voters wanted was relief from war-time controls and from the kind of government Roosevelt had been giving them. On a trip into twenty-two states I found no evidence that people felt that way. Indeed, the contrary seemed to be true. I talked to barbers, taxi drivers, waitresses, bellhops, locomotive engineers, brakemen, dining-car stewards, mechanics, soldiers and sailors, storekeepers, red-caps, and the owners of at least half a hundred farms and ranches, and I would summarize the attitude of the voters as follows: (1) the majority worship Franklin D. Roosevelt's memory; (2) they want the government to break the housing jam if it has to call on the builders of the Alcan Highway and the atomic bomb to do the job; and (3) they feel kindly toward Mr. Truman and hope he will succeed.

With respect to Roosevelt's standing, my judgment is reinforced by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, which in a recent nation-wide inquiry asked, "In all the history of the United States who do you regard as the two or three greatest men who have ever lived in this country?" Sixty-one per cent of the men and women interviewed named Franklin D. Roosevelt as one of their choices, 57 per cent Abraham Lincoln, 46 per cent George Washington, and 11 per cent Thomas A. Edison. The Denver poll found only resentment against the attempt of the Pearl Harbor committee to smear the late President's name. In Portland, Oregon, senior students of the two largest high schools cast 549 votes for Roosevelt as the First American of all time and 547 votes for Lincoln. The *Oregonian*, a leading Republican paper, conceded that this decision was "probably indicative of parental opinion as well."

A lawyer in Missoula, Montana, said, "I'm darned if I can understand why my son and his family can't get a place to live. My son was a Seabee in the navy. He tells me the Seabees leveled half the hills on Guam and built airfields and barracks. I wish Truman would call out eight or ten Seabee battalions and have them put up houses." He gestured toward the timbered hills. "They could go into these Montana Rockies and cut enough pine lumber for millions of houses," he added.

In the shadow of Grand Coulee a country editor shook his head dolefully. "Roosevelt put up this dam," he said, "the biggest dam on earth. Truman ought to follow the same principle in putting up houses. The power boys were against the dam. The real-estate boys will be against the houses. But I know that the people want houses just as they wanted the dam."

The engineer at the throttle of the Milwaukee's transcontinental limited, eastbound, before he mounted his cab in a little settlement at the bottom of a gorge in Idaho, said, "I voted for Roosevelt four times because he was on our side. I think Truman's heart is in the right place, but he's got to use a big stick on Congress. Maybe he's going to do it at last. I felt sick when he went on that barbecue with a lot of the Congressmen who are knifing the people. Maybe he's worked all that out of his system now."

As to President Truman's labor policies, the opposition of the leaders of organized labor to the cooling-off period

and the fact-finding boards is not apparent among the rank and file. "Seems pretty reasonable to me," said a C. I. O. logger working a sawmill near Portland. "Can't see where

it infringes labor's rights," observed one of Dave Beck's teamsters. A longshoreman at Astoria, near the stormy mouth of the Columbia River, thought carefully before he expressed his opinion. "I know Bridges and Phil Murray are against Truman's plan for ending strikes," he said. "I don't agree with them. If labor doesn't accept Truman's plan, the friends of big business in Congress are likely



President Truman

to put labor in a strait-jacket. And what is the alternative to Truman except men like Dewey and Bricker and Taft?"

After the death of Roosevelt his enemies exulted that "one-man government" and "federal tyranny" were no more. But a Union Pacific fireman in an Oregon town remarked to me: "We railroad workers are sick and tired of transporting skiers and vacationers and a lot of playboys when the returning soldiers can't get on the trains. Why doesn't the government kick all these people off the Pullmans and put on the soldiers instead? We men have talked of refusing to move a train out of the yards unless it's kept for veterans."

A poll conducted in the Bay area by the San Francisco *Chronicle* showed a fourteen-to-one majority for continuing price control and the OPA. The lifting of the ceiling price on citrus fruits caused a surge of affection for the OPA in many housewives' bosoms. The sudden spurt in the price of oranges showed them how the cost of the whole breakfast would skyrocket if the OPA were liquidated. Chester Bowles, if much maligned in industrial circles, is a popular figure in many American households. "He's one of the few guys in Washington with guts," is the frequent comment of humble consumers.

The housing dilemma is least understood by our soldiers. Men who have conquered the Axis and built bases from the Arctic Circle to the Equator do not see why they must go without a roof over their heads at home. "It don't make a bit of sense," said a sergeant in the 341st Engineers whom I met in a lunch room in South Dakota. "Our outfit helped build the Alcan Highway. We just got bulldozers and steam-shovels and sailed into the job. Why not call out the 341st and have us build houses? We'd have a place to live in a few weeks."

I replied that the private contractors and the building-trades unions might feel their rights were being infringed if the army engineers erected houses. The sergeant banged down his beer so hard it sloshed on the linoleum of the counter. "To hell with the contractors and the unions!" he exclaimed. "My wife and baby and I need a place to

live. My rights were infringed on when I was shipped off to the front for three years. Now to hell with the damn unions and the damn corporations that won't build me a house unless they can make big profits on the deal. I didn't make any profit out of my three years in the army."

No issue seems to hold greater peril for the President than housing. After his radio speech a former gunner in the Eleventh Air Force said, "It took less than a year for the government to have me flying on raids over Paramushiro. I hope the President can get me a house in that length of time."

Roosevelt's greatest political asset was a vague but heartfelt belief on the part of the masses that he was their friend. No propaganda could shake this belief. Out West in the 1936, 1940, and 1944 Presidential campaigns the Republican nominees paraded through districts where working people and small farmers lived amid a silence that was almost embarrassing to us who looked on. In the windows of the houses were pictures of the other candidate for President, usually captioned "A Gallant Leader" or "Our Great President."

Can Harry Truman claim this support? In Butte a Democratic Party official said to me, "Sure, our folks will vote

for Truman. But will they *work* for him? We have thousands of miners in this town for whom Roosevelt was almost a religion. They shoved his literature under doors. At union meetings they got up and hollered for him. They marched in Democratic parades. That's why Silver Bow County went Democratic three-to-one with Roosevelt on the ticket, and Silver Bow can swing the state. Every miner was 99 per cent for Roosevelt. I'd say every miner right now was about 51 per cent for Truman. That may not be enough."

Yet it is quite apparent that the bulk of the people like Harry Truman. A vast reservoir of good-will is still at his disposal. But unless he can prove himself a leader, it may seek some other political channel. Captain Harold Stassen appeals to young voters. Many liberals in the Middle West have expressed agreement with Robert La Follette of the Chicago *Sun* that progressives should be ready for independent action if the Democratic Party proves an unreliable instrument for reform.

The President's hard-hitting radio talk helped him. "He sounded like a real President, didn't he?" said a soldier back on his dairy farm along the Columbia River in Washington. "Maybe he's going to show us that he and Roosevelt have the same ideas, after all."

"The New Veteran"

[The Nation believes in freedom of expression for its reviewers. Walter Bernstein presented us with a special problem when he handed in his review of Charles G. Bolté's "The New Veteran." For the review was less a report on Mr. Bolté's book than a direct political attack on a veterans' organization. For this reason we considered it essential to allow a member of the American Veterans' Committee to reply, and invited Merle Miller to do so.]

Attacking Mr. Bolté

BY WALTER BERNSTEIN

Formerly staff writer for Yank in Italy and Yugoslavia; now with the New Yorker; author of "Keep Your Head Down"

CHARLES G. BOLTE'S book "The New Veteran" (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$2) is an account of his "convalescence from a wound suffered at El Alamein, an analysis of veterans' problems, and an indication of their solution. The personal section is brief, gracious, and nicely understated. Bolté is an American who fought as a lieutenant in the British army; he writes honestly about war with the almost complete detachment from its more sordid aspects that only well-bred young Englishmen seem able to achieve. He approaches veterans' problems in much the same way. Bolté is now chairman of the American Veterans' Committee, a small but highly articulate group of—mainly—World War II intellectuals. His book is largely an argument for the AVC.

Bolté's approach to the veteran question is sound in the sense that he realizes it cannot be handled apart from the basic problems of society. The AVC statement of inten-

tions calls for full employment, social security, and active participation in the UNO. It is also the only veterans' organization that is not Jim Crow. "There are many individual veteran's problems," Bolté writes, "but the one overriding veteran's problem is identical with the overriding national problem: how to create a more democratic and prosperous America in a world organized against war. . . . Mass unemployment for the nation means mass unemployment for the veteran who fought for the right to work. Intolerance, discrimination against minorities, inflation, farm foreclosures, factories turning over at half speed in the nation—all these plant at home the seeds of the same fascism which the veteran defeated abroad." There can be no quarrel with this; the words are admirable. It is unfortunate that they do not shake down into an effective program for mass progressive action.

The main reason is that Bolté seems unaware of any organic relation between the intellectual and the mass. He gives no indication that the intellectual's strength and a large measure of his direction can only come from popular movements. Nor is there any hint in "The New Veteran" that a veterans' organization can survive as a healthy force only if it ties up with other healthy forces—in this case, the labor movement. The book is full of talk about "our generation" but shows little understanding of just who make up that generation or what its immediate needs are. The great majority of veterans are wage-earners receiving less than \$2,500 a year. They are returning to a country in which the Roosevelt policies have been largely thrown out of the window. The one positive ally of these veterans is the labor movement. There is no recognition of this by Bolté. He does warn against the tendency to use the veteran to smash the unions,

but he also returns from a trip to Detroit convinced of "the utterly intransigent and violently opposed attitudes of management and labor."

This leads to a position of aloofness on a basic and vital matter. The intransigence in the General Motors strike is on the company's side. No veterans' organization that presumes to be progressive can equivocate on this question.

This lack of roots in the specific needs of the people leads Bolté to other attitudes that sound liberal but would work out as something else. He calls the bonus a gold brick, saying, "You get it and it's spent and then where are you? On

relief. And when you ask Congress for relief . . . it says, 'Oh we gave you that bonus last year, we can't do anything more for you.'" This has the ring of truth, but the hard fact is that our economy simply cannot take care of the veteran today. Mustering-out pay is pitifully inadequate; the cost of living is still way up; full employment is being systematically sabotaged in Con-



gress. The average veteran must have some kind of immediate monetary compensation just in order to get along. In theory the bonus may not be such a noble idea; in fact it is a pressing necessity. Bolté stresses that "the veteran who knows where he is going doesn't need much help." The fact is that too many veterans know where they are going but have not the means to get there.

This habit of thinking from the top down also puts Bolté into some curious positions on foreign policy. He believes the story that Senator Vandenberg abandoned his extreme isolationist position because he suddenly understood that a newer V-bomb might reach even to Detroit, and says he respects him the more for it. He thinks that "the question of admitting Argentina to the [San Francisco] conference was fundamentally one of choosing between a sterile, legalistic formula and following the dictates of ordinary common sense." He says, "We may feel confident that [the atom bomb] will not be used for evil purposes so long as it remains under the control of the present American, British, and Canadian governments." He feels the immediate necessity to "achieve a world order based on law, governed by representatives responsible to all the people, and guaranteeing the rights of all men."

These statements may sound generous, but they work out as either naive or irresponsible. Senator Vandenberg abandoned his old isolationist position all right, but only in favor of a new interventionist position, as shown today in China. The question of admitting Argentina to the conference was a choice between encouraging fascism or fighting it. The expression of confidence in the Western powers alone as guardians of the atom bomb is an invitation for them to continue

guarding it alone. The emphasis on immediate world government is a dangerous diversion from the more immediate need for resurrection of Big Three unity, an idea not quite as pretentious as world government but rather more crucial at the moment. Bolté says very little about the specific need for England, the United States, and the Soviet Union to stick together. (Perhaps it is an oversight that his proposed United Nations Veterans' organization does not have a Russian representative.) He is all for world government. But we cannot have any order based on law unless we first have Big Three unity. And before we can start guaranteeing the rights of all men we must guarantee the rights of a few men—say, the few who are working for General Motors or the 12,000,000 American citizens who are Negroes.

Bolté's handling of the American Legion is another example. His analysis of the reactionary leadership of the Legion is entirely accurate, but he omits two vital facts. Whether you like it or not, the American Legion has become an integral part of American life on the community level, and it can offer the veteran better service on his legitimate grievances than any other veterans' organization. Those are the two chief reasons why the Legion is already the largest organization of World War II veterans in the country. It has 600,000 new members now and expects a million by spring. This fact cannot be ignored or rejected. The question is not alone whether these new men can change Legion policy; as a political machine the Legion makes Tammany look like the American Student Union. There is also the question of going where the men go and fighting for their needs *with* them. A new organization, noble in purpose but lacking roots and positive affiliation, can easily become isolated from the mass of veterans it claims to represent.

There is little need today for an organization of intellectuals to act as a steering committee for the veterans. There is a great need for veterans to ally themselves with progressive forces such as the labor movement on immediate, specific issues. The American Veterans' Committee will become a blind alley if it continues to regard all veterans as young college men who consider the civilian world strange and rather immoral and who feel they can remain "independent." Such people can afford to turn down a bonus or scrap the UNO for a nebulous world government. Most veterans cannot. Such people can also regard as basic the conflict between the old and the new generation. This is another luxury most veterans cannot afford. A veteran on a picket line has more in common with another striker who was in the last war than he has with a veteran from this war who is inside the plant.

No new veterans' organizations can be all things to all men. Sooner or later the time must come when it cannot please Henry Luce and the veterans who are striking in Detroit. Sooner or later it must face the contradiction of being all for a community of nations and yet nodding favorably on our hoarding of the atom bomb. No new veterans' organization can stand outside the fighting within the United States today. It cannot, as Bolté does, set up capital and labor as "two behemoths . . . belaboring each other over which gets the major cut of a pie," with the veteran standing on the sidelines. This is doing just what Bolté warns against—setting up the veteran as a separate class.

The path which Bolté charts for the veteran is well inten-

tioned, but it can be seductive and misleading. His book does not face two basic questions: on whose terms does the veteran return to civilian life, and with whom is the veteran supposed to ally himself in his fight for jobs and peace? Unless these questions are raised and answered, any approach to the veteran question will be superficial and any new veterans' organization will be built on sand.

Rebutting Mr. Bernstein

BY MERLE MILLER

Former editor of the Continental and Pacific editions of Yank; author of "Island 49," a novel

A NEW veterans' organization has emerged from every war which the United States has fought. Charles Bolté's book is an eloquent, factual, detailed account of the beginning and history of the group which at present seems most likely to capture the imagination of the men who fought World War II, the American Veterans' Committee. To tell that story Bolté, quite rightly, has explained how and why he became the first national chairman.

In many ways Bolté is a quite typical member of the generation which fought and won the war. He began as an isolationist; there are few of us who didn't. Even those who had not read Ernest Hemingway, Dos Passos, Walter Millis, or "Merchants of Death" had absorbed the cynicism that followed the First World War; it wasn't necessary to be an intellectual to be convinced that war solves nothing, that it is only organized mass murder. But, again like the rest of us, Bolté changed his mind after, in his case, bumming to the West Coast and back. What he was beginning to think after the fall of France he was sure of on April 24, 1941, when resistance ended in Greece. He wrote an all-out interventionist letter at that time, which was printed on the front page of the Dartmouth College daily.

Bolté had reluctantly decided that we must fight for survival. He had shifted his position gradually, as honest, clear-thinking men are likely to do. He did not wait for the latest communiqué from Moscow and did not make up his mind because of a morning editorial in *Pravda*.

On July 10, 1941, Bolté and four friends sailed from New York to join the British army. That was not typical. Most of us waited for the draft. At El Alamein he lost a leg, and of his four companions, two "got the limps, two got death." About that, as about war in general, Bolté writes with simple feeling, in somewhat the same deprecating manner in which most disabled veterans, well-bred young Englishmen or not, are likely to describe what happened to them.

On his return to the United States Bolté joined the American Legion, but he soon found that while individual members of the Legion protested vehemently that they wanted "the boys" to take over, there was no practicable way for the veterans of this war to do so; that, in fact, the tight, entrenched hierarchy of the Legion was so organized that an expression of democratic sentiment was impossible. The famous but ineffectual Willard Straight Post of New York had tried and been ousted for its efforts, then later reinstated somewhat chastened. More recently the officers of a Hollywood post were deposed because they dared admit a Japanese American to membership, and earlier in 1945 the national

chairman of the Legion's Employment Committee refused to attend the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires because, he said, "your organization has no standing in the American Legion and no authority to speak for it."

The whole history of the Legion has emphasized its reactionary national policy, even though, as Bolté points out, its membership, for the most part, has consisted of upper-middle-class business men mainly interested in frequent social get-togethers and an annual spree at the national convention. The Legion was organized in Paris in 1919 by a handful of high-ranking officers who have never let go, though some of the original members have, of course, had to pass on the reins to others. The chief purpose of that Paris group was to combat "bolshhevism"—meaning, as it later proved, the books of such mild-mannered progressives as Harold Rugg and Charles and Mary Beard, meaning in many communities (mine in Iowa, for one) organized labor, meaning quite often the sentiments expressed in the Bill of Rights.

Of course, in one sense things have changed of late. The national officers of the Legion are still fencing with the Bolsheviks, worrying about Russia, and awarding their 1945 Distinguished Service medal to William Randolph Hearst. But the Communists, in the cities where they are active, are joining up in small but enthusiastic numbers. Mr. Bernstein's attitude toward the Legion so exactly reflects that of the Communists that one is led to question his entire handling of Bolté's book.

In any case he seems to have skipped many passages of the book, either through careless reading or for reasons one hopes are his own. For example, he finds Bolté and the American Veterans' Committee too little concerned with labor. He does not mention, though it is clearly outlined in the book, the AVC's fight against Local Board Memorandum 190-A issued by the national Selective Service, the seniority ruling which can be and is being used by employers in an attempt to break unions—witness the full-page General Motors ads deploring the fate of the poor non-union veteran. The American Legion, as well as the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Disabled War Veterans, has proposed that seniority be given for time in service for the purpose of new employment provided no one is laid off to make room for the veteran, unless—and *unless* is the significant word—the lay-off is for ninety days or more.

Obviously, Bolté points out, anti-union management could very carefully choose a strong union department, close it for ninety days, then rehire carefully screened anti-union veterans. Organized labor is opposed to any such proposal; so is the AVC. Organized labor is fighting super-seniority for veterans; so is the AVC. Labor has its representatives in Washington to protest in person; so does the AVC.

Bolté may be an intellectual—he has read a book, an apparently criminal offense in Mr. Bernstein's view—but he appeared before Congress to make a strong appeal for passage of the full-employment bill. No representative of the American Legion made any appeal at all—and will not.

True, the AVC has not supported a bonus; this particular member hopes it will not. Anyone who remembers 1932 should know a bonus is the answer to nothing. Jobs are the answer, jobs for everyone, not just for twelve million veterans.

The AVC has never believed that veterans can or should

remain "independent"; there is no such statement in "The New Veteran." The AVC is convinced that veterans must ally themselves with labor, and Bolté quite clearly says so. Attempts to divide the two groups—and they are being made constantly—will lead, Bolté says, to "a fight which can end only in a struggle to see which group gets more and more of less and less, for neither can live without the other."

As another example of Mr. Bernstein's treatment of "The New Veteran," consider the sentences he chooses to quote on foreign policy. He picks out the one saying, "The question of admitting Argentina to the UNO conference [in San Francisco] was fundamentally one of choosing between a sterile, legalistic formula and following the dictates of common sense." But Mr. Bernstein does not give the sentences that follow: "The formula won out, in the traditional and disturbing style of the League of Nations between the wars. . . . This was hailed by the American press as a victory over Russia, but to those of us who had fought this war as a war against fascism it seemed a singularly hollow victory." Again Mr. Bernstein quotes, "We may feel confident that [the atomic bomb] will not be used for evil purposes so long as it remains under the control of the present American, British, and Canadian governments." He does not quote the more significant sentences that come immediately after: "We cannot expect other nations to feel the same confidence; we can be quite sure that other nations will take urgent steps to perfect the practical means necessary to apply the known principles of atomic fission. . . . The only way to rob the atomic bomb of its terrible threat is to vest control of it in the hands of some power higher than that of mere nations."

The examples given are typical of Mr. Bernstein's method. Most veterans are not interested in the latest switch in the party line. They are concerned, and mightily, with finding a job, a place to live, with the kind of world organization which will make another war impossible. As for veterans' groups, the significant fact is not that 600,000 veterans of this war have joined the Legion—a claim, incidentally, open to some doubt, for the Legion is as reluctant as General Motors to open its books for public inspection—but that, despite the millions the Legion is spending on its recruiting campaign, most of the five million men already discharged have not joined any organization at all.

Perhaps the veterans' group that will grow out of this war, as one has grown out of every other war in which the United States has participated, is not yet formed. It was nearly a year after the Armistice in 1918 before the Legion got under way. Meanwhile, few of the millions of young Americans who voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt are going to join an old-line, backward-looking, reactionary group of the last war. Socially, they want a club of their own. And even the most naive of us learned from Munich that you can't overcome evil by joining with it; you must fight it. As for a combination of the extreme right and the extreme left, that was part of the trouble in Germany in 1932. It might contain the seeds of an American fascism.

Approximately 500 young veterans of this war are now joining the American Veterans' Committee every week. They are not all intellectuals; very few of them are graduates of either Dartmouth or Harvard; only a handful have even a nodding acquaintance with the five-foot shelf. They are pay-

ing their three-dollar membership to the AVC because it represents a hope for the future, a group of men who are not interested in double-talk but who mean certain things, say so, and then proceed to fight for them.

A great many of the fighting men of this war learned that you can't defeat an enemy by boring from within. You have to organize your strength and fight. That conviction will not die easily.

In the Wind

OUR SPECIAL AGENT for UNO affairs swears this story is true. Before the United States delegates left for the UNO conference they asked the British embassy in Washington whether there would be any customs restrictions on the baggage they took. After consulting the regulations, an attaché informed them that "the delegates may bring any amount and type of baggage they desire, except that in firearms they will be limited to one rifle and 500 rounds of ammunition per person."

AFTER SURVEYING Midwestern editorial opinion on the UNO's decision to locate in the East, we can't understand why the United Nations ever passed over the Middle West in choosing a permanent site. The Indianapolis *Star* of December 30 said the commission obviously hadn't realized one advantage of the section: "The percentage of foreign-born population is low and alien ideologies make little impression on the majority." The Chicago *Tribune* merely growled that "the United Nations have decided to locate not in an American but in an alien seat."

THE WHEEL HAS COME full cycle. Randolph Churchill's syndicated column from Rome, published here January 2, led off with a "fervent wish for the year 1946" that Italian trains will start running on time again.

UNDERGROUND HUMOR is now coming out of Palestine in the best tradition of the anti-Hitler gags that used to filter out of occupied Europe. Here's the latest: "Why is the British Labor government like a violin?" Answer: "Because it's held by the left and played on by the right."

THE AMERICAN VETERANS' COMMITTEE reported a big week in the January 1 issue of its bi-monthly publicity bulletin. Legislation signed by President Truman liberalizing the G. I. Bill of Rights included several AVC recommendations; the Marine Corps announced acceptance of Nisei enlistments, a result of AVC needling of the Navy Department; and Bill Maudlin signed up as a new member.

AN ARMY OFFICER who taught political warfare to G. I.'s at a camp in the Southwest told us about an examination he gave to 300 prospective trainees. Part of the test was a word-association affair. He says that the three responses most frequently scribbled in reaction to the word "Russia" were "anarchists," "godlessness," and "free love."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Britain and Empire Planning

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

The Nation's London correspondent

London, January 4

CHRISTMAS has come and gone. With so many families united for the first time in years, it was a happy interlude; Santa Claus did his best with "austerity" toys, and the black market in turkeys was broken at the eleventh hour by the public's commendable refusal to pay more than the "control" price. Hogmanay had to be celebrated in most cases without the traditional "dram"; but then, glad though we are to have said farewell to 1945 with its deliverances and disillusionments, there was little inclination to hail the advent of 1946 save soberly. Rosy spectacles are not being worn this chilly winter. Having withstood defeats without despair and achieved victories without vain-glory, the British people view the future with neither fear nor enthusiasm. War weariness, native phlegm, or sound philosophy toughened by experience? One guess is as good as another. What is certain is that John Bull today is more of a realist—unsentimental and a trifle cynical—then he has ever been. With both feet on the ground he has no heroes and few—perhaps too few—hatreds; and he no longer believes in "happily ever after" fairy stories. Had the Moscow conference ended, like the war-time meetings of the Big Three, with an announcement that complete unanimity had been achieved and a road paved to the millennium, Britishers would have shrugged their shoulders in profound skepticism.

Certainly no such claim was made by Mr. Bevin on his return from Moscow: by all accounts he came home with a sore head, and did not disguise from his colleagues his resentment at having been "sold down the river" by Mr. Byrnes. Indeed, the general impression here of the agreements reached is that Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Molotov did a deal very much *à deux*. With a modicum of face-saving concessions on each side the United States and the Soviet Union maintained substantially their respective claims to spheres of influence in the Pacific and Eastern Europe. On the items in which the British Foreign Secretary was really interested—Persia, the mandate for Tripolitania, the future of truncated Germany—there was neither any agreement nor, it seems, much American support for the British point of view. It is something, of course, that the deadlock which followed the London conference last autumn has been broken. There is now enough superficial collaboration among the Big Three—or perhaps one should say Big Two—to enable the General Assembly of the UNO to go ahead with its program of work. But with so many fundamental issues shelved or postponed, the signal-light given the Assembly is amber, not green.

Meanwhile Labor M.P.'s have been spending the recess in sounding the views of their constituents—always a salutary corrective to the slightly esoteric atmosphere engendered

in the closed community of the House of Commons—and in taking a brief rest before facing up to the arduous program of legislation ahead. First comes the Coal-Industry Nationalization bill, tabled by Mr. Shinwell just before the Christmas adjournment. As the first major instalment of the government's plan for remodeling industry, this measure has been getting close scrutiny during the holidays and will lead to tough debates—with some criticism from both sides of the House. So far as the future structure of the industry is concerned, the outstanding feature of the bill is the wide power given to the Minister of Fuel. He will appoint a Board of Management for the mines consisting of nine experts chosen without reference to any organized interests. The board will have full responsibility for the day-to-day running of the pits, but the Minister, advised by two councils representing domestic and industrial users of coal, will give the board "general directions." This may, in practice, mean a lot, for the Minister will decide what repayments the industry is to make to the Treasury in respect both of the \$600,000,000 which it is now to receive for reequipment and of the compensation liability which the state assumes toward existing owners. On his decision will largely depend the industry's ability to pay the needed better wages without raising coal prices to a level which would make British manufactures non-competitive.

Mr. Shinwell enjoys, and deserves, the party's confidence, and there will be no disposition to quarrel with the extent of the authority delegated to him. The really controversial issue is the amount of compensation to be awarded to the colliery companies and the method of its payment. Over the past eighteen years the mining industry made average annual profits of \$27,500,000. An Arbitration Tribunal is now to decide what would be the industry's "reasonable net maintainable revenue" if it were not nationalized, and to say how many years' purchase of the annual figure thus estimated would represent fair compensation. Since future costs and selling prices are problematic, this is a tough conundrum for the Tribunal; and its task is immensely complicated by a second instruction, namely, to value the industry as if it were being transferred on normal commercial terms from "a willing seller to a willing buyer." This basis of valuation is regarded by many Labor M. P.'s as an act of appeasement to the companies owning pits which have for years suffered losses and recouped them out of the "equalization" levy on pit-head prices. How can there be a hypothetical "willing buyer" of pits whose future "maintainable revenue" is a minus quantity?

The Tories, well enough pleased at the arbitration machinery, are up in arms against a proviso in the bill giving the government the right to make non-marketable the government stock which will be handed over in compensation.

True, this salutary clause—aimed at preventing flight of capital into, say, a Wall Street boom—can be got over, as the bill stands, by the simple device of putting an ex-coaliery company into voluntary liquidation. But the financial district detects the thin end of a wedge driven into the sanctity of free ownership of capital, and Tory M. P.'s will fight the clause tooth and nail. What the average Labor voter would like to know is why expropriated shareholders in coal mines or any other nationalized industry should receive more than annuities terminable in, say, fifteen or twenty years. If, as seems likely, compensation is inflated and equity shareholders are given bonds representing a perpetual lien on the community, the process of nationalization may easily lead to a revival of agitation for a capital levy. Otherwise the *rentier*, removed from the shoulders of this or that particular industry, will weigh as heavily as ever on the back of the producer in general.

After coal will come national insurance—another big bill scheduled for the early spring. Our legislators will have plenty on their hands, but they will have to spare some time from bills to consider a question which the dollar loan and the entry into Bretton Woods have made fundamental and urgent—the development of Britain's foreign trade. There is little point now in rehearsing the unresolved doubts and disquietude with which Parliament reluctantly indorsed the

Washington agreements. Britain has taken its decision, and, subject to the attitude of Congress, there can be no going back on it. But this perhaps is worth saying, to avoid misconceptions on your side of the Atlantic: the opposition to the loan was based, not on the fact that the interest was fixed at an "ungenerous" figure—the service of the loan need not be in itself an unduly heavy burden—but simply and solely on the loan's subsidiary conditions vetoing "discrimination" and "bilateral reciprocity" in foreign trade. It was not love for the commercial devices of Dr. Schacht but genuine inability to see how Britain can survive in a *laissez faire* "mutilateral" world dominated by the great and highly discriminatory customs unions of the United States and the Soviet Union that motivated the critics of the Washington pact. The question which is posed sharply to Labor M. P.'s is, what are we to do about it?

Everything depends on our ability to achieve a volume of exports 75 per cent greater than in 1938 before the American line of credit is exhausted. Unless we can reach that export target we shall be forced into so restricting imports and internal purchasing power as to make nonsense of full-employment policy. Can we reach it? Since we are no longer exporters of coal and will have little enough to spare in the way of other raw materials or foodstuffs, we shall be compelled practically to double our exports of manufactures,



valued in 1938 at \$1,460,000,000. What markets are there to absorb these increased shipments? Europe's purchases, except on extended credit terms—which we cannot afford to give—are likely to be smaller, not greater, than before the war, and in the Latin American and Far Eastern markets British goods will be up against formidable United States competition. It follows that the bulk of the necessary expansion of British exports must be achieved within the Empire and in trade with such "sterling-area" countries as Egypt, and this task will be made more difficult if imperial preference is to be reduced in exchange for tariff reductions elsewhere, whose result will obviously not be a specifically British gain.

Faced with this problem, many Labor M. P.'s are turning their minds to the possibility of increasing inter-Empire trade along lines of planned long-term, bulk-purchase contracts with prices settled for a number of years ahead. Admittedly the Washington agreements contain a formal ban on "reciprocal" trade bargains, but many persons here hold that this means simply a veto on imports with definite strings

on them. There is nothing in the letter of the agreements to forbid two countries freely entering—with no compulsion exercised by either party—a mutual trade pact to buy from each other x tons of such and such goods at stated prices. Such a system would, of course, imply close state control—perhaps approaching a monopoly—of import-export transactions, but no Socialist would quarrel with that principle. Moreover, there is much to be said, from Britain's standpoint, in favor of agreements designating the *kind* of goods we want to exchange with the dominions and our other sterling creditors. If production within the Empire is to be reasonably "complementary"—as opposed to a competitive scramble between secondary industries here, there, and everywhere—and if there is to be orderly development of the backward colonies and Middle East countries, physical planning of Empire resources is just as logical and necessary as planned location of industries in Britain. That, at any rate, is a line of thought of which more is likely to be heard as the consequences of our entry into Bretton Woods are fully weighed.

Réveillon in Paris

BY IDA TREAT

An American writer who has lived in France for many years; author of "The Anchored Heart," the story of a Breton island under the Germans

Paris, January 4

IN A way we were all survivors. Even Jeanne's mother, home that day after five years' exile in a mountain village—a floor of beaten earth, water one hundred yards down the slope, and no one to chop wood for her. Eighty-two, and her joints swollen with rheumatism. "I have lost the habit of society," she said. There was André, back from six years' fighting on the sea; Pierre, on leave from the Rhineland after two years in the *maquis*, a Gestapo prison, and the campaigns of Alsace and the Danube. There was Charles, Jeanne's husband, whose prisons had all been in France; Jeanne, who had toiled in the underground month after month; our Martha, who was cooking the dinner. And there was the girl from Auschwitz.

For all of us it was our first *Réveillon* in Paris since 1939. Jeanne warned us, it would not be a feast. The chicken promised from the country had not arrived; the family meat ration would have to stretch for seven. There would be vegetable soup, a salad, and she had made an apple tart. And she was afraid dinner would be late—she had had to take her weekly page to the printer's and she had been late getting back.

We sat in a circle about the sawdust-burning stove—the furnace had not been lighted for five years. Two bottles of red wine stood warming beside it. Through the open door the heat filtered into the dining-room. Out in the hallway the thermometer stood at freezing, and in the kitchen by the gas stove—Jeanne had tied an apron over her fur coat—it was only a degree or so higher. Condensed steam ran in rivulets down the walls and gathered in pools on the tiled

floor. Poor Jeanne, we said, and pulled our chairs closer to the fire.

"Go easy with that," Charles warned, as a Directoire armchair creaked and wobbled. "It's the last of three to survive the occupation. Those delicate old things haven't much resistance."

Someone remarked—apropos of "resistance"—that certain words had become so associated in our minds with one distinct theme that they sounded almost startling when used in any other connection. "Like 'collaboration.' Could you imagine asking anyone to 'collaborate'?"

Pierre said that reminded him of his amazement on reading a notice in a taxi in pre-war Berlin: "Don't open the windows without permission of the Führer." Even those of us who knew no German got that one. Mlle Kahn, the girl from Auschwitz, did not laugh; probably she hadn't listened. She looked up frowning. "It's like the word 'selection.'"

Nobody spoke for a moment. We had all heard of the grim "selections" in the death camps; we also knew what had happened to her parents and her sister.

Charles asked if she had received any news of her flat. What were the chances of her getting it back?

"Not very good. The man Vichy put there has four children. You can't put them into the street. And after all, what would I do with eight rooms?" It was her father's flat, she explained.

Even the *bergère* in which she sat looked much too big for her. She filled about one-third of it. Mlle Kahn was the only deportee I knew who had put on no weight to speak of since her return. I found myself looking at her

hands—delicate artist hands, almost transparent. Of the four women she was the only one to wear new clothes. Given the Paris prices, her knitted suit and fur-lined shoes must have cost a fortune.

She seemed suddenly conscious of our concerned faces. "I can't help thinking what all this would have meant a year ago—to be warm and clean and among friends. I'm afraid I should have put it in just that order."

"I couldn't have endured the filth," said Jeanne from the doorway. "The only time I was arrested, they wouldn't let me take anything with me, not even a handkerchief. They said I would be home by night; they only wanted to ask me a few questions. You can imagine what I looked like when they let me out—after nine weeks at Fresnes."

I asked Mlle Kahn how long she had been at Auschwitz.

"Two years."

"It must have been a grand moment when the Russians came," said Charles.

Mlle Kahn nodded. "They gave us what food they could—salt pork and flour—and they brought us water. The battle was all around us. Most of us were too far gone for enthusiasm."

Jeanne's mother woke out of a doze to ask abruptly, "Was it a Russian who broke your wrist?"

We stared, and Mlle Kahn said patiently, "No, that was a fellow-prisoner, a Pole. You see, I was dipping up snow to make drinking-water for the children, and he wanted the pail."

"Speaking of the prisoners," Pierre began. But Jeanne's mother spoke again. Either she had not caught the reply or she had lost interest. Smiling a little childishly, she looked from one face to the other and in the tone of a lady-in-hersalon asked: "Isn't anyone going to sing?"

Perhaps we needed that shock to sound the gulf separating this *Réveillon*, 1945, from the others. In other days Charles or a fellow-southerner would have given us a Gascon carol—a gay old thing, its Christmas theme embellished with allusions to forgotten controversies. Jeanne's mother or the soldier son would have replied with a carol from the Alsatian border, and Jeanne herself after much urging would have sung one of the old Protestant hymns of Franche Comté. It wasn't only the missing voices, or that the old intimacy was lacking, or that we all felt, unquestionably, older. The fact was there—after the years France and Europe had lived through, you didn't sing.

Disappointed in her hopes of music, the old lady dozed again by the fire while the talk surged on. Beyond a brief reference to the devalued franc and the return to the bread ration there was little talk of France. Or of personal problems in the immediate future, though they loomed big for most of us. Peace—the Moscow conference—America and Russia—world peace: it brought us back inevitably to the problem of Germany, the ghost that sits in permanence at every French hearth. How were we to lay that ghost?

Pierre, military governor of a small German city, said he wasn't over-optimistic. He felt convinced that the Russians too thought little could be done with the present generation of Germans, those from eighteen to fifty; that they based their policy on that belief and acted accordingly. "They don't waste their time sorting out the little sheep and goats.

Every German today is an anti-Nazi if you take him at his word. I'm not sure the Russian method isn't the right one. On our side we back the church. *Alles für Deutschland; Deutschland für Christus*. There's still too much 'Deutschland' in all that, to my way of thinking. Over and over I tell them, 'You can't be a nation yet. You've got to learn all over, learn to live. Later on, we'll see.'"

"Still we have to count on someone. Who but the anti-Nazis?"

"Agreed," said Pierre. "I'm with you. We'll back the anti-Nazis. But here's a case in point—my chief of police. He offered all the guaranties: escaped from a K-L in '34; International Brigade in Spain; enlisted in the French army in '39; handed over to Nazis by Vichy. The right sort, indubitably the right sort. But from the day I made him chief of police, he changed. Changed overnight. A little authority, and there you were. The old Prussianism in all its glory. I had to replace him."

I asked the girl from Auschwitz, had she seen Martin-Chauffier's article about the behavior of German prisoners in the death camps? One heard so many stories. Were they as bad as all that?

"Some of them," she admitted. "Particularly the 'supervisors.' " A German fellow-prisoner, a woman, had heaved rocks at her when the stones she was lifting slipped from her numbed fingers. (A long red scar showed through the meshes of her stocking.) But another German woman had saved her twice from the "selections" and had risked her life to do so—she wasn't a Jewess either. "You mustn't generalize. The records of all the nations in camp were just as mixed."

She leaned forward in her chair, her long hands clasped about her knees.

"Isn't the problem bigger than just Germany? So often at night when the camp was still—snow outside on the frozen marshes, and the chimneys of the crematory sending up great flames among the stars—I used to think, if this can happen here, or anywhere on this globe, isn't it a sign that something is wrong with all of us? Perhaps with man himself? I—I used to despair," she added in a low voice.

"It's worth while pondering," said Charles. He glanced at his watch and switched on the radio. A thin treble of children's voices came over the air. *Il est né, le divin enfant*. . . .

Mlle Kahn hitched her chair nearer.


"The children," she whispered. "When I hear that, I think—you know, generally they didn't use gas. They forced us to undress them—they forced women to do that. And, afterward, to wheel the go-carts to the storehouse. One hundred women, pushing the empty baby-carriages. And we didn't refuse; we wanted to live. Isn't that enough to brand us?"

As the carol ended, we heard the bells over Paris. They roused Jeanne's mother. She smiled sleepily.


"Peace on earth."

"To men of good-will—if and where we find them," Pierre completed. "Which doesn't mean we won't keep our eyes open. What about it, Mlle Kahn?"

"I'm afraid I'm a poor one to judge," murmured the girl from Auschwitz. While Jeanne called from the dining-room: "*Minuit, Chrétiens!* And the soup's on the table."



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



Wall Street Fireworks

AFTER a short, minor post-Christmas recession the Stock Exchange appears to be gathering momentum for a bigger and better boom. On January 8, following news that steel prices would be raised, stocks resumed their upward trend in "a broad and buoyant" manner, as the financial reporters put it, despite the fact that business was handicapped by the Western Union strike. The next morning my Wall Street watchdog phoned to say that the market was "terrific," with buying orders pouring in for every kind of stock.

It is now nearly four years since the present bull market started. The turn came in April, 1942, and while there have been a number of reactions since then, the "averages" have always taken two upward steps on the chart for each downward one. The last sizable setback was in the summer of 1945, after which the forward movement became increasingly vigorous. In fact, more than 40 per cent of the rise in the Dow-Jones industrial average since April, 1942, has occurred in the past six months. The volume of business on the New York Stock Exchange last year was the greatest since 1937, and the Curb Exchange had its biggest year since 1930. For the first time since the depression the public is taking a big hand in stock speculation. Market tips are once more being widely circulated; Wall Street gossip is again a dinner-table topic.

While all this profitable activity is so much sunshine to Wall Street brokers and bankers, the men in Washington who are trying to hold the lid on inflation regard it with grim displeasure. They would like to curb the stock boom before it gets out of hand, but it is a little difficult to see what they can do about it. The Federal Reserve Board exercises authority over credit facilities for stock trading, and last summer it ordered the raising of margin requirement to 75 per cent. In other words, a man who wants to buy \$10,000 worth of securities must put up at least \$7,500 cash. This is a far cry from the 15 and 20 per cent margins which were available prior to the 1929 crash and effectively cuts out shoe-string speculation. Moreover, this safeguard has been reinforced by New York Stock Exchange rules which prohibit any margin trading in stocks selling under \$10 and require any account under \$1,000 to be on a cash basis.

Such measures, however, have in no wise checked the exuberance of the stock market, for today's speculators have an abundance of ready money to back their fancies. In fact, the current steep margin requirements have increased the solidity of the market and serve in some ways to minimize the violence of reactions rather than to discourage buying. In the old days a spell of selling was likely to uncover a number of thinly margined positions and thus lead to further weakness. Today stocks are abundantly cushioned against the shocks of margin calls.

It is doubtful, therefore, whether even the total prohibi-

tion of margin trading would do much to slow down the current boom. A more drastic proposal, which has been aired in Washington from time to time, is a steep increase in the tax on capital profits. At present profits on securities held for less than six months are taxed as ordinary income, but those obtained after longer periods are subject to a maximum levy of 25 per cent—a concession which has been an immense boon to security traders. It has been suggested that a longer holding period might be required before security profits qualified for the lower rate, or that a much steeper rate might be applied. Congressional opinion, however, is not thought to be very receptive to such ideas. In addition, it is by no means certain that increased taxes, unless absolutely punitive, would serve to reduce the upward pressure on security prices. They might tend to make the market more of a one-way street than ever by encouraging people to postpone sales in the hope of an eventual revision of the levy.

Even if the present boom in stocks could be damped down, the results might well prove disappointing from the point of view of reducing inflationary pressure. For the boom is much more a symptom than a cause of inflation. Some security buyers believe that a period of unprecedented profits is ahead as the public gets an opportunity to exercise its pent-up purchasing power; others fear that a rising price level will reduce the real value of their bank accounts and bond-holdings, and they seek equities as a hedge. In so far as investment in stocks diverts funds from current consumption of goods, it is an anti-inflationary factor. When it results in the transfer of idle bank balances from buyers to sellers, its effect is neutral. What could make the boom acquire inflationary force in its own right would be the large-scale transfer of money invested in war bonds to the stock market. For if the encashment of bonds should exceed new purchases, the Treasury would probably be forced to increase its bank borrowings and thus add to the total volume of liquid funds in the country.

There is no definite evidence at this time of any such switching from savings bonds to stocks, though encashments of bonds have increased sharply since V-J Day. But there is undeniably danger of a development in this direction if blazing security markets continue. The increased interest of small-time speculators in stocks has been shown by the popularity of the "cats and dogs"—the low-priced issues of doubtful value—on the New York exchanges and of the "penny" mining stocks in such centers as Salt Lake City. SEC officials have publicly deplored gambling of this sort, and Emil Schram, president of the New York Stock Exchange, was recently quoted as saying: "People who are unable to judge values or have a competent adviser judge for them have no business buying securities. Those who scorn factual information and who conduct their operations on the basis of tips, rumors, hunches, and impulses are misusing our facilities." But solemn lectures of this kind are apt to be buried in small type and overlooked. If the Stock Exchange really wishes to discourage the market dabblers it should publish such warnings as advertisements and see they are given at least as much prominence on the financial pages as the offers of tipster sheets which are again becoming so plentiful.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

COUNT CIANO'S story of the war makers, just published in the United States,* reveals the dry rot that infected the fascist era. The most familiar actor of this drama, which covers the years from 1939 to 1943, is the author himself; his self-portrait, as it emerges from these pages of political commentary, adds little to earlier pictures of the man. Here is the well-known play boy of international diplomacy, intelligent, unscrupulous, adroit. He would have made an amusing ambassador in another time, but to the world's misfortune he was called to serve as Foreign Minister through the most decisive period of Italian history.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Ciano diary is the utter cynicism with which it exposes the back-stage life of a decadent regime that once had its admirers even in the democratic countries. As might have been expected, King Victor Emmanuel cuts a pitiful figure. Those who are intriguing in Italy and abroad to save the House of Savoy may find here and there a chance remark that helps their cause. But taken as a whole, Ciano's descriptions of the King and his heir, the Prince of Piedmont, establish beyond doubt that this was a corrupt dynasty in the service of fascism. The King's widely heralded opposition to Mussolini is reduced to polite drawing-room disapproval. When he disagrees with the Duce it is never on major questions; he fights bravely for the title of Supreme Commander or haggles over the privilege of reviewing the divisions returning from the front. His opposition to the war is equally feeble. Victor Emmanuel is a pacifist—when the war goes badly. But at the slightest sign of improvement on the battlefield, he puffs out his diminutive chest again and assumes a warrior's stance. While His Majesty is strongly anti-Hitler, it is envy rather than ideological differences which motivates his hatred of "those ugly Germans." What he resents most is being obliged to add the precious Collar of the Annunziata to Göring's hoard of decorations. The Nazi Air Marshal is a particular source of irritation to the King—why, on his visits to Rome this fat, vulgar plebeian has boasted of a jewel collection surpassing that of the House of Savoy!

Above all, let no one accuse the King of playing favorites; he is impartially disloyal to the Duce, the generals, and the Italian people. A single idea obsesses him: to retain the few prerogatives which fascism, in order to create a good impression abroad, has left to the Crown.

The Duce appears in almost every entry of the diary. As a member of the family, Ciano offers the reader a glimpse into the private life of the Italian dictator with references to escapades at Cammillucia (the residence of his mistress, Clara Petacci), his stomach ulcer, aggravated by the reverses in Libya, and his unconcealed contempt for the King. "After the war is over," Mussolini confided to Ciano, "I shall tell Hitler to do away with all of these absurd anachronisms in the form of monarchies."

Though Ciano speaks of the Duce with respect and affection, he unwittingly reveals the instability and vacillation that marked the dictator's character. As early as September 24, 1939—three weeks after the war started—Mussolini is already revising his first optimistic judgments of German strength. As the Red Army moves into eastern Poland, he begins to feel that "Hitler is bottled up" and to anticipate the possibility of Russia's eventual entrance into the war. It is the old Socialist of 1911 who comes to the fore now, accurately assessing the fighting spirit of the Red Army and the revolutionary ardor of the Russian people. But eight months later Mussolini, carried away by the news from Norway, emphatically reaffirms his conviction that Germany will win. His impatience to get into the war deepens with each Nazi success in the West; by May 13, 1940, he is proclaiming, "We Italians are already sufficiently dishonored. Any delay is inconceivable."

In the three years that followed, Ciano faithfully recorded the ups and downs of Italy's fortunes. The last real entry in the diary is dated February 8, 1943, the day on which he relinquished the reins of the Foreign Office to become ambassador to the Holy See. Thus we are deprived of a first-hand account of Mussolini's reactions in the last critical months before defeat and, even more important, of the Vatican's role in the war. But there is enough here to indicate the Duce's hysterical nature. One day he sees himself as Napoleon atop the Pyramids of Egypt announcing the downfall of the British Empire. A few days later he is depressed and infuriated by the failures in Libya. At times like these he invariably vents his wrath on the generals, on Graziani, "who has always been seventy feet underground in a Roman tomb at Cyrene while Rommel knows how to lead his troops with the personal example of the general who lives in his tank." On May 9, 1942, he pins his only hope on Rommel, "who will arrive at the Delta unless he is stopped, not by the British, but by our own generals."

The first section of the diary, "Memoriale di gabinetto per l'anno 1939," sheds new light on Italy's participation in the Spanish war. On January 4 Ciano writes, "In Spain we are going ahead at full speed. Gambara has executed a very brilliant maneuver, attacking the Reds on their flanks and producing a very serious crisis." The following day he observes, "The only danger in sight is a possible mass intervention of the French coming through the Pyrenees." (Actually the French did not need to cross the Pyrenees; they had only to lend the Spanish government the 150,000 rifles, 3,000 machine-guns, and two batteries of light artillery for which I pleaded in vain with Daladier.) By January 12 Ciano is reassured—no danger of intervention in Spain by the Western powers. He has just conferred with Lord Halifax in the Palazzo Chigi: "I repeated to him," says Ciano, "our point of view and he gave his. But he does not seem to be very convinced, and at heart I think he would be happy if Franco's victory were to settle the question."

DEL VAYO

* "The Ciano Diaries, 1939-1943." Doubleday and Company. \$4.

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

A YOUNG BRITISH OFFICER who spent three and a half years in a Japanese prison camp recently wrote to the editor of the London *Spectator* asking for a list of the more important books published during his exile, particularly those concerned with the humanities. Harold Nicolson answered the query in his weekly page, *Marginal Comment*, and I had just read his small catalogue with interest—lists of books are always fascinating—when a similar inquiry was put to me by a young American officer just returned from the wars, though not, fortunately, from a prison camp. There must be many others who are wondering which books, of the thousands published since they went away, are worth their attention. Using *The Nation's* annual book list as a base to work from, I have made a small selection. Like Mr. Nicolson's it is limited to the humanities—after all, there's a war off.

Some of my categories are a bit arbitrary—categories always are. And in these days there is so much overlapping of the various approaches—literary, social, anthropological, and so on—in single books that the problem becomes insoluble anyway.

LITERARY CRITICISM, BIOGRAPHY

- "Samuel Johnson," by Joseph Wood Krutch.
- "E. M. Forster," by Lionel Trilling.
- "Henry James: The Major Phase," by F. O. Matthiessen.
- "The Question of Henry James," Edited by F. W. Dupee.
- "The Trollopes," by Lucy Poate Stebbins and Richard Poate Stebbins.
- "W. B. Yeats," by Joseph Hone.
- "The Aesthetic Adventure," by William Gaunt.

"On Native Grounds," by Alfred Kazin, is a useful work in that it brings together a great deal of information about American literature since 1890, but the book is far too long and the writing arouses, and frustrates, all one's editorial instincts—so many sentences fray at the ends like unwhipped ropes.

CULTURAL CRITICISM

- "Mythology," by Edith Hamilton.
- "The Roots of American Culture and Other Essays," by Constance Rourke.
- "Democracy in America," by Alexis de Tocqueville.
- "The American Language. Supplement I," by H. L. Mencken.

I include De Tocqueville because his analysis of democratic culture seems to me as relevant today as it could ever have been (I shall discuss it at length one of these days). Perhaps Mencken's Supplement does not belong in this category, but it is difficult to place. "The Psychological Frontiers of Society" by Abram Kardiner and associates should be mentioned here for the benefit of those whose "faculty of attention" is well developed and who can understand the technical language of psychology and anthropology.

ETHICS, PHILOSOPHY, EDUCATION

- "The Nature and Destiny of Man, II," by Reinhold Niebuhr.
- "The History of Western Philosophy," by Bertrand Russell.
- "The Hero in History," by Sidney Hook.
- "The Teacher in America," by Jacques Barzun.
- "Everybody's Political What's What," by Bernard Shaw.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND PERSONAL TESTAMENTS

- "The Unquiet Grave," by Cyril Connolly.
- "Black Boy," by Richard Wright.
- "Heathen Days, 1890-1936," by H. L. Mencken.
- "Persons and Places: The Background of My Life," by George Santayana.
- "Sunday After the War," by Henry Miller.

BIOGRAPHY

- "Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus," by Samuel Eliot Morison.
- "William the Silent," by C. V. Wedgwood.
- "No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet," by Fawn M. Brodie.

HISTORY

- "The Year of Decision: 1846," by Bernard De Voto.
- "The Age of Jackson," by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
- "Saints and Strangers," by George F. Willison.
- "Angel in the Forest," by Marguerite Young.
- "The French Revolution," by J. M. Thompson.
- "The Age of Jackson" could just as well be listed under Cultural Criticism, since Mr. Schlesinger discusses all the aspects of the Jacksonian era. "Angel in the Forest" is a combination of history and belles-lettres.

Arthur Koestler's "The Yogi and the Commissar" belongs on the list but fits into none of my categories. Likewise "The Crack-up," edited by Edmund Wilson, which contains uncollected pieces, letters, and notebooks of Scott Fitzgerald, as well as commentaries on his life and work by others.

I'd suggest three books in the musical field—"Music for the Man Who Enjoys 'Hamlet,'" by B. H. Haggin; "The Musical Scene," by Virgil Thomson; and Tovey's "Musical Articles from the Encyclopedia Britannica."

The novels that seem worth a backward glance are very few despite all the stories that have been told these past four years, and the best book on the list is "The Bostonians," by Henry James, which I include because it is in print again for the first time since 1886.

FICTION

- "The Seed Beneath the Snow," by Ignazio Silone.
- "Home Is the Hunter," by Gontran de Poncins.
- "Arrival and Departure," by Arthur Koestler.
- "At Heaven's Gate," by Robert Penn Warren.
- "The Leaning Tower and Other Stories," by Katherine Anne Porter.
- "The Hunted," by Albert J. Guerard.
- "Prater Violet," by Christopher Isherwood.
- "The Bostonians," by Henry James.

Against seven novels, put at least twenty books of poems worth keeping. It is extraordinary—but it confirms a private theory of mine that the quality of poetry remains high, as compared to that of fiction, partly at least because the poet is less subject to corruption than the writer of fiction. He is not distracted by the hope of writing a best-seller or of getting a movie contract. And while he remains obscure (sometimes in a double sense) he also remains pure.

POETRY

- "Blood for a Stranger," by Randall Jarrell.
 "Awake! and Other Wartime Poems," by W. R. Rodgers.
 "Ruins and Visions," by Stephen Spender.
 "Parts of a World," by Wallace Stevens.
 "Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction," by Wallace Stevens.
 "Le Crêpe-Cœur," by Louis Aragon.
 "Sacred and Secular Elegies," by George Barker.
 "Four Quartets," by T. S. Eliot.
 "Person, Place, and Thing," by Karl Shapiro.
 "1 x 1," by E. E. Cummings.
 "The Summer Landscape," by Rolfe Humphries.
 "Land of Unlikeness," by Robert Lowell.
 "Nevertheless," by Marianne Moore.
 "V-Letter and Other Poems," by Karl Shapiro.
 "Selected Poems, 1923-1943," by Robert Penn Warren.
 "The Collected Poetry of W. H. Auden."
 "Little Friend, Little Friend," by Randall Jarrell.
 "Short Is the Time. Poems, 1936-1943," by C. Day Lewis.
 "Springboard, 1941-1944," by Louis MacNeice.
 "Selected Poems," by John Crowe Ransom.

Oh, My Name It Is Sam Hall

Three prisoners—the biggest black—
 And their one guard stand
 By the new bridge over the drainage ditch.
 They listen once more to the band
 Whose marches crackle each day at this hour
 From the speakers of the post.
 The planes drone over; the clouds of summer
 Blow by and are lost
 In the air that they and the crews have conquered.
 But the prisoners still stand
 Listening a little after the marches.
 Then they trudge through the sand
 To the straggling grass, and the castor bushes,
 And the whitewashed rocks
 That stand to them for an army and Order
 (Though their sticks and sacks
 And burned slack faces and ambling walk—
 The guard's gleaming yawn—
 Are as different as if the four were fighting
 A war of their own).
 They graze a while for scraps; one is whistling.
 When the guard begins
 Sam Hall in his slow mountain voice
 They all stop and grin.

RANDALL JARRELL

Science and the State

SCIENCE AND THE PLANNED STATE. By John R. Baker. The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.

IN ENGLAND more than in this country state planning of scientific research has received vigorous support from several men who can wield the pen as powerfully as they can prosecute experiments. Bernal, Levy, Haldane, and Crowther want to adopt *in toto* the methods devised by the Soviets. Dr. Baker, a member of the Zoology Department at Oxford, takes issue with these men. To him totalitarianism, whether of the German or the Russian variety, is precisely the form of government that is least in accord with scientific principles, "for scientists accept the authority of no one and recognize the necessity of liberty."

As Sir Roger would put it, there is much on both sides of the fence. Fundamental discoveries, made by men of genius, usually require for their attainment complete freedom for the individual—freedom of thought and freedom of action. It is hardly conceivable that the Curies would have discovered radioactivity or that Fleming would have stumbled on penicillin had they been soldiers in a regiment of scientific workers under orders from a colonel with political affiliations. And granted even that a favored few might be given a modicum of freedom of action and of thought in a totalitarian state, would a geneticist such as Morgan last long if he announced that his studies proved that heredity in its influence upon the individual was more powerful than environment?

However, when we leave fundamental discoveries and turn our attention to what might be called the "application" of these discoveries, then organized research is to be favored. For here the problem is to improve, to expand, and to apply some one discovery. Here talents of the second and third orders are usually sufficient. For what is needed is systematic investigation, usually on a large scale, of some phenomena already observed and described.

The development of the atomic bomb is an admirable illustration of this point. When the American government undertook to exploit atomic energy, it was only after the basic discoveries had been made. For some of us it was rather sad to contemplate that only a crisis in war could have made such work possible.

Fleming's discovery of penicillin, followed by large-scale production, would have been another admirable illustration but for the fact that here the government did not undertake to manufacture the substance but "sublet" to pharmaceutical houses. Incidentally, the manufacturers made—and are making—millions, while the three men primarily responsible for the basic discovery made \$30,000 among them—the present value of a Nobel prize. This is not necessarily an argument for more money for the Nobel prize-winners, but it is an argument in favor of more rigid government control so that sufferers can get penicillin at the least possible cost.

In totalitarian countries government supervision of scientific work sometimes—though not always, as Dr. Baker seems to think—leads to disaster. The outcome depends upon the kind of problem. If an atomic bomb or a penicillin

is involved, the Russian government can do a magnificent job, provided that the necessary men and the material are available. On the other hand, if the task is one which impinges upon Soviet philosophy, the result may be tragic. Dr. Baker, for example, refers to the case of Lysenka, a Russian biologist who was for a time at least favored by a powerful group of Soviet officials because he had declared that he did not consider "formal Mendelian-Morganist genetics as a science." Dr. Baker also points out that in the Soviets' five-year plan for science Item 7 reads: "The provision of the historical and social theory for combating the ideas of capitalism . . ."; here instructions are given not only as to what shall be investigated, an excellent idea in principle for competent workers rather than for men of genius, but as to *what the results shall be*—which is precisely the antithesis of everything the scientist holds dear.

However, in this field of political theory, not ordinarily included under the heading of "science," the United States and England and other democratic countries are guilty too. It is true that we have no such government plans, but we do have programs adopted by powerful political groups—such as chambers of commerce—which are as intent on disproving the value of communism as the Soviets are on disproving the value of capitalism. In both cases we see an excellent example of emotions at work; and in both a complete absence of the scientific approach.

BENJAMIN HARROW

BRIEFER COMMENT

Wanted: A Literary Consciousness

THE SECOND VOLUME of "Cross-Section" (L. B. Fischer, \$3.50) is so poor, so much poorer even than the first, that the editor must be in part responsible. Edwin Seaver has in the past produced fiction and criticism superior by far to much that he has collected here; it is possible after some fifteen years to remember a brief review by him of a book by William Faulkner. Thus if the fault is chiefly with the editor, the reason must be that he has been involved in the same degeneration of literary values as his authors. Fifteen years of depression and war have brought about an insensitivity to literary values which could have been avoided only if strong literary traditions existed in America as they do in France; for it is certainly not clear that fifteen years of prosperity and peace would have produced a renaissance. But to blame the social process is also too general, when it is obvious that Mr. Seaver's selections are often determined by what was once known as social realism and should have been known as doctrinaire realism. In the editor's introduction and in many of the stories the working principle is that the subject matter is important, hence the work is important. It is enough to write about social injustice, to be concerned with "the staggering inhumanity humanity is capable of," Mr. Seaver's staggering phrase. And this doctrine, a perennial pitfall for literary effort, is all the more pernicious because it is close to the truth that all literature must base itself on the real world, whether through fantasy, like Swift and Kafka, or through observation, like

Only the complete
and unabridged

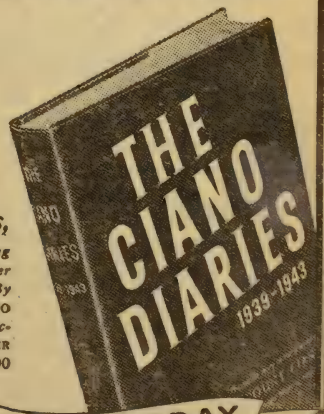
CIANO DIARIES

fills the gaps in your
background knowledge
of the war started to
exterminate your way
of life

SUMNER WELLES says:

"To some who have read mutilated passages previously syndicated the Diaries have proved a disappointment because of their lack of those sensational revelations which they had apparently anticipated. But those who will read them in the complete text . . . will find a hitherto unrevealed picture . . ."

616 pages,
ten times as long
as any newspaper
abridgement. By
COUNT GALEAZZO
CIANO. Introduction
by SUMNER
WELLES. \$4.00



At your bookseller's

DOUBLEDAY

Balzac and Proust. To condemn a collection like this is to say, in the end, that these authors do not realize any of the many possibilities made manifest by other literary works: it is pointless to read most of these stories when one might read Chekhov or Katherine Anne Porter; and with the exception of Millen Brand and Jane Mayhall the poets here hardly seem to be practicing the same art as Robert Frost and Wallace Stevens. There is a good deal of talent in America, and some of Mr. Seaver's authors show real ability. The talent and the ability would not be frustrated and confused if there existed a genuine literary consciousness, a consciousness which can only be created and sustained by an active body of critics who know what literature can be because they know what literature has been.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Life at Wide Ruins

IN "SPIN A SILVER DOLLAR" (Viking, \$3.75) Alberta Hannum has written a book about a great many individuals and two distinct ways of life, made harmonious and mutually enriching by good-will, good humor, and intelligence. It is partly the story of Sallie and Bill Lippincott, who had the sense to recognize their "native land" in the Arizona desert and the enterprise to make it their home until the war uprooted them. How they acquired the run-down Indian trading post at Wide Ruins and how they created a successful business and a life of comfort for themselves provide the framework for the book. But its essential value lies in the picture of the Navaho Indians—their pride and dignity and wisdom, their perversities and their wives, all the inconsistencies and weaknesses and nobilities that make them human and enduring. The Lippincotts had the insight and sympathy that enabled them to see the Navaho way of life as valid and reasonable for Navahos, and, in fundamental matters, not inferior to the life of the white man. That they could convince the Indians of this sincere respect and thus win their trust, without conceding a single principle or custom that was important to them as whites, is a tribute to both the Lippincotts and the Navahos.

Binding together the incidents of life at Wide Ruins is the story of Jimmy, young son of the Lippincotts' handy man. Bill and Sallie found Jimmy scratching pictures on the side of a rock and thereafter kept him supplied with drawing materials and a quiet working corner in their home. Jimmy rarely spoke to them, but regularly left his drawings on the kitchen table when no one was looking. The color reproductions of Jimmy's work that illustrate the book leave no doubt

that he already ranks among the most notable of the contemporary Indian painters. And if the illustrations lack some of the luminosity of color that marks much of Jimmy's original work, they are nevertheless a publishing triumph in a day of undependable inks and paper. Here are the characteristic elements of the best Navaho painting—the fine, delicate line, the subtly soft yet vivid color, the sparing, suggestive use of a single plant or falling leaf, the endowment of each stylized animal with a personality of its own. Although the Lippincotts wisely insisted that Jimmy be allowed to develop in accordance with his tradition, some of the paintings reveal an alien use of modeling and perspective.

Alberta Hannum has told the story of Wide Ruins with humor and a light touch which in no way obscures the fact that she, like the Lippincotts, has an eye for the special beauties of the Southwestern desert and a deep appreciation of the greatness of the Navahos.

JANET ROSENWALD

When Labor Bargains

AS A POPULAR EXPOSITION of the problems of labor relations "Trends in Collective Bargaining" by S. T. Williamson and Herbert Harris (Twentieth Century Fund, \$2) ranks very high. Fourteen chapters are devoted to an examination of the "processes, problems, and issues of collective bargaining." There follows the report by a special committee appointed by the Twentieth Century Fund. Both sections deserve close study by all who desire to understand one of the more knotty problems of our time. Collective bargaining exists when workers "or their representatives negotiate and adjust conditions of their employment with one or more employers." Quickly sketching recent developments, the authors examine the making and contents of collective agreements and the problems that frequently arise in the administration of union contracts. Difficulties that may appear during negotiations or during the term of the contract are recognized, but the authors assume that reasonable men can resolve them. This is perhaps a bit over-optimistic, since leaders in labor and in industry are not altogether objective thinking machines, and, moreover, are frequently subjected to outside pressures which may force upon them attitudes they do not hold.

The Report and Recommendations of the Labor Committee contains many useful observations, though its discussion of the "economics of collective bargaining" is not very revealing. It is true that American labor is not anti-capitalistic, but it has not defined a fair profit. The committee indorses summoning forth "the utmost use of our resources" but does not say much about the means of doing it.

The indorsement of industry-wide collective bargaining draws a dissent from one member of the committee. It seems to the reviewer that his objections are valid. If the economy can be paralyzed by successive stoppages in strategic industries, some answer to these serious disruptions will be imperative. The emphasis of the report is on voluntary settlement and a minimum of government intervention. The committee recognizes a danger in the rise of powerful labor barons, but the members do not agree on remedies.

While intended as a popular study, this volume will be useful to both the layman and specialist.

PHILIP TAFT

Flash! 1. Genuine book value: THE GRAVE-DIGGERS OF FRANCE, by Pertinax, original \$6.00 D. Doran edition—send only \$1.50.

2. Bonus Book: With each purchase of the two-volume Complete Writings of Thomas Paine by Foner for \$6.00 (2236 pp.) we will send free of charge your choice of H. Fast's *Freedom Road* or Freud's *General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. The 2nd Volume of Foner's Work is \$3.50.

3. Book Service: We mail everywhere the books reviewed and advertised here and elsewhere. Downtown Book Bazaar, 212 Broadway, New York City 7.

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation*

☐ with Harpers Magazine \$6.50

You save \$2.50

☐ with Consumers Union \$7.00

You save \$1.50

☐ with Harpers Magazine
and Consumers Union \$9.00

You save \$3.50

☐ with Free World. \$7.50

You save \$1.50

☐ with Saturday Review \$8.50

You save \$1.50

All club combinations listed ~~are~~ for ~~one~~ year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION *by itself:*

☐ One Year \$5 ☐ Two Years \$8 ☐ Three Years \$11 ☐ Servicemen's Rate \$3 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy, but you will make a considerable saving in money over the newsstand price.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
59th ST.
N.Y. LEX.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.
Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL
Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RIKO NOW

"An Absorbing Screen Drama"—N. Y. Post

MERLE CLAUDE CHARLES
OBERON • RAINS • KORVIN

'THIS LOVE OF OURS'

Based on LUIGI PIRANDELLO'S Play

—AND—

'PURSUIT TO ALGIERS' BASIL RATHBONE
NIGEL BRUCE

"Distinguished and Dramatic Biography"—N. Y. Sun

'RHAPSODY IN BLUE'

The Jubilant Story of
GEORGE GERSHWIN

—EXTRA FEATURETTE—

FRANK SINATRA

"The House I Live In"

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island
Queens
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
Manhattan
COLONIAL

"One Picture has truly, deeply caught the tempo of our times!"

A WALK IN THE SUN

A Lewis Milestone Production

Starring

DANA ANDREWS

with

RICHARD CONTE

20th CENTURY-FOX

Now
Playing

VICTORIA

B'way at
46th St.

Doors Open 8:30 A.M.

B. G. DeSylva presents BETTY HUTTON in 'THE STORK CLUB'

—with—

BARRY FITZGERALD
DON DE FORE

Robert Benchley • Bill Goodwin
Iris Adrian • Mikhail Rasumny
Mary Young

and introducing ANDY RUSSELL
Midnight Feature Nightly

NOW
PLAYING

PARAMOUNT

TIMES
SQUARE

In Person
WOODY
HERMAN
and his
ORCHESTRA

—featuring—
FRANCES
WAYNE

—plus—
DOROTHY
KELLER

Extra added attraction

BUDDY

LESTER

Don Baker at the Organ

One Flash

I CAN SEE NO REASON why a *Nation* subscriber should read "The House of Europe" by Paul Scott Mowrer (Houghton Mifflin, \$3.75). It is a bad instance of that pathetic fallacy which leads many foreign correspondents to suppose that the factual record of their lives has a vital interest for others.

Not until page 328 does Mr. Mowrer finish with the First World War, about which he has nothing new to say, and no very significant or suggestive opinions. Nor has his account of "Balkanized Europe" anything original about it; so that by the time one reaches those pages in which the author sums up his own conclusions about the world, one is not in the mood to listen to his defense of the balance-of-power principle. With eleven chapters of exception, the whole of this long book, which closes with the year 1934, can be ignored by both the student of foreign policy and the man who takes pleasure in a "good reading book." Part Six, however, Moroccan Interlude, gave me a real pleasure that did not derive solely from an old interest in North Africa. In these chapters Mr. Mowrer has done well with his visit to Abd-el-Krim at the time of the Riff wars. There is one superb moment. "Who planned the Riffian victory at Annual?" the author asked. "God planned it; but I was present," Abd-el-Krim replied. That flash, fairly well supported by the narrative, made the effort of reading this interminable book worth while.

RALPH BATES

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents

MAURICE EVANS In His New Production of Shakespeare's HAMLET

Columbus Circle Thea. B'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Eves. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30

UP IN CENTRAL PARK

Book by HERBERT Lyrics by Music by
DOROTHY FIELDS DOROTHY FIELDS SIGMUND ROMBERG
BROADWAY THEATRE B'way at 53rd St. Mats.: Sat. & Sun. Eves. Incl. Sun. 2:30 & 8:30

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS!"—Nichols, Times

Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account" • RICHARD BISHOP
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • 45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4638
MUSIC BOX Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

Kermit Bloomgarden & George Heller present

DEEP ARE THE ROOTS

A New Play by ARNAUD d'USSEAU and JAMES GOW

Staged by ELIA KAZAN

FULTON THEATRE Forty-sixth Street West of
Broadway. Circle 6-6380.
Evenings: 8:40, \$4.20, \$3.60, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Matinees
Wednesday and Saturday, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Tax inclusive.

"A VERY BIG HIT!"—Walter Winchell
KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Musio by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd.
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
ZIEGFELD THEA. 54th Street and Sixth Avenue. Cl. 5-5200
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mts. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

ONE of the characters in "Dunnigan's Daughter," S. N. Behrman's new play at the Golden, is a Mexican painter of peasant origin who seems intended to represent either the complexity of the simple or the simplicity of the complex. He wanders persistently about the stage, but nothing ever happens to him, and so, I suppose, his function is that of *raisonneur*. In any event he makes, not long before the final curtain, a casual entrance for the purpose of remarking more or less to himself that most of the evil in the world is the work of frustrated people and that there is probably more truth in Freud than there is in Marx.

Luther Adler, who plays the role in question, drops these two obiter dicta with an air of embarrassed distaste which may indicate merely that he finds it difficult to make them sound probable as part of anybody's conversation or, possibly, that he wishes as far as possible to dissociate himself from the judgments. I, however, picked them up carefully and took them home in the hope that if I examined them in connection with the play I might later be able to explain to my readers what I was not, at the moment, understanding very well. Unfortunately I am now compelled to report, after several days of meditation, that "Dunnigan's Daughter" still seems to me very feeble and very confused as an illustration of either the thesis announced above or of any other thesis I can think of. Since the days when "The Second Man" first introduced a new comic writer, Mr. Behrman's plays have seldom failed to delight me. At the very least it seemed safe to assume that he would never be either pretentious or dull. "Dunnigan's Daughter," I fear, is both.

The story concerns a ruthless strong man engaged at the moment in stealing water from starving Mexican farmers in order to use it in one of his mining operations. A young idealist from our own State Department is on his trail, and, rather surprisingly, the only really dramatic scenes are those in which, briefly and in no very original way, the issue is drawn between the philosophy of the robber baron and that of the social-minded liberal. Mr. Behrman chooses, however, to keep the purely economic and social aspects of the conflict pretty well in the background and to

focus his attention upon the strong man's wife and upon his daughter by a former marriage, both of whom have been hypnotized by the strength of his personality. The wife, a woman of humble origins, is now something of a bird in a gilded cage, and the daughter, because she has been dominated by her father, is in the incipient stage of nymphomania. Fortunately the young idealist falls in love with the daughter and stays there just long enough to free her from her obsession before proceeding to the mother, who as the last curtain falls has eloped with him, thus assuring not only her own happiness but also the psychological defeat of the tycoon.

Quite possibly this story might be told in some convincing and interesting way. It is, however, certainly not an easy one, and I suspect that I have made it clearer than Mr. Behrman ever does. As he unfolds it the motives are not any too distinct and the issues never seem very important. None of the characters are very real, and most of the psychological conflicts seem like exhibitions of shadow-boxing desperately prolonged until 10:50. What it all comes down to is a great deal of attitudinizing and a great deal of very fancy talk about inner freedom, self-realization, etc., which goes round and round without ever seeming to come out anywhere. Wiser casting might have helped some, for Dennis King—who seems to lip—is no more convincing as a captain of industry than Luther Adler is as a Mexican, and June Havoc is more suited to hoydenish roles than to play the part of even a not quite genuine grande dame. But I doubt whether the best acting in the world could make the wordy self-examinations of these characters very real.

It may be that "The Second Man," which was the most debonair and worldly of Mr. Behrman's plays, was also his best, but I am one of those who think that in some of the later pieces he solved very successfully the difficult problem of writing comedy which acknowledged the existence of problems so desperate that in the face of them the comic spirit is helpless. In "Dunnigan's Daughter," however, the element of comedy has almost completely disappeared, and the psychological analysis which is intended to replace it fails to convince one of either its reality or its importance. The spiritual problems of the heroine are chic and becoming. They are as well suited to her personality as the clothes she wears and the house she lives in. But I found it dif-

ficult to believe them worthy of much deeper interest. This, I kept saying to myself, is evidently the way the well-dressed woman will fret in 1946.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

Best of 1945

ON TWO previous occasions I have conducted something of an open wake, here, over the best films of the year just ended. I see no point in going through with it again. The past year was distinguished by two extremely fine pictures, which I expect to hear respectfully mentioned twenty years from now, if anyone is at that time free to express an honest opinion, or alive to express any opinion at all. Aside from these two pictures I see nothing to get particularly hopeful about—or any more despondent about than usual, for that matter.

Major John Huston's "San Pietro" was the finest of the several movies made during the course of the war which have proved what men of talent, skill, and courage can do if even one hand is untied from behind their backs. It is worth remembering, however, that this film was released to the civilian public something like a year late, and was censored at that; was then slowly and so far as I have heard thinly accepted by exhibitors; and was neglected by such sincere and intelligent people as the members of the National Board of Review's Committee on Exceptional Films, in favor of the showy, skilful, far less fine "The True Glory," which was called the best film of its year.

The war is over now; I doubt that we shall see many more American factual films of anywhere near the quality of "San Pietro."

Even more wonderful, in a sense, was William Wellman's less nearly perfect film, "Story of G. I. Joe," for it proved what can be done, even now, in the middle of Hollywood, when men adequate to a noble subject are not drawn and quartered by their bosses. But it proves nothing, of course, about the chances a hundred other able people are going to get.

Neither does Jean Renoir's "The Southerner," though it too is a film which could hardly have been made except by grace of unusually disinterested producers. If I were a "constructive"

critic—that is, able to believe that "A Song to Remember" is a film to be praised because it brings Chopin to the juke-boxes—I might see in these two films what is called a hopeful trend. I will wait, instead, and see how many producers and investors allow how many good artists to do work worth doing in 1946. And I will remember that although Haydn was almost too well fixed with the Esterhazys for his own best interests, that was no help to Mozart.

I won't try to go on with this discussion, even in this superficial way. Among the other best films of 1945 I would particularly mention, in roughly the following order of preference, the very pretty, very talented, rather velvety "The Clock"; the very hard-surfaced, bright, superficial "The Lost Weekend"; the hard-worked, exciting "Objective Burma" and the equally hard-worked, more doggedly humane "Pride of the Marines"; the charming but equivocal and overrated "Colonel Blimp," now cut to bits; the fitful, sometimes very encouraging "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn"; the cellophoned aspidistra "On Approval"; John Ford's visually beautiful, otherwise not very interesting "They Were Expendable," with Robert Montgomery's unimprovable performance; the somewhat poky yet very able "The Way Ahead"; the sometimes corny, always impassioned "The Last Chance." Other good pictures to see, and some of them better than that, are the tawdry, bitter "Mildred Pierce," with Joan Crawford's return, and her best performance; Herman Shumlin's intense, faithful "Confidential Agent"; the clever, nasty little comedy "Practically Yours"; some angry, hard-focused scenes in "A Medal for Benny"; the easy, sunny "Anchors Aweigh"; "State Fair," for pleasant tunes and a few pleasant scenes; Val Lewton's "Body Snatchers" and "Isle of the Dead," too pedagogic and verbal at times, but still showing some of the most sensitive movie intelligence in Hollywood; Robert Siodmak's visually gifted melodrama "The Suspect"; "Fighting Lady," a well-made and spectacular film which looks to me more and more like a magnificent box of chocolates filled with plasma; the bustling "True Glory," which also loses value in retrospect; and Fred Allen's rowdy "It's in the Bag." To people who share my near-adoration of the intricately wrong I also commend "Kiss and Tell," "The Three Caballeros," and "A Song to Remember," high among the unforgettable films of the year. While I am about it,

too, I had better place near the top of the year's list "Salome Where She Danced." I merely enjoyed it when I saw it, and was slow to realize how much of it must have been meant for that kind of enjoyment. I now gratefully salute it as the funniest dead-pan parody I have ever seen; and if by unlikely chance any Merton Gills are hurt by this, I am much sorrier than I know how to say.

If you are content to be merely realistic about it—to use a strangely perverted word in the only meaning it seems to carry today—I suppose that it wasn't exactly a bad movie year. Those who are satisfied with it are welcome to it. So far as I am concerned, I am grateful that a few of the many people of ability and integrity who work in Hollywood managed, with God knows what bloodshed and heartbreak, to get on the screen something more than a split-second glimmer of what they have in them to put there. And I am grateful for hundreds of split-second glimmers, which I wish I had room to specify. But the desire of any critic, like that of any artist, who has a right even to try to defend or practice an art—as perhaps of any human being who has a right even to try to defend or practice living—cannot be satisfied short of perfect liberty, discipline, and achievement, though the attempt may be wholly loved and honored.

I see little if any more to love and honor for the attempt, in films, and little if any more substantial chance even to make the attempt, than at any other time during the past fifteen years.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

SOME further observations have occurred to me concerning the Budapest Quartet. A discriminating listener will of course hear in its playing the phraseological inflection that one hears in no other quartet performances, and in this the operation of musical powers beyond those of any other group. He will, however, be aware of these powers operating to produce this inflection in some Budapest performances nowadays in which there are almost incredible technical defects like scratchy tone and faulty intonation, and evidence of a lack of the intensity of involvement, or even of the mere interest in the occasion, that is essential for certain im-

portant qualities of ensemble performance. And he can appreciate when another group, though it does not exhibit the operation of such musical powers in phraseological inflection, plays nevertheless with fine musical insight in its phrasing, with perfect intonation and beauty of sound, and with a life in the ensemble execution that is produced by keen interest and pleasure in the concerted activity.

Most of the people who crowd in to hear the Budapest Quartet these days are not discriminating listeners for whom the playing of the group at its best is a standard which enables them to know when it is playing at less than its best, or to appreciate good playing by another group. They take the name Budapest as assurance of perfection; and perfection, therefore, is what they hear even when what the quartet is producing is imperfection. And not only does that name prevent them from hearing the defects of tone and intonation, the lifelessness of certain performances, but another name would prevent them from appreciating the beautiful tone, the perfect intonation, the vitality of the performances of another group—for example the quartet of Boston Symphony players whom I heard play Fauré at Harvard.

I am describing attitudes that I have observed in what people have said at the concerts, and what some of them have said in print. There was a New Friends of Music concert this season at which the Budapest Quartet was replaced by an assembled group of experienced string-players who performed the Brahms B flat Trio and Schubert's "Trout" Quintet with the pianist Webster Aitken. The *Herald Tribune* reviewer, Jerome D. Bohm, seems to have had his ears and mind open to whatever might happen, and to have heard what actually did happen: he found it remarkable that musicians who were not members of a permanent ensemble could produce such "well-integrated, carefully proportioned" performances; and he went into detail about the performance of the Brahms Trio, pointing out, among other things, that "Mr. Aitken set forth the difficult piano part not only with technical assurance but with unerring musical perceptiveness, blending the piano part so skilfully with the strings that they were never overweighted"—something, I might observe, that an experienced person would know could have been achieved only by long and careful rehearsal. The *Times* reviewer, on the other hand—the par-

ticular initials of *Times* reviewers don't matter—knew what a person of discernment should hear, and heard it: performances that "lacked the unity of style which might have been expected of the Budapesters"—that is, of two or three members of the Budapest Quartet playing with a pianist and a string bass-player outside of their group and with styles different from their own; in particular "a rough-and-ready rather than a carefully studied performance" of the Brahms Trio.

Bruno Walter's Saturday afternoon broadcast of Mahler's Fourth Symphony with the Philadelphia Orchestra renewed my impression of the unflinching alertness and attentiveness of Mahler's mind, which keeps the discursive, long-winded progression freshly interesting with detail after detail that is contrived with originality and subtlety. And after hearing what Burgin failed to do with the work in a Boston Symphony broadcast last year, I was able to appreciate how wonderfully Walter's changes of pace bound together into coherent sequence the episodes that otherwise would have fallen apart.

The performance was cut off, at the end of the hour, before the conclusion of the work; and this happened because at the beginning of the hour Harl McDonald used up several minutes with preliminary talk—not even an explanation of the scheme of the Fourth Symphony, but chit-chat about Stokowski's famous performance of Mahler's "Symphony of a Thousand" many years ago. It was a perfect example of the pattern of American broadcasting, which represents the inability of the American broadcasting mind to conceive of anyone listening to a broadcast of music out of interest in the music, and of a symphony being broadcast with nothing more than a statement of what symphony it is and who is performing it.

There are worse examples—the worst being what a reader once described as "the six-ring circus the Metropolitan has become under commercial sponsorship." In addition to the quiz there are two new entertainment features this year. One is a forum, on which I cannot comment since I could no more listen to Messrs. Downes, Spaeth, Bagar, and Lawrence in serious discussion than I could listen to their frolicsome answers to questions. The other is called, I believe, "Opera News of the Air," which turned out—the first two times—to be better than its title. That is, Mr. Boris Goldovsky not only made instructive points about opera as a musi-

cal form, but he did the thing that is rarely done and that must be done: he sang and played passages of music which gave real meaning to his words for the listener. If Mr. Goldovsky had had ten minutes in which to develop his ideas by speaking and illustrating, he would have accomplished something valuable. But in accordance with American broadcasting practice he presented his ideas in an entertainment pattern—a dramatization in which he brought Mozart back to life for conversation with two Metropolitan singers and himself; and in this pattern the ideas were robbed of time and of the listener's attention by the drama.

At the third session, the last I heard, the guest composer was not Mozart but William Schuman; and instead of the music of "Die Meistersinger" being used to teach radio listeners something about opera, the story was used to teach them the attitude Mr. Schuman would like them to have toward music like his. By all means let radio listeners be receptive to the new in music; but let me assure them that composers like Mr. Schuman have not been victims of the intolerance that is the subject of "Die Meistersinger." Excessive tolerance has enabled some of them to get away with murder.

In Short

"The East India Company and the British Empire in the Far East," by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (Richard R. Smith, \$7.50). Trade does not always follow the flag; sometimes the flag follows trade. It was with no thought of territorial expansion that the East India Company was launched as "a joint venture" in 1599 by a group of London merchants who wished to share in the profits of the spice trade, then monopolized by the Dutch and Portuguese. But from this modest beginning there grew the empire which is becoming the sharpest thorn in the British crown. Mrs. Wilbur has reexamined this astounding story as a scholar but presents her findings with an eye to the general reader. Her earlier chapters are the best. In writing of the company's later years, when the skeins of history become extremely tangled, she tends to follow the line of the conventional apologists for imperialism.

"League of Nations and National Minorities," by P. de Azcárate (Published by Columbia University Press for

the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, \$2). Ever since the rise of nationalism, the problem of national minorities has disturbed international relations. Between the wars it became a chronic cause of tension, and today, even though the problem has been ruthlessly solved in some countries, it remains among the most challenging issues facing the United Nations Organization. We have reason to be grateful, therefore, to Mr. Azcárate, the distinguished ambassador of the Spanish Republic in London, for his dispassionate review of the only systematic attempt to develop an international therapy for inflamed minority situations. As director for twelve years of the Minorities Questions Section of the League of Nations, he writes with unrivaled authority on the subject.

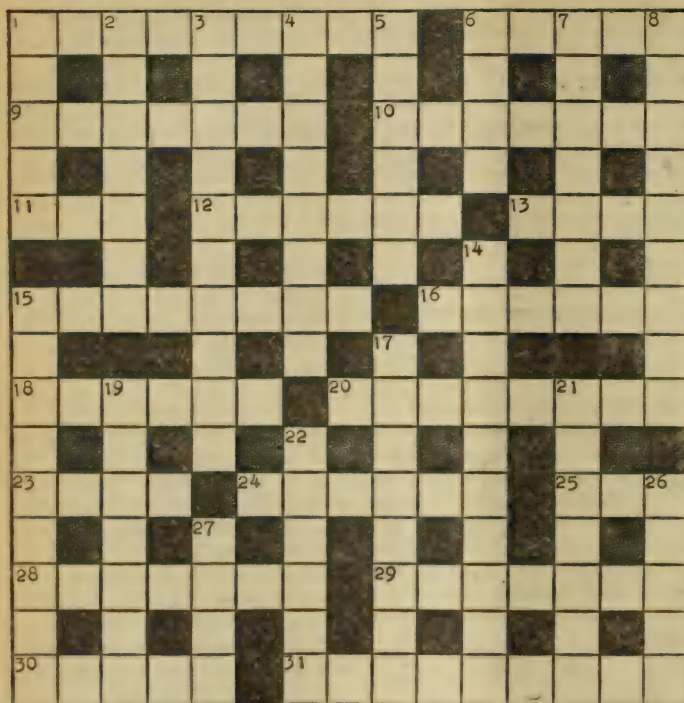
"Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly." Edited with an introduction by David Morris Potter (Yale, \$3.50). Professor Potter selected this diary for publication from the large number of manuscript journals of the overland route which form part of the Coe collection of Western Americana in the Yale University Library. It was a worthy choice, for the two diarists, who were members of a well-organized company from Charleston, Virginia, provide a detailed, sober, and straightforward account of their journey. The introduction and ample annotation, which stress the organizational problems of travel on the overland route rather than its romantic aspects, give proof of the editor's sound judgment and assiduity in research.

"Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings." Selected and edited by Carl Van Doren (Viking, \$5). Franklin's "Autobiography" is a wonderful book, but it is a fragment. It not only stops short thirty years before its author died but gives a far less full account than we would like of much of his early life. The innumerable admirers of the Grand Old Extrovert have reason to be grateful, therefore, to Mr. Van Doren, who has extracted from Franklin's works and correspondence a mass of supplementary autobiographical material. Some of his selections are familiar; others are published for the first time. The whole makes a bulky volume which can be warmly recommended either for consecutive reading or for dipping into at odd moments.

K. H.

Crossword Puzzle No. 144

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Opera Wagner finished with a broad smile
- 6 Strange getting a cable from an enchantress with a masculine name
- 9 Will make your tires last longer
- 10 Denoting a number of Ural men
- 11 A final remark from McCulloch
- 12 Greek island which produces lemons and melons
- 13 Stories which may be preferred on the golf course
- 15 Calvin Coolidge was, in a manner of speaking
- 16 Price of a communal measure of corn in Russia?
- 18 A self-evident truth
- 20 Exclusively American spectacles
- 23 Spot
- 24 Thwarted maliciously
- 25 Where more downright lying goes on than anywhere else
- 28 It's real, by gar!
- 29 This we dug for victory (4 & 3)
- 30 Flog, and what to use to do it
- 31 Colossus ----- the entrance to the harbor at Rhodes

DOWN

- 1 The famous movement from Handel's *Messiah*
- 2 Tool which suggests what to do with a nest-egg
- 3 Etui (6 & 4)
- 4 Timed run (anag.)
- 5 One abbreviated non-commissioned officer within another

- 6 Gets struck, after being so accommodating!
- 7 Day of the movies
- 8 This Dickens' character was no Sweet William (4 & 5)
- 14 Meteorological extremes in the neighborhood of Bath (3, 3 & 4)
- 15 This London promenade can't be so bad, for wasn't it originally "Route en Roi"? (6 & 3)
- 17 New England poet who apparently was more amusing than Dame Whitty
- 19 Sup a pal in a Swedish seat of learning
- 21 Cook follows me up
- 22 Bright young things
- 26 Men of color
- 27 A go-getter's eager start

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 143

ACROSS:—1 RACON; 4 CIVIC; 7 OSTRICH; 10 RAZOR; 11 IMPEL; 12 MAILVAN; 13 SANS; 16 BRIE; 18 AGENT; 20 SWINGE; 21 TWINED; 22 LENSES; 24 ATTILA; 25 STYLE; 26 OMAR; 28 DUST; 31 BAGPIPE; 33 BURMA; 34 ARIEL; 35 RODENTS; 36 TASTE; 37 EVERY.

DOWN:—1 BIRDS; 2 COZEN; 3 NORM; 4 CHIN; 5 VIPER; 6 CHLOE; 8 TWINGE; 9 INVENT; 14 ABSALOM; 15 SPINNER; 16 BANDIED; 17 INDIANS; 18 AGNES; 19 TWITE; 23 STAGED; 24 ALBION; 26 ORBIT; 27 ACRES; 29 UNITE; 30 TALLY; 31 BARE; 32 EASE.

CONTRIBUTORS

RANDALL JARRELL, who contributes a regular Verse Chronicle to *The Nation*, is the author of two books of poetry, "Blood for a Stranger" and "Little Friend, Little Friend."

BENJAMIN HARROW is professor of biochemistry at the College of the City of New York.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ is the author of "Shenandoah," "In Dreams Become Responsibilities," and "The Imitation of Life and Other Problems of Literary Criticism."

JANET ROSENWALD, an editor on the staff of the Institute of World Affairs, has collected and exhibited contemporary Indian painting from the Southwest.

PHILIP TAFT is a member of the Department of Economics at Brown University.

RALPH BATES is a close student of politics. He helped organize the International Brigade and fought with it in Spain for three years. Among his books are "Sirocco," "The Fields of Paradise," "Rainbow Fish," "The Olive Field," and "The Undiscoverables."

RESORTS

INVITATION TO RELAX

Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous countryside, roaring fireplace, delicious food — and fun. Only 55 miles from New York.

MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY
plum point
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N.Y. Tel: Newburgh 4279

SAMUEL SCHAFER

"A Country Retreat With Homelike Atmosphere"

45 miles from N. Y.

WINTER SPORTS

CENTRAL VALLEY

NEW YORK

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477
Delightful...skating on private lake. Open fireplace.

Different...the colonial atmosphere.
Delicious...our unexcelled cuisine.
Diverting...recordings for listening & dancing.
All this only 53 miles from New York City.
A Resort for Adults Only

★ ★ ★ ★

Buy a Ticket to Victory...

Buy another Bond today

★ ★ ★ ★

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 26, 1946

NUMBER 4

The Shape of Things

IT IS INTERESTING, IF DISHEARTENING, TO speculate on what the government's action would have been in the steel and General Motors cases if it had been the C. I. O., and not the companies, which slapped the Administration in the face by rejecting government-proposed settlements. The screaming in Congress and the roaring in the White House against the unions would have been deafening. But by last week-end, in the present situation, there had emerged from the President's office nothing more than a somewhat sorrowful complaint that efforts to avert the steel strike were unavailing. No attempt was made to fix the blame; if Truman was even mildly irritated by United States Steel's rejection of his proposal, his vacuous statement of last Friday showed no sign of it. More important, it failed to set the stage for the dynamic, fighting action which he must take—not merely to promote reconversion but also to prevent the outright wrecking of the stabilization program and the government's regulatory role in post-war economics. As a first step the President must make plain to the people the nature and aims of the industrial conspiracy which, as Philip Murray accurately noted, has "deliberately set out to destroy labor unions, to provoke strikes and economic chaos, and to hi-jack the American people through uncontrolled profits and inflation." Despite his weak statement, there is some hope that the events of the past week have finally convinced Mr. Truman that he is dealing with something much more sinister than a wage fight. And there is also some hope that by clever, prompt, and pugnacious campaigning he can effect a collapse of the "finish-fight" gang. If not, the President must proceed with seizure of the steel industry and installation of the wage increase he proposed, despite the dangers and inordinate difficulties of such a step. But in either case Mr. Truman must begin by turning on steam—hot, and lots of it.

★

BARELY OUT OF ITS SWADDLING CLOTHES, the UNO has been confronted with the very adult problem of the rights of a small state unfortunate enough to lie within the security zones of two major powers. The Iran government has lodged a complaint with the Security

Council alleging Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Iran. Having attempted without success to enter into direct negotiations with Moscow, it has informed the Council that a situation "which may lead to international friction" has arisen and has asked that an investigation be made in accordance with Article 35 of the charter. As we write no official reply has been made by Russia, but it is understood that the Soviet government claims that the Azerbaijan rebellion was spontaneous. It justifies its refusal to permit Iranian troops to enter the province on the ground that the ensuing civil war would have created complications for the Red Army forces which are occupying Azerbaijan in accordance with the Anglo-Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1942.

★

THESE EXPLANATIONS ARE PLAUSIBLE BUT not quite enough so to banish suspicions of ulterior Russian designs on Iran, particularly in view of Moscow's persistent and unexplained refusal to discuss the situation with Teheran. We hope therefore that the Soviet representative on the Security Council will be instructed to make a frank effort to reestablish confidence by assisting rather than blocking an investigation. For should the Russian veto be employed as a means of nullifying the right of appeal of a small power, the UNO would be off to a very bad start indeed. A crisis, however, is not inevitable. The Council undoubtedly will seek a method of dealing with the dispute which Russia can accept. And Russia, surely, will not be anxious to incur the odium which would attach to the first great power resorting to the veto. One possible action would be the dispatch of an investigating commission to Iran. Admittedly this might seem like a stall, but the facts in the case are far from clear and an authoritative exposition of them would be helpful. In any case, we imagine, the Security Council will urge another effort at direct negotiations. Realistically speaking, these would have more chance of success if Britain were included, for the root of the trouble in Iran is Anglo-Soviet rivalry. Both Britain and Russia have agreed to respect Iran's independence, but this guaranty is of little worth while they vie with each

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	85
It Has Happened Here	88
They're Off!	89

ARTICLES

Salute to Symington <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	90
The Ghosts of Geneva <i>by Aylmer Vallance</i>	92
Wanted: A Plan for Germany <i>by Vera Micheles Dean</i>	93
Philippine Aftermath <i>by Mildred Adams</i>	95
Memo on the Mormons <i>by Carey McWilliams</i>	97
A Southerner Goes Home <i>by J. Mitchell Morse</i>	99
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	100
The People's Front <i>by Del Vayo</i>	101

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

In the Doughface Tradition <i>By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.</i>	102
American Solution <i>by Stefan T. Possony</i>	102
The Age of Giolitti <i>by Paolo Milano</i>	104
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	105
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	108
Art <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	109
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	110

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 111

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 145 112

by Jack Barrett

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:

Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two Years \$9; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

other to establish influence over its government. Unless both agree to keep hands off, there can be no lasting solution of the problem compatible with Iranian independence.

✱

DE GAULLE HAS ONCE AGAIN RESIGNED AS interim President of France and this time he insists that his decision is "irrevocable." Perhaps it will prove so: at least he is unlikely to come back except on his own terms. The immediate cause of his resignation appears to have been a new dispute over appropriations for the army to which De Gaulle wished to give priority despite the desperate economic situation. But this was only one of his many conflicts with the left parties underlying all of which was the fundamental issue of whether the new constitution should emphasize a strong and independent executive, as he desired, or should be based on sovereignty of the Assembly. Joint opposition to De Gaulle does not mean, however, that the Communists and Socialists would find it easy to work together in office. The Communist Party is making a bid for leadership of a new administration but it could not construct a Cabinet without the support of the Socialists. And an attempt to form a close alliance between Communists and Socialists might well split the latter in two. Another possibility, a government headed by a veteran, middle-of-the-road Socialist such as Vincent Auriol with equal representation for the Communists, could hardly prove lasting if the Communists insisted on exercising the right of opposition from inside the administration. The real difficulty is that while Communists and Socialists have some planks in common, mainly in the field of domestic economy, they differ acutely on other issues and particularly on foreign policy. Moreover they are in fierce competition for the support of the workers and the next election is not far off. In these circumstances the political crisis is unlikely to be speedily resolved and De Gaulle may be counting on the spectacle of the ship of state drifting in dangerous waters to arouse public demand for his return to the helm.

✱

IN THE LONG RUN THE DE GAULLE CRISIS cannot affect the decision of the National Constituent Assembly to force a showdown on the Spanish issue. By adopting unanimously last Friday its recommendation to the government to break with the Franco regime only a few hours after the Foreign Minister Bidault had announced "that France will act only in agreement with the United States and Great Britain," the Assembly showed clearly that it is in no mood to accept any new excuse for delay. The people of France doubt the determination of the United States to finish with fascism in Spain, and their skepticism regarding the British is still greater. The French press reacted violently to Mr. Bevin's incredible statement two weeks ago that there

are enough troubles already in the world without taking on new ones in Spain. One hundred and fifty thousand Spanish refugees mingling everywhere in France with the resistance elements constantly exercise both a sentimental and a political pressure on the French people. This pressure is in turn reflected in the parties and in the Assembly and no government can resist it very long. Significantly enough, the resolution passed by the Assembly, very strong and clear-cut in its demand for a break, was much more circumspect in its reference to eventual recognition of the government-in-exile. It confirmed once more the weakness of the Giral Cabinet, and meanwhile a cable from London to the *New York Times* reported that Allied leaders were continuing their informal conferences with the former Prime Minister, Dr. Juan Negrín.

✱

GENERAL EISENHOWER HAS INJECTED SOME measure of order and stability into the demobilization process, but his intervention clearly fails either to make any fundamental change in an ill-conceived system or to bring any comfort to its victims. The General is probably not to blame. Too much has already happened that cannot readily be undone. Convinced of the danger that he will too soon "run out of army," he cannot, for example, undo the harm caused by General Marshall's unfortunate assurance of three months ago that all men with two or more years of service would be eligible for discharge in March. He cannot restore the morale of men who had every right to expect their freedom, on points, in February and who are now told that they must idle away another six months of their lives. Nor can he alone make the sweeping change in the entire demobilization system that was officially hinted at when the G. I. demonstrations reached a peak two weeks ago. Any drastic change involves the framing of a clear-cut occupation policy—and that is a job for Congress and the President, not the Chief of Staff. Admiral Leahy, the President's military adviser, is quoted by Drew Pearson as saying that our forces in Germany and Japan could be curtailed, without sacrificing their effectiveness, to the point where the task could be handled by volunteers expressly recruited for the purpose, while the Pacific islands could be safely left to policing by the navy. Adequate manpower is available—and more would be available to the degree that the army were rid of its caste discriminations, and other objectionable features. The real question is one of intelligently distributing that manpower.

✱

THE POLITICAL FERMENT IN JAPAN PRODUCED by our occupation policies has so far been largely restricted to industrial workers, intellectuals, small business men, and other urban elements; very little seeped back into the countryside. As a result, many of the most vicious lesser lights of the jingoist and military-fascist

societies are now to be found in the rural districts working with the police, local bureaucrats, landlords, and the underground reserivist and 'chauvinist organizations to defeat democratic reforms. Organizers for the peasant unions and Socialist and Communist parties find it almost impossible to brave the reign of terror in the countryside. They can hope for little support from the American forces, since in many areas a second lieutenant and a squad of perhaps twenty men with a single interpreter must exercise control over hundreds of square miles. So poor are the intelligence facilities of these small forces that not infrequently the Japanese interpreter turns out to be a former militarist stalwart. This situation seriously imperils the chance of an anti-fascist victory in the coming elections, as well as the possibility of real land reforms, for these can be carried through only with the support of an aroused and organized peasantry. It can be corrected by improving our counter-intelligence work, by developing closer relations between the occupation forces and the peasant unions, by recentralizing occupation administration, and by stiffening military contingents with capable civilian officials willing to devote the next few years to assisting in the democratic transformation of rural Japan.

✱

CREATION OF A UNO REFUGEE COMMISSION as proposed by Mr. Bevin seems unlikely at this time in view of the opposition of Zionists and the Soviet

Union. Zionists fear that turning the problem over to the UNO would delay the solution of the Palestine question. And because the remaining non-Jewish displaced persons are mostly Poles, residents of the former Baltic states, or political refugees from Yugoslavia, the Russians oppose bringing such a potentially explosive political



issue into the UNO. However, since UNRRA, which is now responsible for the refugees, is expected to terminate its activities by the end of 1946, it is essential that a permanent agency be ready to take over. At the moment the only international agency concerned with the problem of persons who cannot be repatriated is the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. This committee's record is largely one of inaction and procrastination, but of course it has never received real support from the leading powers; nor has it the power to issue passports or the

resources to organize large-scale resettlement projects. It is an instrument however that can and should be used until it is politically possible for the UNO to assume a responsibility that logically belongs to it.

★

BY RAISING MARGIN REQUIREMENTS FOR security purchases to 100 per cent—in other words, by prohibiting the buying of stocks and bonds on credit—the Federal Reserve Board has shot its final bolt against a soaring market. In an article last week on the Stock Exchange boom, Keith Hutchison pointed to the possibility of this step but suggested that it would prove ineffective in view of the huge cash accumulations available for speculation and investment. The behavior of the New York exchanges the day after the Federal Reserve Board's action confirmed this opinion. At the opening, prices were moderately lower, but after reports that the steel strike was settled, renewed bidding for stocks produced a sharp rally. Later, when it was learned that these reports were false and that U. S. Steel had rejected the President's wage proposal, there was another bout of selling. Clearly traders in securities are more concerned with the industrial news than with the effects of a restriction of credit. They believe, not without reason, that an era of record corporate profits is ahead, with or without inflation, and as in 1919 and 1929 they are busy capitalizing a new Golden Age. The one measure which might bring them back to earth would be a drastically increased tax on capital profits. Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has again brought forward this proposal, but action depends on Congress. Meanwhile we welcome the news that the New York Stock Exchange is about to undertake a nationwide advertising campaign urging the public to hold their war bonds and exercise the utmost caution in purchasing other securities. Publicity cannot stop the boom, but it may save some amateurs from burning their fingers.

★

IS THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION and news to other countries a proper function of the government? That is a debatable question which will eventually have to be decided by Congress when it is asked to appropriate funds for the State Department's Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. It is not, however, a decision which ought to be made or influenced by interested private concerns. The Associated Press, by refusing to make its service available for use by the government's shortwave broadcasting system, is prejudging a public issue and usurping the powers of Congress. In announcing its action the A. P., as always, takes a very high-and-mighty line, declaring "that government cannot engage in newscasting without creating the fear of propaganda which necessarily would reflect on the objectivity of the news services from which

such newscasts are prepared." We would be more impressed by this statement were we convinced that the Associated Press made a practise of disciplining those of its member newspapers which slant its dispatches by editing and headline writing. In any case, the objection to American government use of its service is a little curious considering that one of the agency's customers is Tass, the Russian government news agency. Does this mean that the A. P. directors are more certain of the objectivity of the Soviet government than of that of their own? Or is this difference in attitude due to the fact that Tass is a cash customer? We would have more respect for the A. P. if it had based its refusal of news to the State Department on frankly commercial grounds. Regarding news as a branded, salable commodity, it naturally objects to the government's free distribution of American news as unfair competition. But, of course, open adoption of this argument would conflict with the A. P.'s carefully fostered myth that it is a public service with no financial ax to grind.

It Has Happened Here

WITH irony and force and a candor seldom found in official quarters Assistant Secretary of State Braden continues his almost single-handed fight against the spread of fascism in the Americas. His speech last Saturday at the University Club in New York touched upon the central weakness which in too many critical periods has characterized the policy of the department he serves. That weakness is not a defined partiality for fascist regimes; rather, it is a passive, acquiescent attitude, based partly on a stubborn refusal to believe that such regimes inevitably threaten the security of the hemisphere and partly on reluctance to intervene in other nations' affairs. Both positions Mr. Braden punctured with sharp words. Fascism, he said, wherever it is allowed to thrive, is "like a gun pointed at our head."

There are some who say that it is no proper concern of ours if an armed gang seizes power in a foreign country, destroys its civil liberties, denies human rights and regiments the people. They stand on the book of diplomatic etiquette; or they point to imperfection in our own democratic practice; or they scoff at the notion of danger to us. Such persons, wishfully disregarding the plain and terrible lesson that has been administered to the world in the past decade, completely misunderstand the nature of National Socialist ideology.

He insisted, as he has done before, that the United States has the duty as well as the right to take the lead in combating that ideology. And he called on the American republics to band together immediately to counter the threat contained in the existence of a fascist government. This means Argentina, though the Assistant Secretary did not use the name. And his words were a clear

announcement that the State Department is prepared to stand by its support of Uruguay's plan for multilateral American action against a state guilty of violating human rights or its international obligations.

The hope of winning a majority of the other American republics to this proposal is not at the moment bright. Some are compromised by their own reactionary, dictatorial regimes; some are directly under Argentine influences; some are wary of the very word "intervention" and see the shadow of the big stick in every United States move. The position of Mr. Braden and the handful of Latin American countries that support him would be immensely strengthened if the question were first raised in London. Certainly it should be. The presence of Argentina in the UNO is an anachronism as well as a danger, and many nations now realize it which were merely skeptical at San Francisco when the fight for Perón's admission was led by the predecessors of Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Braden. One of these nations should ask for the suspension or expulsion of a state which has so openly violated its commitments under the UNO charter. According to justice and logic the United States ought to take the lead in rectifying the error for which it bears the chief responsibility. But it is hard to imagine that Mr. Stettinius, who spoke solemn words in defense of Argentina at San Francisco, would accept this view. And even political strategy suggests that another government might make the proposal with better effect. If this were done—even though a final decision were postponed until after the American republics meet in the spring—the chances of united action on this side of the Atlantic would be multiplied.

The Nation Associates has addressed to the United Nations Assembly a memorandum requesting such action. Recalling the commitments made by Argentina when it signed the Chapultepec agreement—on the basis of which its admission to the UNO was obtained—the memorandum shows point by point how the present regime has violated its signed pledge and stands exposed as a satellite of the defeated Axis and a threat to the peace. The document also shows with what precision Perón has duplicated the program of the European fascist states on which his own is modeled.

Next week *The Nation* will publish this memorandum as a supplement. We hope it will lead to effective action by American progressive groups in support of the policy of collective security and anti-fascist unity in the Americas so ably expounded by Mr. Braden. If our government is now, as he says, firmly "determined that no complacency on our part shall allow a new growth of fascism in this hemisphere," it deserves the full understanding and energetic backing of the people. That it has not yet won them is indicated by the attitude of suspicion or open hostility which the Senate has adopted toward Mr. Braden's forthright recommendations. Obviously,

even the war has not wiped out the *laissez faire*, do-nothing psychology that led the democratic world into it. We still have a fight on our hands.

They're Off!

UNABLE to hold themselves in check until the President could report on the state of the union, the nation's Congressional representatives spent the first week of the new session in feverish attempts to clamp a bridle on organized labor. The sentiment seemed to be that now was the time; if they didn't act at once, the situation might improve and their best chance would be gone.

It is entirely possible, of course, for Congress to pass a sound and constitutional law that will smooth relations between capital and labor, reduce to a minimum the need for using the strike weapon, and usher in an era of industrial peace that will make the angels sing. We would go all out for such a measure, holding labor no more than business to be above the law. But we know of no such proposal and have yet to hear one offered on the floor of Congress.

Among the representatives of the people who have been trampling one another underfoot to drop their respective labor-control bills into the hopper, two types stand out. First and loudest are those congenial union-baiters who see in the present wave of strikes a heaven-sent opportunity to break the back of organized labor, and if possible repeal the whole New Deal. Mr. Rankin typified this statesman-like approach when he blamed Congress for "the threat of communism in this country" and called for repeal of the Wagner Act and the law affecting wages and hours. Then there are those men of good-will, like President Truman himself, who think to head off a vicious law by a mild one, however pointless.

As long as the present strike-heated atmosphere prevails, we believe that no law is the best law. When the strikes have run their course, as they will, there will be time enough to review the problem—sanelly and without the fierce pressures of a prevailing crisis. This is the gist of the advice given to the Senate Education and Labor Committee by its two most authoritative witnesses, William H. Davis and William M. Leiserson, both distinguished veterans of the War Labor Board.

In the circumstances the Leiserson-Davis counsels would probably not have prevailed over the hot urge to smash labor while the opportunity lasts, but in the Senate this compulsion has given way to a more pressing, and even lower, consideration. Just as the movement to pass some kind of labor bill began gathering momentum, Senator Chavez of New Mexico arose to move that the Senate take up at once the bill for a permanent Fair

Employment Practices Commission, to prevent racial and religious discrimination in industry. Southern Democrats were outraged. Here was something plainly more devastating than strikes.

Adoption of the motion was the signal for a filibuster. Overton of Louisiana announced that the Senate's reconversion program was "stopped in its tracks indefinitely." Bilbo served notice of his intention to "speak twice on the measure—for thirty days each time." His colleague, Senator Eastland, warned simply that "the foundation is being laid in Congress for another Congress—when the clouds of racial antagonism become thicker—to create a German system." And the more respectable George of Georgia invoked the help of God for the Democratic Party in 1946 and 1948 "if this is all that Harry Truman has to offer." This small band of men, fresh from de-

manding a curb on labor for the sake of speeding the country's reconversion, lost no time in calling a strike against the Senate. No cooling-off period for them!

It was not a pretty picture, even as Congressional pictures go. But before concluding that it accurately reflected the sentiments of the folks at home, it is well to note that the Chavez motion to debate the FEPC carried by a vote of forty-nine to seventeen; and to note, too, that the Senate's Education and Labor Committee refused to be stampeded into rushing labor legislation to the floor. "These labor controversies are going to blow over some day," said its chairman, Senator Murray of Montana, "and then it will be possible to draft and pass constructive legislation." There are a number of Murrays in the Senate, even though their voices may be drowned out in the days ahead by the filibustering babble of the Bilbos.

Salute to Symington

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 21

THE liberal crowd in Washington was very dubious when President Truman last June nominated W. Stuart Symington to head the Surplus Property Board. Symington was another of those Missourians, with—at the time—no visible qualifications for the job. He was a St. Louis manufacturer. He was a son-in-law of Congressman James Wadsworth of New York. He was something of a socialite, a member of a wealthy Amherst family. He did not look at all like the kind of man who might use government-owned war plants to break log jams in key monopolistic industries. That doughty old foe of monopoly, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, began an investigation. It was found that Symington had once been president of an obscure company obscurely convicted of violating anti-trust laws. No one quite knew what Vehicular Parking, Ltd., the wicked company, had done, but it seemed happily to confirm everybody's worst suspicions. Big business had taken over the Surplus Property administration. We sons of light have been known to jump to conclusions. This was one of those occasions when some very sweeping deductions were made from some very inadequate evidence.

Symington has won a resounding victory over one of the toughest troglodytes of American industry. Last September 21, in his report to Congress on aluminum plants and facilities, Symington told of some of his difficulties with the Aluminum Company of America. The Surplus Property Board was anxious to dispose of certain key aluminum plants in a way which would increase competition in this most monopolistic of all major

American industries. Alcoa's position is so powerful that even the government can do little without its cooperation. "Alcoa's attitude," Symington reported, "has been noncommittal." When the RFC asked Alcoa whether it would assist new operators of these plants by letting them see plant records, blueprints, and instructions, Alcoa refused. Alcoa made a counter-proposal. It offered to take over these plants itself if the Surplus Property Board virtually would recommend the calling off of the anti-trust suit still pending against it in the federal courts. The counter-proposal, as cleverly presented by Alcoa, could have been dressed up to impersonate a victory for the government over monopoly. Symington turned it down.

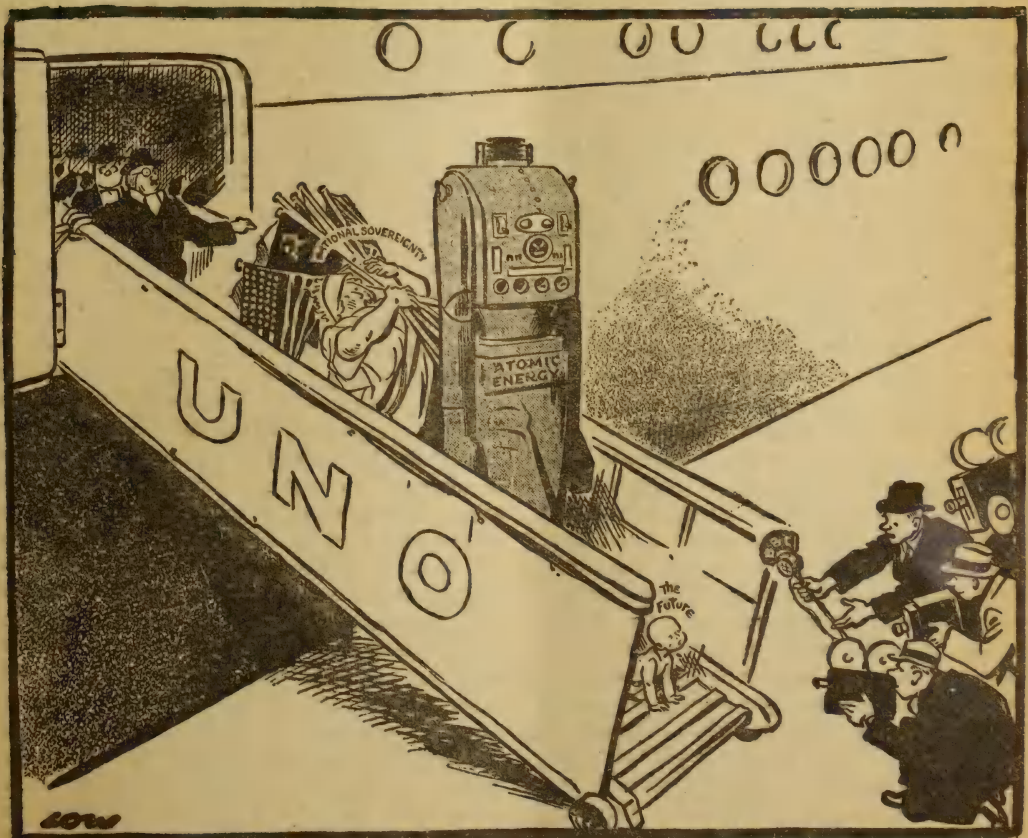
The Surplus Property Administrator worked out a program for the disposal of two key plants to Alcoa's competitor, Reynolds Metals. He found that the greatest obstacle was Alcoa's ownership of certain crucial patents. Without a licence to use these patents it would be impossible for Reynolds to operate the plants economically and efficiently. There were long and painful private negotiations with Alcoa. They culminated last December 17 in a vague offer of "know how" on "reasonable terms" from Arthur V. Davis, chairman of Alcoa. On January 6 Symington made public an acrid letter he had written to Senator O'Mahoney, in which he told the whole story of Alcoa's recalcitrant attitude and accused Alcoa of blocking the government's program by refusing to license its patents to competitors. Four days later Symington called a press conference and proudly announced that Alcoa had agreed not only to license these patents to competitors but to license them royalty free. As a result

the government was leasing to Reynolds Metals the huge Hurricane Creek plant for turning bauxite into alumina and the Jones Mill plant for smelting alumina into aluminum. No administrative agency had ever won so great a concession from Alcoa.

I do not wish to give a false and exaggerated picture either of Symington or of this Alcoa surrender. Symington is not a crusader. He is pragmatic in his approach and not at all likely to take an anti-monopoly position for its own sake. But he has won the confidence of many of the anti-trust old-timers by taking very seriously the anti-monopoly provisions of the Surplus Property Act, and by demonstrating unusual courage and fighting capacity in carrying them out. Alcoa is very powerful, in politics and in the press. Truman's Attorney General, Tom Clark, is no Thurman Arnold; the easygoing Texan is interested in making friends and influencing people; his attitude toward the anti-trust laws is respectful rather than passionate. It was not the Attorney General who took leadership in this case but the St. Louis manufacturer who had himself once parked his Vehicular Parking, Ltd., too close to the Sherman Act fireplug. In this rather unhappy Truman Administration Symington

therefore deserves a salute, if only from your correspondent's popgun.

Nevertheless, it would be unwise to assume that with this victory competition is assured in the aluminum industry. Alcoa still controls about two-thirds of the aluminum output in this country. It is able at any time to flood the United States and drown out competition with aluminum from Canada. There, thanks to the virtual gift of power facilities at Shipshaw, its Siamese-twin corporation can produce aluminum more cheaply than anywhere else on earth. Alcoa's bauxite and power resources are so superior to those of Reynolds Metals that if, some years hence, the government's attention should flag, Alcoa could force Reynolds into line. But the conditions of the Reynolds lease of the Hurricane Creek plant will provide cheap alumina for smaller competitors. The patent offer will make it easier to find other operators for the considerable volume of aluminum facilities still in government hands. Thanks to Symington's efforts, we are closer to assured competition in the aluminum industry than ever before, and a free market in this basic light metal means additional jobs and expansion in a whole range of consumer and capital-goods industries.



THE DELEGATES ARRIVE

The Ghosts of Geneva

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

The Nation's London correspondent

London, January 17

AFTER a week-long overture of organization preliminaries and introductory generalities and after listening to speeches by Attlee, Byrnes, and Bevin, the UNO conference still appears sadly remote from a real world parliament. Observers of the age of your correspondent are possibly overburdened by memories of the failure of a similar experiment, bravely launched in 1919. Westminster's Central Hall is haunted uncomfortably by the ghosts of Geneva. It is therefore salutary to remind oneself that the UNO differs substantially from the League. It is, in the first place, a real world-wide organization and not a predominantly European club with a sprinkling of associate members from overseas; and, secondly, there is this time a more realistic recognition that the responsibility for executive decisions must be proportionate to the nations' ability to implement them by armed power. Nevertheless, the consoling spectacle provided by the presence of the United States and Soviet delegations incompletely allays two unresolved doubts: Can the UNO develop the techniques of a world parliament unless the delegations abandon the present method of voting as national blocks? And will the Assembly ever acquire real influence and responsibility if its role is limited to discussion of the secondary issues allocated to it by the omnipotent triumvirate?

With reference to the first question, Labor opinion here indorses Bevin's emphasis on the importance of the Economic and Social Council. Obviously, the best way to promote the habit of international cooperation is to engage in immediate, practical cooperative work on such problems as food relief, refugees, and physical reconstruction. Mere avoidance of war is a vague and negative objective whose pursuit by the old League was frustrated by the failure to eliminate through international action the economic disequilibria, frictions, and disorders from which the seeds of war upspring. It is encouraging to find among the delegations widespread recognition of the necessity of preventive action before disputes arise. But the question canvassed was whether practical collaboration would not be more likely if the delegations were composed of representatives of political parties nominated by legislatures. Thus composed, the Assembly might develop, on specific practical issues, groupings which transcended national frontiers. The existing composition of the delegations and the voting procedure tend to perpetuate the emphasis on an archaic sovereignty which ultimately wrecked the League.

The second question is equally crucial. Attlee's opening declaration that the UNO must be "an overriding factor in foreign policy" was significantly not echoed by either Soviet or United States spokesmen. Byrnes's warning that it was inadvisable to overburden the UNO at the existing stage of its development or to expect by "overnight magic" to create immediately a world parliament with the Security Council as its Cabinet was appreciated here as realistic and salutary. Undoubtedly, if such major controversial issues as the Russian attitude toward Persia and Turkey were pressed to a showdown by a resolution voted in the Assembly, the disunity of the UNO would be starkly revealed, with probably fatal results. But where does this lead us? The Russian delegation is adhering rigidly to the Moscow thesis that Big Three unity takes precedence over every other consideration, and is evidently inclined to restrict the UNO to a secondary role in world affairs. Opposing this attitude partly because it is Russian and partly because it conflicts with the Labor government's and particularly with Bevin's conception of democracy, the British delegation seems inclined to champion the rights of small nations to have a free voice. The alignment of the United States delegation has not been clarified, but Byrnes is expected to insist on the principle of sovereignty when the issue of trustee mandates in the Pacific is debated.

In the immediate future awkward clashes may probably be circumvented by compromise or the device of postponement. For example, the choice of a Secretary General is meeting a snag in the Russian disinclination to have a prominent world figure invested with such great authority. Disagreement on this question in the Security Council may be averted by the temporary continuation of Gladwyn Jebb in office. Similarly, one perceives an attempt to avoid a head-on collision in the Persian dispute by postponing it until a date is set for the evacuation of the Anglo-Russian forces. But the dilemma created by reluctance to overburden the UNO with unduly explosive questions and the fear that it may be kept a mere impotent spectator of the big powers' private maneuvers cannot be indefinitely avoided. The independence of speech and voting already exercised by minor states in issues not involving cardinal principles is worth little if these delegations are unable to exert any influence on big questions making for peace or war. Already the atmosphere of the Assembly is slightly reminiscent of the League, of which it was said cynically, "It touched nothing which it did not adjourn."

Wanted: a Plan for Germany

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Research director of the Foreign Policy Association and author of "The Four Cornerstones of Peace"

AMERICAN policy toward Germany, never clearly defined, has been further beclouded since V-E Day by a wide range of conflicting considerations. Among these are the natural desire of our people, in no way checked by the President or Congress, for rapid demobilization; fear of Russia's domination of the Continent, including Germany; reluctance to apply to the Germans measures of expropriation and control that contravene our concept of "free private enterprise"; and distrust of those political groups, in both liberated and enemy countries, which many Americans label "leftist" or "radical." American and civilian officials who are striving to apply the Potsdam directives in Germany can legitimately be questioned and criticized about details of their administration, but very little progress can be made toward improving the situation in the American zone, or in Germany as a whole, until our objectives in Europe have been clarified at top levels in Washington. Does the United States intend to participate in the four-power control of Germany as long as this may prove to be necessary—and no one can say today whether that will be five years or fifty years—or are we hoping to withdraw from Germany at the earliest possible moment? Our failure to answer this key question by an official statement of policy keeps not only Germany but all Europe in turmoil.

Though this country has avoided commitments on political matters, it did to some extent clarify the economic prospects for Germany on December 11, when Secretary of State Byrnes issued a statement and the State Department a declaration on German economy and reparations. These two documents, however, give the impression that the United States contemplates termination of all but "residual controls" by 1948, when the German economy will presumably be free to develop as best it can within the limitations imposed on it by the Potsdam settlement.

That settlement, it will be recalled, assigned some of Germany's richest agrarian areas in the east—estimated to have produced 25 per cent of German foodstuffs before 1939—to Poland and Russia, subject to final delimitation later; transferred the Silesian coal mines to the control of Poland; and stated that Germany's standard of living should be no higher than that of its neighbors, excluding Britain and Russia. The Potsdam settlement also provided for the payment of reparations by Germany, not by the transfer of cash, as in 1919, but by the transfer of plants and machinery to the United Na-

tions and the seizure by the Allies of Germany's external assets.

There is no disagreement among the four occupying powers concerning the desirability of disarming Germany industrially by the destruction, or the transfer on account of reparations, of plants manufacturing articles unmistakably used for war—that is, all kinds of weapons, airplanes, submarines, synthetic rubber, and synthetic oil. The area of disagreement begins when it must be decided what other industries are not needed for Germany's peace-time economy and can therefore be removed for reparations, and what industries should be destroyed because of their convertibility to war purposes.

We have all learned that peace-time factories can be rapidly converted to war production by a technically proficient labor force under skilled management. Yet only a small group of persons in the United States have supported the drastic Morgenthau plan for de-industrialization of Germany, and none of the United Nations, even those whose economies were most seriously damaged by the Germans, have proposed to deprive Germany of all its industries solely on the ground that they might eventually be used for war purposes. At the same time it becomes increasingly clear that if a viable economy is to be reconstituted in Germany under the conditions imposed by the Potsdam settlement, a thoroughgoing reorientation of German production must be carried out, preferably by the Germans themselves. In fact, if the United States plans to withdraw all but "residual controls" by 1948, it is the Germans who must as soon as possible take the main responsibility for reorganization of their economy.

The shocking physical destruction that meets one's eyes in all Germany's industrial centers has led some observers to jump to the conclusion that we need not fear the military resurgence of the Reich for years to come. The fact is, however, that while many factories—but far more homes—have been smashed, a remarkably large proportion of Germany's productive facilities could be promptly restored, especially given the technical proficiency of German workers. With this situation in mind, the now liquidated Foreign Economic Administration, in its voluminous report to the Kilgore committee, declared that to prevent future German rearmament, the economy of Germany should be thoroughly reorganized. Heavy industry, whose over-expansion for war purposes had long unbalanced the country's economic life, should be drastically reduced, and capital and man-power should

be diverted to the production of consumers' goods, the need for which had been sharply increased by the destruction of homes and their contents. At the same time, the report said, the Germans should be urged to convert the large estates, which had been devoted to the often uneconomic raising of grain crops protected by high tariffs, to intensive agricultural enterprises like dairying. Such a readjustment, the FEA report contended, would not only deprive Germany of the industrial base for military power but would eventually make possible a standard of living which might prove higher than the standard achieved when the German economy was geared primarily to war production.

The often repeated argument that reduction of German heavy industry would retard the recovery of the liberated countries, which in the past imported tools and manufactured goods from the Reich, is not regarded by the FEA observers as sound. It is true that German exports were in many ways beneficial to the countries of Europe, but investigation of the inner workings of the I. G. Farben industrial empire and of other German-dominated cartels offers conclusive evidence that German exports were used by the Nazis as a weapon for economic penetration into countries they intended to rule politically, and that German industry both inspired and abetted the military expansionist plans of the Nazi leaders and the *Wehrmacht*. Germany's customers may miss for a time the manufactured products they used to import from the Reich. But this loss will be small compared to the security from aggression that they may gain through the limitation of German heavy industry.

To replace German exports two things will have to be done. First, Germany's former customers must readjust their own economies, probably decreasing their agricultural exports and expanding their industrial production, as is already contemplated in Holland. Second, the United States and Britain must study ways and means of furnishing tools and manufactured goods to the liberated countries of a quality—and what is even more important, at a price—comparable to the quality and price of goods previously sold by the Germans. The Western powers must also consider the possibility of aiding the liberated countries to modernize and expand their industries through loans and long-term credits. Such aid is envisaged in the State Department declaration of December 11, which gives welcome stress to the need of helping Germany's victims to rebuild ahead of Germany. In addition, the United States must learn to import some of the goods produced by our war-time Allies—and eventually by our war-time enemies as well. Otherwise, obviously, the countries of Europe

will be unable to purchase the products of our war-expanded industries or to repay our loans or credits.

Reorientation of the German economy on a national scale will require the establishment of central German administrative organs for industry, trade, finance, and other economic activities, as provided at Potsdam. The creation of these central organs has been opposed by France, which wants first to obtain a settlement of Germany's western border comparable to that made by the Big Three in the east. France proposes that the Ruhr—Germany's principal source of coal now that the Silesian mines have been assigned to Poland—should be excluded from the central administration and placed under the control of an international commission which would allocate Ruhr coal to Germany as well as to other countries, and thereby exercise control (could it be called "residual"?) over Germany's industrial development. It also proposes that the Rhineland be divided into four districts to be administered by France, Britain, Holland, and Belgium.

The United States has so far opposed France's suggestions, being reluctant to permit further partition of German territory. But if this country intends to withdraw from Germany in a relatively short time, then it is not in a position to object to France's plans for safeguarding its security in the West any more than it can legitimately oppose any steps Russia feels it must take in Eastern Europe. If the United States dislikes France's policy or fears Russia's, it has no alternative but to remain in Europe and do its part in establishing security on that continent, a security which, as two wars should have proved, is inextricably linked to our own.

But no thoroughgoing reorganization of Germany's economy will be effected by men whose economic interests would thereby be jeopardized. The United States cannot expect German manufacturers to shut down heavy industries and turn to light industries, or owners of large estates to break them up and distribute them among small farmers who might undertake dairying or some other intensive form of agriculture. Nor will the elimination of Nazis from positions of authority, no matter how meticulously carried out, of itself alter the character of German society. The inescapable conclusion is that if the United States wants a reorientation of German production it will have to enlist the aid of those political groups which are not afraid of far-reaching social and economic reforms—and the strongest of these groups in Germany today is formed by the Social Democrats. The United States should back these groups, not for reasons of ideology or sentiment, but for the purely practical reason that they are the only ones which



have shown a genuine desire to cooperate in a new Germany. Americans who fear Soviet Russia's influence in Germany, and on the Continent as a whole, should realize that unless necessary social and economic reforms are carried out now, with the approval of the Allies, it is possible that the Germans, and other peoples, may see no alternative to communism, however little enthusiasm they may have for the system developed in Russia.

Most important of all, we must understand that it will not be enough to deprive the Germans of armaments, or the capacity to produce armaments. It is essential that they should rid themselves of the will to make war, a will that, when the need arises, can transform plowshares into swords or rocket bombs. The will

to war cannot be uprooted unless we ourselves give Germany, and the rest of the world, convincing evidence that we do not intend to follow the example of our enemies; that we will not allow narrow nationalism to shape our trade policies, or shut out immigrants from other lands, or thwart our efforts at cooperation with other nations; that we will not try to keep the secret of the atomic bomb or of other weapons from the rest of the world and thus encourage another armaments race, whose stake would be the survival of mankind. Together with our allies we have done a remarkable job in defeating our enemies on the field. Our task now is to defeat within ourselves the evil impulses and hollow fears which could rob us of the hard-won fruits of victory.

Philippine Aftermath

BY MILDRED ADAMS

Journalist and critic with a special interest in Hispanic American affairs

II. Friend or Enemy

PRESIDENT SERGIO OSMENA, now back in the Philippines, has produced a local definition of collaborator. To the Presidential mind a collaborator is "one taking part in the execution of the policy of the enemy." Señor Osmeña does not mean, he explains, that every Filipino who held office under the Japanese did so willingly or was thereby disloyal. He seems to accept the contention that apparent collaboration might have been in fact an act of patriotism. But he believes that people "who by their acts placed themselves in positions of responsibility" under the Japanese should not hold office in the new Philippine government, due to be elected April 30, 1946.

The President's definition may help to clear up a situation which has become grave and puzzling since liberation. In the Philippines the leading public men have been involved in collaboration with the enemy. In jail or out, they are not going to give up their public reputation and position easily. Some of them have already announced their candidacy for office in the coming elections. Under such circumstances President Osmeña's definition becomes in a sense a campaign pronouncement. If applied literally it will remove from the scene his own most dangerous rival and many of the islands' most experienced politicians. If it is not applied, the United States is likely, on Independence Day, 1946, to find itself in the position of turning the islands over to the very officials who during the war helped our enemies.

The American position is, on the face of it, clear. President Truman has said that collaborators must be punished and has directed the Attorney General to pro-

ceed accordingly. But the underlying situation is so confused that it makes the problem of judging and punishing European collaborators look like mere kindergarten work. The main factors in the confusion are the political divisions before and during the war, the caliber of the politicians, the position of America as an occupying nation, and last but not least the pressure of time.

It should be remembered that in November, 1941, the Filipinos held a national election at which Quezon was reelected and a new legislature chosen. Before the legislators had a chance to meet or Quezon could reform his Cabinet, the Japanese struck. Not until June, 1945, when the Japanese had been driven out, did the legislature then elected convene. Meanwhile, however, during at least part of the three and a half years of Japanese occupation a puppet legislature composed to some extent of the same men had been meeting and passing laws. It was that legislature which in October, 1943, chose José Laurel to be "President-elect of the future Republic of the Philippines" by a vote which the Tokyo radio reported to be unanimous. And it is in substance this same legislature, minus men killed in battle, minus flamboyant collaborators arrested by the United States army, and plus members who had been out of the country or had been fighting the Japanese, which is the actual law-making body in the islands today.

Major Pedro López, elected representative from Cebu in the 1941 elections and one of the men who chose to flee to the hills and work with the guerrillas rather than to act for the Japanese as Governor of Cebu, made a speech to his fellow-legislators on June 21 of this year calling attention to these facts. "When I was in the United States," he said, "I had the impression that all

the ranking policy-making puppets and collaborators, the symbols of Japanese power in the Philippines, had already been removed from 'authority and influence' over our 'political and economic life' pursuant to the Presidential directive. Imagine what a shock I had upon seeing a few days ago the following item in the *Philippine Press* for June 10." He then read, "In yesterday's issue the *Philippine Press* revealed that nineteen Representatives and eight Senators of the seventy Representatives and fifteen Senators known to be alive in liberated areas had held office under the Japanese puppet government. In response to numerous public inquiries we publish herewith, without comment, the names of those individuals and the positions they held." The list of the men with their positions followed.

No clear account of the conduct of these men has yet been reconstructed; the daily records of government under the occupation are said to have been destroyed. Four of them were absolved by Japanese arrest. But it seems clear that the Japanese governed the islands with much of the personnel which had been previously in office and which apparently intends to continue in office. From the surrender of Manila until October, 1943, a Philippine Executive Commission headed by Jorge Vargas carried on interim government. In 1943 the so-called National Service Association (*Kalipabi*) sponsored by the Japanese—it is now being groomed as the local fascist party—met in convention and was intrusted with naming a Preparatory Commission for Philippine Independence to be composed of twenty members. This commission was headed by José Laurel and included Chief Justice José Yulo of the Supreme Court and three former justices. Laurel was soon named to the Presidency of the "Future Republic of the Philippines," and in January, 1944, he chose his first Cabinet. This "republican" government ruled the islands under the tutelage of Japan until the summer of 1945.

Before President Quezon was brought to the United States in 1942, he named Jorge Vargas, his trusted aide, Secretary of the Interior and placed him in charge of the Cabinet which was to carry on in the President's absence. Vargas became mayor of Manila a month later, then chairman of the Philippine Executive Commission—and eventually ambassador to Japan! He was quoted by a reporter who saw him in September, 1945, as saying, "Practically everybody has been a collaborationist in the Philippines to help his countrymen to survive. What difference does it make whether you went out and fought the Japanese or got along with them—so long as either way you helped your countrymen?"

It is commonly assumed in this country that men like Vargas are the Philippine counterparts of Quisling and should be treated accordingly. That assumption needs scrutiny. Let us take the case of Manuel Roxas, now president of the Senate and Osmeña's opponent in the



Manuel Roxas

coming elections. Roxas has frequently been described as the most controversial figure in the Philippines. During the occupation he was not only head of the puppet Senate but in charge of the Philippine Economic Development Board for the Laurel government.

Yet as a lieutenant colonel in the army reserve he had been made aide to General MacArthur in 1941 and had helped in the General's escape from Corregidor. After the fall of the fortress he had held out with the guerrillas on Mindanao for more than a year. Ten years earlier he was in the United States with Osmeña as head of the Ninth Independence Mission—the "Osrox" mission—and worked out with our Congress the details of the Hawes-Hare-Cutting act, which Hoover vetoed. He was one of the drafters of the Commonwealth Constitution of 1935, and became speaker of the House and Secretary of Finance. He is conceded to be the "strong man" of the islands.

Less well known than Roxas in the United States, José Laurel was famous in his homeland as statesman, author, and jurist. He was educated in this country and was an honor student at Yale Law School. In the Philippines he became successively Senator, Secretary of the Interior, and member of the Supreme Court, and then, in October, 1943, "President-elect."

Laurel's Cabinet contained, in January, 1944, nine posts, of which two—Home Affairs and Economic Affairs—were held by Laurel himself. Rafael Alunan, who had been Secretary of the Interior in Quezon's Cabinet three years earlier, was Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources. Teófilo Sisón, Quezon's Minister of National Defense in 1941 and before that Secretary of the Interior, was Minister of Justice. Laurel's Minister of Finance was Antonio de las Alas, a former member of both the Murphy and the Quezon government. The Minister of Public Works and Communications was Quintín Paredes, first Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States. Another Philippine Resident Commissioner, Camilo Osias, became Laurel's Minister of Education. His Minister of Foreign Affairs was Claro P. Recto, president of the Philippine Constitution convention of 1935 and a Supreme Court justice.

Did such men become traitors under Japanese pressure? Or were they thinking only of their own profit? Or did they really believe that they could serve their

country best by working with Japan? Filipino opinion seems to be divided. Some persons charge that the common people were betrayed by the ruling class, and others feel that the politicians did the best they could under very hard circumstances. Among the former are various guerrilla leaders, men who served in the American or Filipino armies and whose property was therefore confiscated, and the left-wing groups and agrarian leaders who are agitating for land reform. Those who identify their own interests with those of the ruling group think that Laurel, Roxas, Vargas, and the others mitigated Japanese oppression by their skill in bargaining and their apparent compliance. They say that Laurel prevented the conscription of Filipino youth by threatening to resign, and that lesser officials, by remaining in office, protected their people from the rigors of Japanese rule.

People who know the Filipinos well explain the divergence of views partly by the islands' history. Spain occupied them for 377 years, the United States for 43 years, Japan for 3½ years, and now the United States is back again. In each period there were people who collaborated and people who resisted. But always life had to go on, crops had to be gathered, children fed. Is it any wonder, this explanation runs, that Filipinos have developed a capacity to adapt themselves to whatever power is in control or that they find the line between patriotism and collaboration a bit vague?

Americans may be certain that those who worked with us are patriots and those who worked against us are traitors. "But," say certain Filipinos, "traitors to whom? To the United States, yes, but the United States is not the Philippines. The Americans took the Philippines by force; now they are getting out, and it behooves us to

look to our interests, which are not necessarily theirs." The official position, of course, identifies Filipino and American interests. Collaborators have been declared the concern of both governments. The United States army carried on a wide investigation when MacArthur came back, and trials are now proceeding under the Commonwealth. But of the collaborators mentioned above only Laurel is under arrest, and it is doubtful whether even he will be brought to trial.

Meanwhile time presses. The elections are scheduled for April. Osmeña and the men charged with collaboration belong to the same party, have been political friends, or enemies, for years as the tide of power has swung back and forth. Osmeña has no means of testing the opinion of his people before the elections. He was prevented from naming two prominent guerrilla leaders—Confesor and Kabili—to his Cabinet by the collaborators still in the legislature. He cannot depend on a Supreme Court whose Chief Justice is charged with getting on nicely with Japan.

The situation is thoroughly unsatisfactory from every point of view except that of the men who collaborated with Japan under the guise of patriotic action, and who now seem in a fair way not only to escape punishment but to take over the political control of the islands within six short months. Unless some solution is found, independence will dawn under gloomy skies, and the vaunted American experiment in colonial government will end "not with a bang but a whimper," leaving behind it problems so grave that they will challenge America's pride in that experiment.

[This is the second of a series of articles by Miss Adams on the problems of the Philippines.]

Memo on the Mormons

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Salt Lake City, January 2

TO AN outsider Utah is a political puzzle. Though it has little industry and a weak and undeveloped labor movement, the state remained safely in the column of the Democratic Party during the Roosevelt years. Neighboring states—Idaho, Colorado, and Nevada—have been unpredictable, but Utah, with a pre-war population of about 500,000, has been a Democratic stronghold in the intermountain region. Currently Utah is represented in the Senate by two outstanding New Dealers, Elbert Thomas and Abe Murdock; in the November, 1944, election Senator Thomas was reelected by a handsome majority, running ahead of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

How did Utah come to send such progressive men to the United States Senate and to elect to the state Supreme Court an outstanding liberal like Chief Justice James Wolfe? The subject interested me, for the political thought of the

state is not, *per se*, particularly liberal or progressive. After questioning seasoned political observers in Ogden, Salt Lake City, and Provo I came to the conclusion that Utah's progressive political behavior in the last dozen years may be explained by what these men all politely refer to as "the ecclesiastical situation."

In rural areas the population of Utah is about 80 per cent Mormon; in Salt Lake City it is about 40 per cent Mormon and in Ogden perhaps 30 per cent. At present the two United States Senators, the two Representatives, and the Governor are all members of the Mormon church—with their Mormonism running the gamut from strict orthodoxy to what is called "political Mormonism," that is, a nominal adherence to the tenets of the church. One might assume, then, that the Mormon church dominates the politics of the state; and so it does, but in a curiously reverse fashion.

In the 1944 election, as in other Roosevelt campaigns,

the church as represented by the omnipotent Twelve Apostles was bitterly anti-New Deal and anti-Roosevelt. Under the leadership of J. Reuben Clark it made every effort to swing Utah back into the Republican column, which meant back to the conditions prevailing under Senator Reed Smoot. Full-page advertisements in the church-owned *Deseret News* attacked Senator Thomas as a "Communist" and urged his defeat. Nevertheless, the Senator scored an impressive victory—which suggests that the secret of success in Utah politics consists in arousing the active opposition of the Mormon hierarchy; the rank and file resent the leaders' interference in political affairs and vote the other way.

This revolt of the Mormon congregations against the hierarchy apparently dates from the 1929 depression, when the church came out against the relief program of the New Deal. Editorials and cartoons in the *Deseret News* implied that only the lazy and shiftless would "go on the dole," particularly when the church had well-stocked warehouses for the relief of needy saints. The needy saints, however, showed a clear preference for cash relief over an allotment of cabbages, potatoes, and carrots from the warehouses. Moreover, rank-and-file Mormons noted that the church seemed quite willing to accept tithes paid out of WPA checks. Membership in the church did not decline, but the saints refused to accept the hierarchy's political dictation.

The people of Utah were fortified in their New Deal leanings by their belief that the state's prosperity required a federal administration committed to extensive development of Western resources and by their resentment against absentee-owned corporations with large holdings in Utah. There is in addition—though the reins of power are tightly held by the self-perpetuating apostles—a tradition of democracy in the church, as well as of cooperation and mutual aid. The present leadership is apparently aware of the disposition of the members to rebel against political dictation and is trying to conciliate them. The new head of the church, George Albert Smith, who is regarded in Utah as a mild liberal, recently extended the olive branch to Senator Thomas.

Utah has had a more homogeneous population than perhaps any other Western state, but since 1941 a number of Japanese Americans have been relocated in Salt Lake City and the surrounding countryside. The number of Negroes in Ogden and Salt Lake City has also slightly increased as a result of the war, and today about 5,000 Negroes live in the two cities. Under the creed of the Mormon church Negroes, while they can attend church services, are ineligible for the priesthood and are regarded as spiritually "beyond the pale," incapable of redemption. In consequence Utah is a Jim Crow state. Even in Ogden and Salt Lake City Negroes are denied service in the downtown cafes, restaurants, and hotels and are segregated in the balconies of the motion-picture theaters. That the discrimination may be traced to the "ecclesiastical situation" is shown by the fact that Japanese Americans, several hundred of whom are members in good standing of the Mormon church and eligible for the priesthood, are not segregated.

Today all Utah is preoccupied with the question of what will happen to the Geneva steel mill at Provo, which was constructed by the United States Steel Corporation and operated by it for the government during the war. Since Novem-

ber 10 the mill has been virtually closed down and the government is calling for sealed bids on the \$240,000,000 plant. Henry Kaiser seems out of the picture, and the United States Steel Corporation has disclaimed any interest in Geneva's future and announced plans for enlarging the San Francisco plants of its subsidiary, Columbia Steel. Geneva is a completely modern mill, using the most up-to-date methods and the most expert know-how, and with almost every operation electrically controlled. It seems incredible that this wonderful plant, furnishing employment badly needed in Utah, could be dismantled or permitted to remain idle or to be operated merely on a token basis. There are reports that the state itself might buy and operate the plant, but most of the people I talked with were pessimistic about the outlook.

In the country around Provo the farm units are small, averaging only about fifteen acres, and during the depression most of the farmers were on relief. The emphasis placed on land ownership by the creed of the church has caused the original holdings to be subdivided among many heirs until more people are living on the land than it can profitably support. In such a region, a plant like the Geneva steel mill would be of inestimable benefit. It would furnish, in fact, a solution to the chief economic problem of the area, a fact clearly recognized by the residents.

A long-term trend toward a lessening of the cleavage between Mormons and Gentiles in Utah was accelerated by the war. Thousands of soldiers from other parts of the country were in camps throughout the state, and the Geneva plant and other war industries brought in many people. With the introduction of new elements and new points of view, new business leaders have come to the fore. One of the most interesting is George Hatch, recently elected president of the New Council of American Business. Part owner of the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* and of a chain of radio stations in Utah and Idaho, Hatch will add strength to the progressive cause in Utah politics.

In 1946 Senator Murdock and the state's two Representatives—Walter Granger and J. Will Robinson—will be up for reelection. Senator Murdock is an extremely popular figure and a strong "campaigner." If the church hierarchy again opposes him, he would seem assured of victory. Liberals are disturbed, however, by the possibility that he may accept an appointment to the federal bench. Governor Herbert Maw, a former professor of public speaking at the University of Utah, who was reelected in 1944 by a very close margin—the election was actually in dispute for several months—is not highly regarded by liberal and labor elements. They charge him with having built up a personal political machine and with refusal to cooperate in liberal plans. It is rumored that Governor Maw, conscious of having run far behind the rest of the ticket in 1944, is an applicant for the favor of Mr. Hannegan, seeking either to succeed Secretary Ickes or to obtain some important regional post in the federal bureaucracy. If Senator Murdock should take his name off the ballot, there would be a real danger that the electoral balance which has prevailed since 1932 might be upset. For Utah is liberal by an accident of "the ecclesiastical situation" rather than by studied intention.

[This is the third of Mr. McWilliams's letters from the Middle West and West.]

A Southerner Goes Home

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

Formerly on the staff of The Nation

Columbia, South Carolina

THERE were several Negroes in our coach as the train left New York, and we wondered whether they would be ordered out when we reached the color line at Washington. They weren't. Three more got on at Richmond. Nobody said anything; there was no unpleasantness. The conductor with the Southern accent who took over at Washington didn't seem to notice that any of his passengers were colored. There was a fifteen-minute wait at Hamlet, North Carolina, and we went into a small stand across the tracks that had a soda fountain and magazines. Only after we were halfway inside did we notice on the lower part of the door the words "For White Only."

Columbia is not a big city, but it has the air and manner of a metropolis. It is the seat of the state university; it has a little theater and a symphony orchestra. There are readers of *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, and the *Partisan Review*. But at the railroad stations, even as in Hamlet, there are signs that say "White" and "Colored"; and the Chamber of Commerce lists among the city's attractions the fact that its population is 99.1 per cent native American and 64.4 per cent white.

The population has increased from 62,000 to 70,000 in the last five years. Just outside the city limits areas which were formerly swamps and sandhills are now thickly settled suburban communities. I said jokingly, "Pretty soon people will be commuting from Horrell Hill"—a lonely crossroads village fifteen miles away. The reply was, "They're doing it already." In this city of private homes, apartment buildings are springing up; a group of formerly vacant lots is now a shopping center; and most of the stores on Main Street have bright new fronts and modern interiors. There are four railroad stations; five years ago there was one.

The source of this wealth is the federal government. Columbia is district headquarters for the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida of forty-six federal agencies exclusive of the army, navy, and Selective Service. It is a little Washington.

Plans are being made to establish a number of new factories to process other materials than cotton. Great hopes center in Georgia's coming suit to have the Supreme Court hold the Southern freight-rate differential a violation of the anti-trust act. The differential makes it more expensive to ship a manufactured article from Columbia to New York than from New York to Columbia. Since the North grows no cotton, there is no differential on the raw fiber; if the cotton is spun into thread, the South-to-North freight rate becomes higher than the North-to-South rate; if the thread is woven into cloth, the differential increases; if the cloth is made into shirts, there is a further increase. This has stunted Southern industry and made the South little more than a supplier of raw materials, or, as we say bitterly, a colonial area. There is no doubt here that the Supreme Court will make history by outlawing this arrangement.

The railroads have countered Georgia's suit with the Bulwinkle bill, which would exempt common carriers from the anti-trust act. This bill is a cause of considerable worry here. The South Carolina delegation in Congress is solidly against it, and pressure is being put on Jimmy Byrnes—all South Carolinians call him Jimmy—to "use his influence."

The process of industrialization is going on all over the state: paper, plastics, nylon, chemicals. Some factories are already in production; others are being built. The Santee Cooper hydroelectric development is attracting not only Northern but local capital. "Local capital," indeed, is the rallying cry of the Chamber of Commerce. We welcome the Yankee dollar, but we prefer our own. We really are not fond of Yankees.

One important cause of our dislike is that the Yankees come to exploit the cheap labor we hold out to them. Cheap labor is the only feature of colonialism of which we approve, but it makes us uneasy, and we react emotionally, disliking both the Yankees and their victims. Our labor policies are the most backward in the country, and there is no sign that we intend to improve them. The mechanical cotton-picker will probably, within a decade, displace 80 per cent of the people now engaged in growing cotton. There are those in Columbia who smile with pleasure at the prospect of so many willing workers.

Those who smile are the ones who frown when the talk turns to the progress the Negro has made. There has been much progress in many little ways, but fundamentally the Negro's position has not changed. He is still a pariah. He is better dressed now, he walks with his head up and meets white people with a look of indifference or hostility in place of the former servile smile. That is all to the good. But he still does not enjoy the equal protection of the law, he still is sadly limited in his opportunities for education and employment, and he still is not accorded the ordinary courtesies that betoken recognition of human dignity. His economic condition has improved noticeably in the last five years, but the pavement still ends at the edge of his neighborhoods.

The price of progress is change, and the changes that have taken place in Columbia are not altogether pleasing. Beautiful old Southern mansions have been torn down to make room for filling stations. And our mores are changing with our architecture. We have been invaded by barbarians from the North, with no knowledge of our traditions and no regard for our way of life. They are modernizing us, without considering that we may not want to be modernized; and the Lord apparently isn't going to save us. Directly across the street from the biggest church in town is a large sign advertising the state health department's free mobile clinic for venereal disease. And in the expanded county courthouse the Court of Domestic Relations, established in 1944, now hears an average of 100 cases a month. In the old days we didn't have any domestic relations.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Germany's Steel Ration

AFTER prolonged wrangling the Allied Control Council in Berlin has decided to allow Germany to retain a steel production capacity of 7,500,000 tons of ingot steel annually. Maximum annual production, however, is not to exceed 5,800,000 tons, which, according to American experts, means that Germany will have available for domestic consumption and exports (limited to 600,000 tons) some 4,200,000 tons of finished steel. These figures represent a compromise between Soviet proposals for maximum productive capacity of 3,000,000 tons and British suggestions of 10,500,000. They summarily dispose, Drew Middleton writes in the *New York Times*, of any hopes that Germany can or will be reduced to "an agricultural state."

For this reason the decision of the Allied Council is likely to be attacked by publicists who think that the easiest way of losing the peace is to leave Germany any armament-making potential whatsoever. Those who, like myself, have always questioned the wisdom of a policy of drastic de-industrialization will be inclined to criticize the steel allotment as dangerously meager. For the annual output which is to be permitted is approximately the same as what the German steel plants turned out in 1932, when the Reich, in common with every industrial country in the world, was racked by depression and had around six million unemployed. In other words, for a country which must undertake an enormous amount of reconstruction we propose to allow no more steel than it consumed in a year when construction was practically at a standstill. In 1932, for instance, the German railroads used only 366,000 tons of track steel compared with a normal average in the years 1925 to 1929 of about 1,500,000 tons. Today the battered German railroads are a bottleneck for the whole Continental economy, unable to transport from the Ruhr all the coal now being raised there, even though mine output is less than half the pre-war normal. For the sake of Europe the German railroad and canal network must be restored to a state of efficiency, and that task alone will absorb large quantities of steel.

No one proposes, of course, that Germany should be allowed to retain its swollen war-time steel capacity, which reached about 23,000,000 tons. But it seems to me that the Allies could safely leave Germany a steel capacity equal to its production in 1924—around 10,000,000 tons—provided they retain strict control over German supplies of strategic raw materials. Without manganese, nickel, tungsten, molybdenum, and other alloy metals, all of which Germany must import, steel is of little use for armaments.

The Control Council's proposed steel allowance for Germany amounts to about 180 pounds per head per annum, while a ten-million-ton total would mean approximately 300 pounds. This compares with a German average for the years 1924 to 1929 of about 450 pounds and with British and French consumption in 1937, a moderately pros-

perous year, of some 600 and 380 pounds, respectively. American production in 1940 was equivalent to about 900 pounds per head.

Steel, as we know, is the basis of all modern industry. If supplies of the metal are cut off, all factories will gradually come to a standstill. It follows that if a country's supplies of steel are limited, an immovable ceiling is placed on its total industrial production. That is what makes quantitative control of the steel industry such a very effective strait-jacket for German economy. Nevertheless, the strong arguments in favor of freezing German industry at a low point should not blind us to the consequences of the policy.

The most important of these consequences is that a very large fraction of Germany's urban population will become redundant. With steel output restricted to the 1932 level, it is unlikely that other industries will be able to achieve a higher output or support a larger labor force than they did in that year, when, as we have noted, six million workers were unemployed. Taking into account the growth of population since then, including enforced migration from the east, Germany's future surplus of industrial workers may well be still larger.

What is to be done with these six million workers, making with their families perhaps some fifteen million people in all? Mr. Morgenthau and other advocates of German de-industrialization insist that they can be transferred to agricultural employments. They say, correctly, that the German soil has been undercultivated and could support a larger population. But I do not think they have considered sufficiently the economic, political, and sociological problems involved in so wholesale a shift of population from one mode of living to a very different one.

In all industrial countries the drift from the country to the towns has been automatic. In order to reverse the tide, life in the towns will have to become so unattractive that workers will pull up stakes and accept as a better lot the rather slim rewards of subsistence homesteading. I doubt whether this will happen unassisted. It will be necessary for steps to be taken to discourage people from staying in the towns. Urban living standards will have to be forced down. That will mean wage-cutting and limitation of the power of the trade unions, whose revival in Germany we have been encouraging. It will involve the abolition of social-security measures, particularly of any kind of unemployment relief.

We aim at gradually restoring self-government to Germany on a democratic basis, but what German party, dependent on popular suffrage, could carry out a program designed to force unwilling workers to leave their traditional employments? This is the kind of action which only a dictatorship can put through, and since the Allies can hardly allow a German dictator to do the job, they will eventually be forced to solve the problem themselves.

I had meant to discuss in this article some of the probable effects of industrial shrinkage in Germany on the economy of Europe as a whole, but this must be left for another occasion. I can only pose one question without trying to answer it: How will the interests of American, British, French, Belgian, and other workers be affected if the standards of German workers making competitive products are beaten down far below their own?

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

EVERYONE who knew the old League of Nations at first hand is watching anxiously to see what sort of men will be named to the secretariat of the United Nations Organization. For months a quiet tug-of-war has been going on between the conservatives of the UNO, who would like to see an intelligent but "safe" moderate in the post of General Secretary—say, the Dutch Foreign Minister, Van Kleffens—and the progressives who are pressing for a militant anti-fascist like Masaryk or Lie, the Norwegian. If there must be a compromise, as now seems likely, Pearson, the Canadian ambassador at Washington, would not be a bad choice. At least he would bring to the new organization a flair which never characterized the first secretary of the League, Sir Eric Drummond, now Earl of Perth. The world might be blown to atoms—we hadn't split the atom then—but brave Sir Eric remained unruffled until he had finished reading the "agony column" in the London *Times*. Nor does Pearson bear the slightest resemblance to Drummond's successor, Joseph Avenol of France. When the lists of war criminals were being prepared, I urged in *The Nation* the inclusion of Avenol, accomplice of the fascist aggressors and gravedigger of the League. Today he lives placidly in Switzerland, no doubt hobnobbing with Georges Bonnet, who, I am told, is busy trying to rescue some of the secret funds his Nazi friends deposited abroad.

I am more concerned about the rest of the secretariat, about the men who are going to carry on the day-to-day business of the UNO. It is of crucial importance that tested anti-fascists staff the political departments and the information service. Even the old League had a handful of such men: Dr. Rajchman of Poland, now associated with the UNRRA; Ziliacus, today a Labor member of the British Parliament; Oden of France, and others. Most of them eventually resigned in protest against the reactionary intrigues of Avenol. Together with representatives from the resistance movements and other men with clean records they could form the hard, democratic core of the new secretariat.

The right-wing papers of Mexico, I am happy to learn, have begun to follow *The Nation*. At any rate, judging by the inexhaustible stock of epithets, both Spanish and Mexican, which my name evokes, they have read my recent articles about the Mexican political situation. Of course I could sue them for libel—if Mexico had any libel law. But in thirty years of political controversy it has never occurred to me to waste even a line in reply to a personal attack.

What really infuriated them was my prediction that if counter-revolution breaks out in Mexico Lázaro Cárdenas will come back and take charge of the situation. One paper devoted no less than three editorials to the subject; I shall not identify the paper lest I make it too popular among reactionaries on this side of the border. But it is common knowledge in Mexico that the publication was in the pay of the German embassy throughout the war. The indignation of the Mexican

right proves two things: first, they have every intention of striking if they can; and second, they are obsessed by the fear that Cárdenas will get into the fight and destroy their plans.

It is encouraging to see that the left is beginning to take the menace seriously. In 1944, when I revisited Mexico for the first time in many years, my friends seemed to think that I was seeing fascists everywhere; members of the Cabinet assured me that all the talk about sinarquist activities was "greatly exaggerated"—as if the prestige of the country were somehow at stake. Today these same men realize that they are not immune, for fascism is out to recoup its military defeats in Europe and Asia by systematic political action throughout the Americas.

The fascist blow at Mexico is aimed from outside the government; in Argentina it is directed from within. Reports from Buenos Aires indicate that Colonel Perón is in no gambling mood: he may use the recent lockout by employers as a pretext to cancel the elections and seize power outright. Otherwise he will control the elections. Last week he told a group of close friends: "I shall be President on February 24 even if the opposition uses atomic bombs." The Colonel was looking in the wrong direction; it is not the Argentine democrats but his Nazi scientist friends who have poured into the country to continue their atomic experiments.

Meanwhile the government has distributed blackjacks, machine-guns, and every other available weapon to Perón's *descamisados*, who at certain moments are more effective than the police or the army in breaking up popular demonstrations. Not a single technique has been omitted; the parallel with Nazism is exact. From time to time the government arrests some small Nazi to appease Washington, but the key agents are still at large, forming a sort of "kitchen cabinet" around Perón.

Argentina is bound to give the United States more headaches than most American columnists anticipated when they hailed the decision to invite that Axis satellite to San Francisco. Indeed, the problem of the Perón regime may cause another postponement of the Pan-American Conference scheduled to open in Rio in the spring. The position of the United States in Latin America has never been more precarious.

The achievements of Rafael Trujillo, Grand Benefactor and President-Dictator of the Dominican Republic, were briefly summarized on this page four weeks ago. Among other items in the record was the massacre in 1937 of 12,000 or more unarmed Haitian workers. A postscript to the story was contributed the other day by a friend just back from Trujillo City: Recently the Benefactor had a law passed changing the name of Dajabón, the place where the Haitians were butchered, to "Franklin D. Roosevelt." This graceful gesture was abandoned, my friend reported, after representations from the State Department.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

In the Doughface Tradition

LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT: SPRINGFIELD TO GETTYSBURG. By J. G. Randall. Dodd, Mead and Company. Two volumes. \$7.50.

THE first two volumes of this new massive biography of Lincoln cover the period from Springfield broadly through Gettysburg, with extensive backward glimpses into the youth and young manhood. Dr. Randall is, of course, one of the most eminent American historians of the Civil War period. His work represents the application of a trained and meticulous scholarly intelligence to a career which, by its symbolic place in the national imagination, has become peculiarly enveloped in non-historical improvements ranging from folklore to forgery.

Randall's standards of "tested and competent evidence" are more exacting than those of any previous Lincoln biographer. The results—as in his critical account of the Anne Rutledge story or of Lincoln's alleged complicity in the firing on Sumter (the Pearl Harbor inquiry of the day)—are lucid and conclusive. So central, indeed, is the analysis of evidence to the virtues of the book that the tedious exercises of collating documents, weighing witnesses, and so on, from which most writers extract only the conclusions for their narrative, form a substantial part of Randall's text.

The unrelenting caution in judgments on the details of Lincoln's life is unfortunately not extended to the larger political issues of the day. Randall adopts the "repressible conflict" view of the war which Avery Craven ably developed in "The Coming of the Civil War" (1942). According to this theory, there were no insoluble political or economic problems between the sections; the war was created by alarmists, propagandists, agitators, warmongers on both sides—in Randall's words, by "vicious forces." War guilt is always a complicated question, but this theory supposes basically that the "vicious forces" could have acted otherwise; that there was no legitimate moral power in the slavery question which might cause men, North and South, to feel that essential values were at stake requiring vigorous defense. Randall's own expressions—describing the Kansas-Nebraska Act, for example, as "a law intended to subordinate the slavery question and hold it in proper proportion"—as well as his evident sympathy with Douglas and Bell, suggest that he conceives of slavery much as Molotov conceived of fascism—not perhaps with enthusiasm but as a matter of taste.

Most advocates of the notion that slavery was worth fighting about have been Northerners; and while revisionists are careful to name both sides in their general indictments their target is more usually the Northern enemy of slavery than the Southern defender. Randall, for example, is fond of a distinction between "moderate men" and "unctuous rebel-haters"—some form of the word "unctuous" is used to characterize anti-slavery men three times in the first twenty-five pages of Volume II. The phrase "Northern men of Southern sentiments," Randall observes, was "said opprobriously... as

if it were a base thing for a Northern man to work with his Southern fellows." (Here is a formula ready made for some future historian to explain the similarly opprobrious phrase of the nineteen thirties—"appeaser.") "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is "pulp melodrama." His account of Preston Brooks's assault with a heavy cane upon the seated Sumner employs the phrase "Southern 'brutality'" in quotes only and justifies Brooks as "confronting Sumner with all the self-control he could muster." One wonders what might have happened if Brooks had really lost his temper.

A labored defense of McClellan occupies much of Volume II. Lincoln's concern with military strategy is treated as meddling interference, while McClellan's extraordinary Harrison Bar letter, with its ambitious political recommendations, becomes the normal and respectful act of a commanding general. Randall cites McClellan's post-war apology as if it were a reliable and objective document but rejects his revealing contemporary statements on the curious ground that, since they were in "confidential letters to his wife," they were "not to be taken too seriously." This is coupled with a savage arraignment of the Radicals. "A more unlovely knot of politicians would be hard to find," is Randall's opinion—hardly a measured judgment, especially from a man who can find so many excuses for Preston Brooks, and quite as absurd in its way as the canonization of Thaddeus Stevens fashionable in fellow-traveler circles. Indeed, like so many other of Randall's impulsive generalizations, it is not borne out by the factual evidence which, as a conscientious historian, he cannot refrain from citing.

Randall's portrait of Lincoln is shaped by the insistent desire to show that Lincoln had more in common with the Southern moderate than with the Northern radical. The combination of exact sifting of detail and ill-considered assertion on general issues creates problems of organization which the author does not altogether solve. His style tends to be dogged and repetitious, and the structural framework of the book is constantly reexplained by the author instead of being allowed to explain itself. While more reliable on points of detail than Sandburg's volumes, this biography is less successful on the large problems requiring historical or literary understanding.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

American Solution

THE BALANCE OF TOMORROW: POWER AND FOREIGN POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES. By Robert Strausz-Hupé. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.50.

THIS brilliant book is an analysis of the determining factors of foreign policy. It is one of the few solid books ever written on this badly neglected subject, and it should be read by all who have the safety of the United States and the peace of the world at heart.

The author begins with the statement that "initiative in world affairs has been thrust upon the United States." Foreign

policy is defined as the "art of the possible" and the art of anticipating change. The raw material of foreign policy is power, which consists of material, organizational, and ideological elements. The over-all trends of international power relations may be predicted within a reasonable margin of error; at least in so far as they are predicated upon material strength. The author surveys present and probable future relationships between population, raw materials, industrial production and organization on the one hand, and power and military strength on the other. He gives special attention to the power potentials of such rising countries as Russia, India, and China, and to the remaining power potentials of the defeated Axis nations. The new aspects introduced by atomic fission are discussed in the preface, and they do not, generally speaking, invalidate the importance of traditional elements of power, as they may in the end "merely change them technologically by increasing their destructive efficiency." The author's conclusion is "that the American pile of chips is no longer big enough to play the power game against any and all players."

Mr. Strausz-Hupé's analysis is distinguished from other writings on the subject by his insistence upon the great importance of organizational, intellectual, and volitional elements of national strength. The material elements are subject to decline or increase according to the manner in which they are used. Technology is no less important than manpower or raw materials. A population policy can reinforce or cushion the "natural" trends of population movements. Foreign trade and investments may enhance the power of other countries which are either friendly or inimical to the United States.

The author discusses with relentless logic various implications of impending power-political changes. He enumerates factors which might endanger the maintenance of peace. He views with misgivings the chief provision of the San Francisco Charter that "great-power initiative is to be accepted as the cornerstone of world peace" and points out that medium and small powers can and should play an important role in an international system designed to keep the peace.

Mr. Strausz-Hupé states the alternatives: "The perpetuation of the present system with its characteristic conflicts; the ascendancy of one power to world domination; or the creation of a world federation. The first has been explored uninterruptedly for fifty generations. The second is the world picture projected by *Geopolitik*. . . . The third is federation by consent. It is the American solution." Yet a policy "which nurtures federalism of regional as well as global dimensions and which is consistent with American interests and traditional concepts" is not protected by copyright. "It can be, and has been, borrowed by other powers professing various ideologies." Mr. Strausz-Hupé believes that America can make its greatest contribution to peace and progress if it negotiates from strength and not from weakness. He quotes Franklin D. Roosevelt: "We cannot deny that power is a factor in world politics any more than we can deny its existence as a factor in national politics. But in a democratic world as in a democratic nation power must be linked with responsibility and obliged to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good."

STEFAN T. POSSONY

from
ALL QUIET to
ARCH OF TRIUMPH
he has caught the heartbeat
of our time



ERICH MARIA REMARQUE

Sixteen years ago Erich Maria Remarque wrote *All Quiet on the Western Front*. The story of one man, it spoke for a generation. Today in *Arch of Triumph* Remarque has again told the story of one man, and again, at another war's end, he has become the inspired spokesman of an era. Into this magnificent novel of an outcast surgeon, the woman he loved and the enemy he killed, he has packed the passion, torment and triumph of our age.

ARCH OF TRIUMPH

The February Book-of-the-Month
Club Selection

Over 630,000 copies in print

At all bookstores • \$3.00

APPLETON-CENTURY



The Age of Giolitti

ITALIAN DEMOCRACY IN THE MAKING: THE POLITICAL SCENE IN THE GIOLITTIAN ERA, 1900-1914. By A. William Salomone. Introductory Essay by G. Salvemini. University of Pennsylvania Press. \$2.50.

FOR the time being those few Italians who, having enough to eat, can indulge in political thinking, are mildly interested in an autopsy on Fascism. They seem, however, rather more eager to get at the core of the pre-Fascist era, particularly of the decades between 1900 and the First World War, the so-called "age of Giolitti." They know that the foundations of Fascism were laid then, but they wonder, nevertheless, whether some part of the Giolittian heritage cannot be accepted by free Italians today.

What sort of statesman was Giolitti? The political opinions of the two Italians best known in this country, Salvemini and Croce, are at odds on this point as on others. Croce has always been a staunch apologist for Giolitti, whose moderation and shrewdness he finally, under Mussolini, idealized in a vein suggesting a political "Life with Father." Salvemini, at the beginning of this century, was Giolitti's arch-foe, and pilloried him in a famous book, "The Minister of the Underworld." As if this were not enough to confuse the layman, Croce on a recent occasion graciously admitted that Giolitti, after all, was far from perfect; while

Salvemini, in a provocative introduction to Mr. Salomone's book, confesses with a sigh that had he to start all over again he would soften the form if not the substance of his enmity to the Old Man. What are we to think?

Let us first look at the record. Giolitti, a skilful politician, was Italian Premier almost uninterruptedly from 1903 to 1914—that is, in the decisive period of growth of the new Italian state. Mr. Salomone's work gives an excellent account of the accomplishments of the Giolittian era—the introduction of universal suffrage and of quite wide freedom of the press, the impressive decrease in illiteracy, the stupendous rise of Italian socialism and unionism, the political debut of Catholics and Nationalists, the growth of industry in the north and the tripling of the export trade, the conversion of the national debt, and finally the conquest of Libya. Salvemini, looking back in his introduction to the first fifty years of Italian unity, is right in maintaining that "no country in Europe had made such strides in so short a time." What was wrong then?

The usual case against Giolitti is based on his administrative "methods." He always managed to get into his Parliament a "solid block" from the south by employing corruption, intimidation, and occasional violence. Those Britishers and Americans, however, who smugly complain that Italy "never had a real democracy" are aptly reminded by Salvemini that corruption of the Giolittian brand, and maybe worse, blossoms even in the Anglo-Saxon countries. The real case against Giolitti is probably quite different. No matter what "progress" Italy achieved under him, it is a fact that his long and clever rule froze and perpetuated the original sin of the Italian state. The unification of the country in the 1860's, far from being a democratic revolution, was a "royal conquest": the Peninsula was cleverly annexed to the Piedmontese state. The south in particular was treated, as the mild Don Sturzo once put it, simply "as a colony." The very title of Salvemini's pugnacious weekly, *L'Unità* (1911-1920), meant just this—that an Italy split in two had still to be put together through a democratic revolution. Giolitti's rule strengthened and crowned this state of things. A major, and ominous, success of his policy was to tie the workers of the north to the industrialists and the dynasty in the common exploitation of the backward south—a dubious alliance ironically called "the Socialist monarchy." Protectionism, nationalism, and first a minor then a major war were consequences to be expected.

Mr. Salomone's work is more than praiseworthy for the objectivity with which it gives the reader all the facts, but it somehow refrains from extracting any clear historical meaning. Such perplexity is excusable. In "normal" times a Giolittian—or shall we say, Trumanian?—policy seems to most people permissible, and to some desirable. But apart from the question whether there is such a thing as normality in history, our twentieth century certainly has not been normal—it has been and is literally a "radical" century. Thus clever moderates nowadays are at first mere postponers of problems, and ultimately—but time catches up quickly in our age—gravediggers. At which point a comparatively harmless Giolitti is succeeded by "a frantic Giolitti"—which, in Italian journalism, is the classic definition of Benito Mussolini.

PAOLO MILANO

By HENRY MILLER, author of "Tropic of Cancer," etc.

"THE AMAZING AND INVARIABLE BEAUFOUR DELANEY," an essay on our greatest American Negro painter, with 8 illustrations \$1.00

"OBSCENITY AND THE LAW OF REFLECTION," a stirring plea for true purity of the soul \$1.00

ALICAT BOOK SHOP

287 South Broadway

Yonkers 5, New York

FOR THE LATEST EYE-WITNESS REPORT
ON THE SOVIET UNION

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

invites you to a reception in honor of its editor

JESSICA SMITH

On the occasion of her return from the

SOVIET UNION

to be held

SUNDAY, JANUARY 27th, 3:00 P.M.

HOTEL ASTOR, 44th STREET and BROADWAY

Miss Smith will report on her extended travels in the Soviet Union
Mr. Corlies Lamont will preside

Refreshments will be served Admission \$2.00

Soviet Russia Today

114 East 32nd Street • New York 16, N. Y.

Murray Hill 3-3855

Flash! 1. *Genuine book values:* IF MEN WERE ANGELS, by Jerome Frank, original \$3.75 Harper ed. (380 pp.)—send only \$1.35; THE GRAVE DIGGERS OF FRANCE, by Pertinax, orig. \$6.00 ed.—send only \$1.50. Order now while available.

2. *Bonus Book:* With each purchase of the two-volume COMPLETE WRITINGS OF THOMAS PAINE, by Foner, for \$6.00 (1236 pp.) we will send free of charge your choice of M. J. Adler's *How to Think About War and Peace*, or L. R. Sues' *Shark's Fins and Miller*. The 2nd volume of Foner's work is \$3.50.

3. *Book Service:* We mail everywhere the books reviewed and advertised here and elsewhere. Downtown Book Bazaar, 212 Broadway, New York 7.

FICTION IN REVIEW

ANAIS NIN has never been published commercially. She has printed her work herself and distributed it through private channels. Nevertheless, her reputation has spread until she has become, in a small way, a sort of legendary literary figure. Rebecca West is reported to have called her a genius; Henry Miller has made the prophecy that the diary of some sixty-five volumes on which she is engaged will rank with the great monuments of self-revelation, with Augustine, Rousseau, Petronius; one hears of a new literary method, based on psychoanalysis. It was therefore with considerable curiosity that I took up my first sample of Miss Nin's writing, a volume called "This Hunger . . ." which came out recently and which can be obtained from the Gotham Book Mart in New York City.

The volume contains three stories, connected by the fact that each of them is about a gravely maladjusted woman hungering for affection. The first, Hejda, is about an Oriental girl who emerges from her veils to become something of an exhibitionist. The second, Stella, is about a movie star unable to love because of her excessive need to be reassured that she is loved. The third and most complicated, bearing the names of two women, Lillian and Djuna, is mostly about Lillian, a woman of conspicuous energy, confused—so far as I can make out—between her need to protect and her need to be protected.

I refer to the three pieces as stories. Actually, however, while Miss Nin's narratives borrow the manner of fiction, they are much more like case histories than like short fiction of any usual sort. Miss Nin's characters have many of the conventional appurtenances of fictional life: they have been born, presumably they live and will die; they look a certain way; they have friends, money, sexual relationships, even children. But they exist for their author only as the sum of their clinically significant emotional responses; we are made aware only of such activities, physical surroundings, and encounters with other people as Miss Nin conceives to be relevant to their psychic health. Every writer establishes a role for herself in her books, and Miss Nin's role is psychoanalyst to her group of typical women. Her sole concern with her characters—I had almost said patients—is with the formation and expression of their symptoms, and what goes on in the rest of their lives she rigorously ignores. For instance, we are told of Hejda that, having been born in the Orient, her face was veiled through her early years, but we are not told the name of the country of her birth; or, in connection with Lillian, Miss Nin suddenly mentions a husband and children, but because neither husband nor children influence Lillian's emotional development Miss Nin doesn't consider it pertinent to tell us anything about them.

So much abstraction of her characters from the context of their real lives, together with so much specific detail when it suits Miss Nin's purposes to be specific, gives a certain surrealist quality to her stories. But her approach is not properly described as surrealist, since, in the instance of each of her women, Miss Nin is primarily concerned to lay out a case. The method of "This Hunger . . ." is, as I say, the method of clinical history, but with two important differences—one, that Miss Nin relies, for effect, not only on

WHY

has the Catholic Church

Supported

Mussolini
Hitler
Tiso
Franco
Salazar
Peron

?

Why did the Catholic church support Roosevelt's domestic policies and oppose his foreign policy?

Why is the Catholic church anti-Capitalist as well as anti-Communist?

What kind of a political, social and economic system is the Catholic church attempting to bring about?

How has this affected your life and how may it affect the lives of your children?

READ:

"The True Nature of Roman Catholicism"

by L. H. Lehmann

An important series of articles describing aspects of the Catholic church never before revealed.

Beginning in the January issue of
THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC MAGAZINE

Edited by former Catholic priests

Subscription only \$1.00 a year (10 issues)

Sample copy 15¢

A limited number of January copies are being reserved for readers of *The Nation*. To make sure of getting your January copy include Dept. number in the address as follows, or return this ad.

Agora Publishing Company, Dept. F-151

229 WEST 49th STREET

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

+ MIDWINTER + BOOK NUMBER

Reviews of the more important books of the season will be featured by *THE NATION* in its regular Midwinter Book Number to appear on February 23.

Publishers wishing to utilize the special advantages offered by this feature issue for advertising of better books are urged to make space reservations as soon as possible. Deadlines: for space reservations, February 8; for final OK's or complete plates, February 14. Publisher's advertising rate, \$200 per page. For information, phone BARclay 7-1066 or write

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

THE Nation

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

MONEY-**SAVING** MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation*

- ☐ with Harpers Magazine . . \$6.50
You Save \$2.50
- ☐ with Consumers Union . . \$7.00
You Save \$1.50
- ☐ with Harpers Magazine
and Consumers Union . \$9.00
You Save \$3.50
- ☐ with Free World . . . \$7.50
You Save \$1.50
- ☐ with Saturday Review . . \$8.50
You Save \$1.50

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION *by itself*

- ☐ One Year \$3 ☐ Two Years \$6 ☐ Three Years \$11
☐ Servicemen's Rate \$3 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra



SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription as receipt of the first issue of magazine.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy, but you will make a considerable saving in money over the newsstand price.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, at the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

her clinical observations and conclusions but also on her literary skill; and two, that whereas it is the intention of the writer of a case history only to add to our clinical knowledge, and if any wider comment is present it is present only by happy accident, it is the first intention of Miss Nin to make a full-sized literary comment upon life.

And yet I find "This Hunger . . ." both less good reading and less enlightening about life in general than many similar pure case studies. Nor is this because I object—though I do—to the dominant poetical tone of Miss Nin's prose. Nor is it because I reject—though I do—the latent implication of Miss Nin's stories: that women are due in more than men are, and largely by men, and that since the sufferings of men occasion suffering in women, they could be the objects of our bitter resentment, whereas the sufferings of women must rouse our deepest sympathies. To refuse, I think "This Hunger . . ." inferior to a good psychoanalytical case record is that its psychoanalysis is not sincere but pretension.

Now obviously, and all present-day tendencies to the contrary notwithstanding, I do not think that writers of fiction need a technical knowledge of the psychiatric professions. Quite the contrary, a comparison of the novelist's insights into human motivation before Freud and after Freud seems to me to indicate a persistent deterioration in psychological understanding as the post-Freudian novelists have tried to incorporate the findings of psychiatry in their art. But inasmuch as Miss Nin's whole aesthetic is based on the value of her clinical insights, one naturally looks for them to be at least as sound and revealing as those that make up the common stock in trade of the analytical practitioner. If Miss Nin were writing traditional short stories she could employ conventional fictional means—dramatic conflict, evolution of circumstances, etc.—to heighten our experience of life. Having discarded these means, Miss Nin must depend instead on the poetry of literalness and science. Her science must therefore be of a kind to set up good poetic vibrations; it must be good science.

What I mean by saying that good science makes for good poetic overtones can perhaps be illustrated by a sentence recently quoted to me from "The Development of Modern Physics," by Einstein and Infeld. Expounding the rudiments of relativity, these authors write, "A straight line is the simplest and most trivial example of a curve." Is a simple scientific statement. But in the perfection of its simplicity and its scientific accuracy it is also a very beautiful poetic statement. Similarly, a good case history, by tying with simple scientific truth, can be a poetic statement about life. But Miss Nin's case histories, by substituting conscious poeticizing of their material for the poetry inherent in the literal material itself and by making their observations on a very low, or drawing-room, level of the psychoanalytical science, are neither good clinical practice nor good poetic suggestion.

I have space to give only a single example of Miss Nin's insufficiency—her treatment of Hejda's youthful sadism. On the first page of her first case Miss Nin reports: "Hejda was then a little primitive, whose greatest pleasure consisted in inserting her finger inside pregnant hens and breaking the eggs, or filling frogs with gasoline and setting a child


match to them." This rather sensational activity is never traced to its psychic causes, nor is it connected with later manifestations of Hejda's character. A certain carnivorousness is remarked upon; also, another cruelty she perpetrates upon a school friend. Then, on the last page of Hejda's history, when she has reached the stage where "when everything fails she resorts to lifting her dress and arranging her garters," Miss Nin adds: "She is back... to the native original Hejda.... The frogs leap away in fear of her again."

Such analytical inadequacy may be the result, of course, only of ignorance. But I am tempted to borrow Miss Nin's own deterministic bias, and diagnose this kind and degree of ignorance as wilful; after all, more information was available to Miss Nin if she desired it. But it would seem that Miss Nin has looked to psychoanalysis only for what would serve the sexual chauvinism and self-pity of the modern female writer of sensibility.

Every so often Miss Nin's writing descends from the delicate feminine heights and indulges in straight common-sense observation of human beings as well as in undecorated prose. Then it indicates that, somewhere in her, Miss Nin has the powers that have always produced good science, good fiction, good poetry. But such deviations are only occasional; so I keep wondering why a book like "This Hunger..." could not receive commercial publication in these days when nothing sells like the sick psyche.

DIANA TRILLING

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents

MAURICE EVANS
In His New Production of Shakespeare's
HAMLET
 Columbus Circle Thea. B'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
 Evs. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30

UP IN CENTRAL PARK
 Book by HERBERT LYRICS by DOROTHY FIELDS MUSIC by SIGMUND ROMBERG
 & DOROTHY FIELDS
 B'way at 53rd St. Mats.: Sat. & Sun. Evs. Incl. Sun. 2:30 & 8:30
BROADWAY THEATRE

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS!"—Nichols, Times
 Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
 in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S
I REMEMBER MAMA
 from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
 with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX
 45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4636.
 Evs. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

Kermit Bloomgarden & George Heller present
DEEP ARE THE ROOTS
 A New Play by ARNAUD d'USSEAU and JAMES COW
 Staged by ELIA KAZAN
FULTON THEATRE
 Forty-sixth Street West of Broadway. Circle 6-6380.
 Evenings: 8:40, \$4.20, \$3.60, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Matinees
 Wednesday and Saturday, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Tax inclusive.

"A TREMENDOUS EVENING IN THE THEATRE!"—Morehouse, Sun
 KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S
SHOW BOAT
 Music by JEROME KERN • Book and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
ZIEGFELD THEA. 54th Street and Sixth Avenue. CI. 5-5290
 Evs. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

DANCE

Limited Engagement! NOW through FEBRUARY 2
 S. HUROC presents
MARTHA GRAHAM
 and DANCE COMPANY with Orchestra, Louis Horst conducting
 43th St. W. of B'way. Evs. 8:40; \$1.20 to \$3.60.
PLYMOUTH, Matinees January 27, February 2; \$1.20 to \$3.00.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
 ALHAMBRA
 COLISEUM
 81st St.
 86th St.
 58th St.
 near Lex.
 HAMILTON
 125th St.
 REGENT
 RIVERSIDE
 23rd St.
Bronx
 CASTLE HILL
 CHESTER
 FORDHAM
 FRANKLIN
 MARBLE
 HILL
 PELHAM
 ROYAL
Westchester
 MT. VERNON
 NEW ROCH.
 WH. PLAINS
 YONKERS

RKO NOW
 "EXCITING FILM" —N. Y. Times "A CORKER" —N. Y. Sun
 RENE CLAIR'S
'AND THEN THERE WERE NONE'
 AGATHA CHRISTIE'S Masterpiece of Suspense
 Starring Barry Walter Louis
 FITZGERALD • HUSTON • HAYWARD
 —And—
 WALT DISNEY'S
 THE WONDERFUL ADVENTURES OF **PINOCCHIO**

Brooklyn
 BUSHWICK
 DYKER
 GREENPOINT
 KENMORE
 MADISON
 ORPHEUM
 PROSPECT
 REPUBLIC
 TILYU
 Coney Island
Queens
 Keith's
 FLUSHING
 Keith's
 RICH. HILL
 STRAND
 Far Rockaway
Manhattan
 COLONIAL

"An Absorbing Screen Drama"—N. Y. Post
 MERLE CLAUDE CHARLES
 OBERON • RAINS • KORVIN
'THIS LOVE OF OURS'
 Based on LUIGI PIRANDELLO'S Play
 —AND—
'PURSUIT TO ALGIERS' BASIL BATHBONE
 NIGEL BRUCE

B. G. DeSylva presents
 BETTY HUTTON in
"THE STORK CLUB"
 —with—
 BARRY FITZGERALD
 DON DE FORE
 Robert Benchley • Bill Goodwin
 Iris Adrian • Mikhail Rasumny
 Mary Young
 and introducing ANDY RUSSELL
 Midnight Feature Nightly
 NOW PLAYING **PARAMOUNT** TIMES SQUARE
 In Person
 WOODY
 HERMAN
 and his
 ORCHESTRA
 —featuring—
 FRANCES
 WAYNE
 —plus—
 DOROTHY
 KELLER
 Extra added attraction
 BUDDY
 LESTER
 Don Baker at the Organ

JOIN the
March of Dimes



LANGUAGE IS POWER

... Forge ahead, win special assignments, promotion, better job in global peace time opportunities through ability to speak a foreign language. MASTER A NEW LANGUAGE quickly, easily, correctly by LINGUAPHONE

The world-famous Linguaphone Conversational Method brings voices of native teachers INTO YOUR OWN HOME. You learn the new language by LISTENING. It's amazingly simple; thousands have succeeded. ♦ ♦ 29 LANGUAGES Send for Free book, Call for Free demonstration LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE 81 RCA Bldg., New York 20 • Circle 7-0830

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

BOBBY CLARK is an irresistible force. If, therefore, he comes into contact with an immovable classic, something pretty spectacular is bound to happen. It did on the occasion when he collided with Congreve's "Love for Love" and again when "The Rivals" got in his way. But both of these events took place before the phenomena associated with atom-splitting were understood by that part of the general public which includes drama critics, and the events were not fully comprehended. Now, however, I am in a position to report what happens nightly at the Booth Theater when Mr. Clark performs that experiment in disintegration which the limitations of the critical vocabulary compel us to describe as his "interpretation" of "The Would-Be Gentleman."

When the irresistible force meets the immovable object, neither, of course, can give way. What happens is that the immovable object is transformed into energy. "The Rivals" or "The Would-Be Gentleman" is not simply reduced to rubble as would be the case if an old-fashioned explosive like TNT were used. Instead, it simply ceases to exist. It is transformed into force, and Mr. Clark becomes a sub-atomic particle completely on the loose. It often appears, for instance, that he has been in two or even three places at once, but this, we now know, is not true. It is merely that, like an electron engaged in demonstrating Heisenberg's principle, he gets from one position to another without ever having occupied any of the intervening space and therefore only seems to have been in several places at the same time.

It is no doubt very fortunate that there are not too many performers like Mr. Clark. The classics should be preserved, and every time he appears in one of them I say to myself, "Well, there goes another portion of our cultural heritage." What happened to the Parthenon when the Turkish powder magazine exploded is nothing by comparison with what happens to a dramatic masterpiece when Bobby establishes a chain reaction. But it does make an exciting spectacle, and if Nero could fiddle while Rome burned, if New York could dance while Hiroshima was being transformed into atomic radiation, then I am not going to consult my con-

science before giving way to mirth at the spectacle of Mr. Clark when his way with Congreve or Sheridan or Molière.

For the benefit of any readers who desire a less impressionistic account of what is going on at the Booth I had, perhaps, best state briefly that the greatest low-comedy actor whom it has ever been my privilege to see is having the time of his life presenting himself, faintly disguised, as the leading character in a frenetic vaudeville recognizedly based upon one of Molière's best-known satiric farces. It has been publicly stated that Mr. Clark went through all Molière's works and lifted from several of them bits which he thought he could use in the present production. I notice, for instance, that he sings for the benefit of his music teacher the "Stop, Thief!" song which comes from "Les précieuses ridicules." But there are also many additions, some of them very funny, to "The Would-Be Gentleman" which are not, I am sure, from the pen of Molière or even, for that matter, from the pen of anyone else, since, to take an example, one of the most hilarious of them is a positively symphonic sneeze which could hardly be written in French or any other language, though I suppose it might be scored by means of some not yet invented system of musical notation.

Mr. Clark does piously retain the two most famous quotations, the one about speaking prose without knowing it, and the one involving the question, "*Pourquoi toujours les bergères?*" But neither of these would in itself probably attract very many members of the general public into the Booth, and what they will go to see is a magnificent clown using the skeleton outline provided by Molière for purposes of his own.

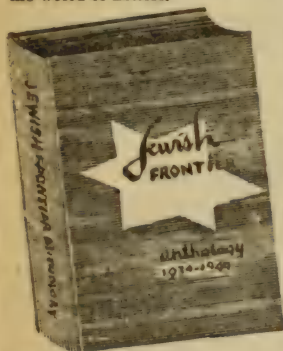
As it stands, "The Would-Be Gentleman" does not even remain a satire on the new rich, and that is perhaps just as well. Though much of the play as originally written is still valid it is so entangled with seventeenth-century conceptions of what is and what is not proper for a man not born a gentleman that it would be rather difficult to disentangle the part which remains good sense from that part which any modern audience is bound to see as mere snobbery. As a matter of fact, Mr. Clark becomes, not the butt of the piece, but its hero—a fabulous embodiment of self-willed energy whom any audience is bound to love and envy as it does Charlie Chaplin or any other great clown. And for the benefit of the tender-

CHARLES A. BEARD

calls it:—

"An informing document for all civilized persons now interested, of necessity, in what is called the Jewish problem."

Here are 576 pages of thoughtful, scintillating writing by the elite of the World of Letters.



THE JEWISH FRONTIER ANTHOLOGY

The selected gems of a great journal of thought. Articles by:—

Norman Angell

Dorothy Thompson

Leon Blum Carl J. Friedrich

David Ben Gurion

Justice Robert H. Jackson

Sholom Asch Hayim Greenberg

Jacob J. Weinstein

and many others

"The very highest standard in modern journalism... must appeal to Gentile no less than Jew."

Lescia Mumford

"A bright mirror reflecting the life of a decade." Marvin Lowenthal

On sale only by the publisher

Cloth bound, 576 pages

Price—\$2.50, postage prepaid

Send check or money order to

Jewish Frontier, Dept. 1 N

45 E. 17 St., New York 3, N. Y.

minded it might as well be pointed out that Molière himself was originally only a writer of skits for players, even though he managed as he developed to load his farcical divertissements with more and more meaning. Mr. Clark, for his own purposes, merely reduces one of the more elaborate pieces to something a good deal like the sort of thing its author wrote at the beginning of his career, and thus Molière is back where he started from. When you have at your disposal a performer like Mr. Clark it is not at all a bad place to be.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

WHAT characterizes painting in the line Manet-Mondrian—as well as poetry from Verlaine through Mallarmé to Apollinaire and Wallace Stevens—is its pastoral mood. It is this that is mistaken for the "classical." And it is away from the pastoral, the preoccupation with nature at rest, human beings at leisure, and art in movement, that so much painting has turned of late. And what it has turned toward is not the "romantic" but the baroque, which Wölfflin (who died in Zurich the other day) has defined as the "open" style par excellence—open to variety and violence of emotion as well as to large and complicated formal rhythms.

Now the pastoral, in modern painting and elsewhere, depends on two interdependent attitudes: the first, a dissatisfaction with the moods prevailing in society's centers of activity; the second, a conviction of the stability of society in one's own time. One flees to the shepherds from the controversies that agitate the market-place. But this flight—which takes place in art—depends inevitably upon a feeling that the society left behind will continue to protect and provide for the fugitive, no matter what differences he may have with it.

This feeling of pastoral security has become increasingly difficult to maintain in the last two decades. It is the dissipation of this sense of security that makes the survival of modern avant-garde art problematical. The first impulse is to rush back to the market-place and intervene in or report its activities. Here political art, some forms of expressionism, popular surrealism, and neo-romanticism complement one another in their anxiety to relate art to the current crisis of our civilization.

What is wrong, however, with surrealism and neo-romanticism in particular is that they stay falsely pastoral in resorting to styles of the past in order to make emotions about the present plain and explicit. Genuinely pastoral art never turns to the past; it simply rejects one present in favor of another—and without escapism. Even today one must look still to avant-garde pastoral art to see revealed the most permanent features of our society's crisis.

It is only lately that the reaction against the pastoral as compelled by current events has begun to manifest itself in art of any real seriousness. The exponents of this seriousness are still few. Significantly enough, among the first of them are such one-time cubists or near-cubists as Picasso and Lipschitz. In common with surrealism and neo-romanticism, their reaction takes the form of the baroque, but it is a more profoundly disquieted baroque, less archaeological, more at odds with itself, and crowded with disparate elements. Thus Picasso's baroque is among other things a kind of neo-cubism, and Lipschitz's an attempted fusion of Bernini's chiaroscuro with expressionism.

Somewhat pertinent in this connection is the exhibition of the recent work of Hyman Bloom at Durlacher Brothers (through February 2). Bloom is attracted to Jewish motifs in his art: Jews with Torah rolls and women who are brides—no motif is more distinctively Jewish than the second of these, the bride being one of the chief personifications of the Sabbath and a favorite likeness in Hebrew poetry. Bloom's expressionism derives from Soutine, Rouault, and perhaps Chagall, but he asserts enough of himself to make his version of the baroque more than a sum of influences. Heavy in paint texture, its color "crushed jewels," with much scarlet, pearl-white, and ochre, his art reveals, however, no fundamentally new capacities of the expressionist style. In four of the thirteen canvases at the present show it attains, nevertheless, a curious quietness that, because it belongs exclusively to art, argues more strongly than the mere violence of feeling exhibited elsewhere. In "The Bride," "Corpse of Elderly Female," "Archaeological Treasure," and "A Pot"—the last two semi-abstract—the concern with agitated, expressive texture and the compulsion to overpaint cede to the necessities of unity, which, significantly, is achieved by design rather than by disposition of color or texture.

I do not think that Bloom's expressionism offers great possibilities for the future; its postulates have by this time become slightly academic. Even in his best pictures they make it too easy for him to reconcile himself, on the score of expressiveness, to superficial execution and gratuitous flourishes. None the less, Bloom's approach is essentially uncompromising, and the chances are that his honesty will force him to transcend his present style with its limitations and fight through to a clarity that will still permit him to say effectively what he as an individual must say and what he as a Jew in the face of recent events may want to say.

With the sculptor David Smith—a selection of whose total *œuvre* as well as all his most recent work is being shown at the Willard and Buchholz Galleries (through January 26)—the new incidence of the baroque with all that is problematical about it becomes fully evident. The work in steel, iron, and aluminum that Smith executed with machine tools between 1936 and 1940 was already strong and original enough—indebted though it was to Brancusi and Giacometti—to make him perhaps the best young sculptor in the country. Like all modern sculpture of any vital-

Consistently
THE BEST AUTHORS:
ARTICLES: COMMENTS
in the

NEGRO DIGEST

Round Table
Is Uncle Tom's Cabin Anti-Negro?

**Paul De Kruif's
NEGRO AMERICA
VERSUS SYPHILIS**
Page 3

25c

Beginner Boy
Don't Blame Segregation
He Heard America Singing

PLACE YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NOW!

Please send 5 monthly issues of NEGRO DIGEST (Reg. \$1.25) Special for \$1.00. Money Order or Check Enclosed.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

Date.....

MAIL TODAY

To NEGRO DIGEST
5619 S. State St., Chicago 21, Ill.

ity since Maillol, it stemmed from painting rather than from any tradition of carving or modeling—Negro art excepted—and its virtue was the line, whether in wire-like form or as the contour of a two-dimensional surface. It closed itself around empty space and eschewed the chiaroscuro of monolithic sculpture. The point of departure was usually anecdotal but the result highly abstract. A unity of style was achieved that did not inhibit extravagance but inevitably controlled it—generally toward “geometricity,” precision, clarity. In its mixture of force and elegance Smith’s sculpture in this period profited from the best that cubism and post-cubism have had to offer to the plastic arts of our immediate period.

A war job narrowed Smith’s output to a trickle between 1940 and 1944. In 1944-45, however, he turned out no fewer than thirty new pieces of sculpture in a new, baroque vein answering to the mood inspired by late history. Gone is the relatively simple trajectory of line, interrupted now by almost ornamental multiplications of detail. Gone is the “geometricity”; under the new conception surfaces are broken, modeled, squeezed and incised within the smallest compass. Everything coils back upon itself or else explodes into rococo elaboration. No real unity of style governs here; the general impression is more gothic than baroque, but the elements are disparate. While none of this recent work attains the level of his best earlier sculpture, Smith’s gift remains inalienable enough still to produce three or four pieces that will give pause to any newcomer to his art. I hesitate to criticize him. The pastoral tranquillity of his former style is apparently no longer possible, and this phase of extravagance, disorder, and agitation is something he seems compelled to work his way through. It will take him much time to solve the new problems he has proposed to himself, but he at least proposes new problems and refuses to settle for the guarantees of the past.

Robert Motherwell, whose second one-man show is running at the Kootz Gallery (through January 19), is an instance in which the baroque spirit of the times and something very unbaroque clash. In concept Motherwell is on the side of violence, disquiet—but his temperament seems to lack the force and sensuousness to carry the concept, while the means he takes from Picasso and Mondrian are treated too hygienically. The richness and complication of color are applied too deliber-

ately and do not accord with the arbitrary, constricted design. Effects are left floating in air, unattached and unnourished by blood vessels, without organic relation to an artist who had to paint thus and not otherwise. The best of Motherwell’s work is in his large collages, but even here one feels that the constituent elements could be rearranged considerably without altering the final invariably anemic effect.

Motherwell’s gifts—and he has shown that he possesses them—deserve better exploitation than this. At times in the past he has produced much better work. Yet he has always suffered from a radical unevenness; there have been too many sudden changes of direction, motivated perhaps by an inability to decide what he wants and by conflicting influences. But the essential is to decide what one is, not what one wants.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

ON VICTOR’S January list is one of the outstanding releases of recent years: Haydn’s Symphony No. 98, performed by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony (Set 1025; \$4.50). Concertgoers know from their program-notes that Haydn wrote twelve symphonies for his two visits to London; but they would not know it from what they hear performed at the concerts; and one of the great London symphonies they don’t hear is No. 98, which Toscanini himself performed only once in New York before the performance last spring that is now issued on records.

I use the word “great” to describe what the work communicates—what, for example, is communicated by the gravely, spaciouly meditative slow movement. I use it also to describe Haydn’s use of the resources of his medium in this communication—in particular the breathtaking surprises in melodic and harmonic progression, in rhythm, in orchestration, that express the exuberant liveliness of his mind in the other movements. I mean things like the changes in sonority and direction when the *Adagio* opening statement of the first movement is repeated, the change in the first *Allegro* theme when it is repeated by the oboe, the further change when it returns after the outburst of the entire orchestra; the change in harmonic direction and extension of phrase when, near the end of the exposition (and of side 1), the quiet statement of the oboe

is repeated; the mischievous play with dynamic contrast, rhythm and accent, and instrumental combinations in the minuet movement; and in the finale the loud conclusion of the exposition in F major (near the end of side 6), the silence, then the quiet explosion of a harmonic and stylistic bombshell by the solo violin’s casual and graceful entrance in A flat, another loud conclusion on D, and (beginning of side 7) another quiet explosion of a bombshell by the solo violin’s entrance in E flat. These are only a few of the details that occur in constant succession, and that require one to listen with closest attention from phrase to phrase.

All this liveliness is something Toscanini delights in and realizes wonderfully in his sharply contoured performance. And wonderful too are the moulding of phrase, the continuity of impetus, the organic coherence in his statement of the eloquent and profound slow movement. The records reproduce well the sound of the performance in Studio 8H; but on side 6 the sound is less resonant and agreeable than elsewhere, and the performance itself is different: this first part of the finale is slightly faster and much less relaxed than the second part on side 7. Possibly side 6 was remade at a later time than the rest. My review copy had only a couple of loud scrapes on one side; but when I went to buy an additional copy it was impossible to find one that did not have invisible but noisy blemishes on two or three sides, when it did not have a badly scratched side or two; and when I got home with an M set I found that its first record was DM (whereupon the dealer told me of the “Nutcracker” Suite records in some sets.)

On the eighth side is an exquisite performance of the Scherzo from Mendelssohn’s Octet.

Additional Victor albums offer Leonard Bernstein’s “Jeremiah” Symphony, performed by Bernstein with the St. Louis Symphony and Nan Merriman, mezzo-soprano (Set 1026; \$3.50); Milhaud’s “Protée” Suite No. 2, performed by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony (Set 1027; \$3.50); Debussy’s Sacred and Profane Dances for harp and strings, and Ravel’s Introduction and Allegro for harp, strings, flute and clarinet, performed by Marcel Grandjany with a chamber orchestra under Sylvan Levin (Set 1021; \$3.50); and Rachmaninov’s symphonic poem “Isle of the Dead,” performed by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony (Set 1024; \$3.50). I don’t find these works interesting as artistic communi-

cations; but I can report that they are excellently performed and recorded.

In one of its useless two-record showpiece "albums" Victor offers Liszt's enjoyable Mephisto Waltz, performed on the piano with brilliance and driving intensity by William Kapell (Set SP-11; \$2.25). On the fourth side is Albéniz's "Evocación," which Kapell plays with supple grace, except for some mannered phrasing in the middle section that makes it difficult to follow melodic outlines and rhythm. Played with a Brush pickup the records produce a piano sound with insufficient bass for the treble; with an Astatic Tru-Tan pickup, which cuts down treble and emphasizes bass, the sound is well-balanced.

In another showpiece "album" is Brahms's dull Alto Rhapsody, sung by Marian Anderson with the San Francisco Symphony and Municipal Chorus under Monteux (Set SP-13; \$2.25). Except for some metallic high tones from Anderson the performance is excellent and well recorded. And in still another (Set SP-10; \$2.25) Grieg's pretty "Peer Gynt" Suite No. 1 is well performed by Goossens and with the Cincinnati Symphony and well recorded.

On a single (10-1178; \$.75) are Purcell's "I Attempt From Love's Sickness to Fly" and Handel's Siciliana "Let Me Wander, Not Unseen," charming both, and beautifully sung by Blanche Thebom, mezzo-soprano, with good accompaniments by a string orchestra under Macklin Marrow. On another (11-8986; \$1) is Strauss's engaging waltz "Roses From the South," played with gusto by Fiedler and the Boston "Pops" Orchestra, and recorded with reverberant brilliance. And on still another (11-8868; \$1) are six chansons by Hindemith to words of Rilke, which I like no more than Hindemith's other works, and which are excellently sung by the Victor Chorale under Robert Shaw and well recorded.

CONTRIBUTORS

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., is the author of "The Age of Jackson."

STEFAN T. POSSONY, an Austrian writer now living in this country, is the author of several books on economic and military problems.

PAOLO MILANO, on leave from Queens College, is writing an "Introduction to American Classical Literature" for publication in Italy.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Satire or Confusion?

Dear Sirs: Saul K. Padover's A Plan for Germany in the December 22 issue says in one column: "We should not repeat the mistake of the democratic Weimar Republic in leaving the reactionary, militaristic, monarchist teachers unmolested"; and in the next: "After all, the way to teach democracy is to practice it."

I don't know whether this is meant to be a satire on the work of the Psychological Warfare Division, but I submit it as just about the best synthesis of the confusion attendant upon the central problem of German reconstruction—ends and means. TED HEFLEY
Philadelphia, December 30

The Laski Bomb

Dear Sirs: When the chairman of the British Labor Party flies to this country to solve the threat of the atomic bomb for us, it seems an event. Hence we listened closely while in the presence of two thousand men and women Professor Laski excommunicated the business man and free enterprise, tore down all governments as the source of war, and by mighty revolution set up his new world state and a new civilization. It was a painful anti-climax to the splendid Nation Associates meeting.

Or did we fail to comprehend?

Hence we studied the Professor's printed text. "Plan or perish," he commands. "Sovereignty must go." The system of "the business man . . . has outlived its usefulness." "A society dominated by business men could not be trusted." It is based on "human peonage." "The business men have split our society in two." They "impose the law of the jungle upon us all." The United States is on "the direct road to serfdom." And for climax he declaims that "Nazism in all its forms is the culmination of a society built upon the anarchy of free enterprise."

This is news to us. We had not known that the Kaiser and his Junkers, Mussolini, Hirohito, Tojo, and Hitler were business men or supporters of free enterprise; we had thought those aggressors shackled enterprise to their war machines; nor were we aware that the nations of free enterprise had plunged us into two world wars.

Mr. Laski acknowledges his "immense

obligation" to the United States. He pays "homage to the great part the United States has played in the organization of military victory." We had supposed he therefore knew that in a system of fairly free enterprise American teamwork among government, labor, capital, business, farmers, scientists, and most of the rest of us—especially our civilian sons, who in a flash became victorious armies—built and put into action the arsenal of democracy which won the war.

What of the Laski plan? We had supposed that Dumbarton Oaks, the San Francisco conference, the creation of the UNO, its ratification by the nations, including that same United States Senate which once repudiated Woodrow Wilson, showed that the world was at least groping, through patient methods of conciliation, for a plan for peace. Not at all. The UNO is grudgingly tolerated by the Professor, but only "on conditions." It is only a stop-gap. "This is not the time to rest content with a temporary plaster. This is the time to begin a new civilization."

What is this new civilization? "We must have boundaries . . . between liberalism and socialism. . . . We must have power in the hands of men . . . who find abundance is the instrument of freedom." "We are before a revolution more mighty even than the vast change which came . . . with Copernicus."

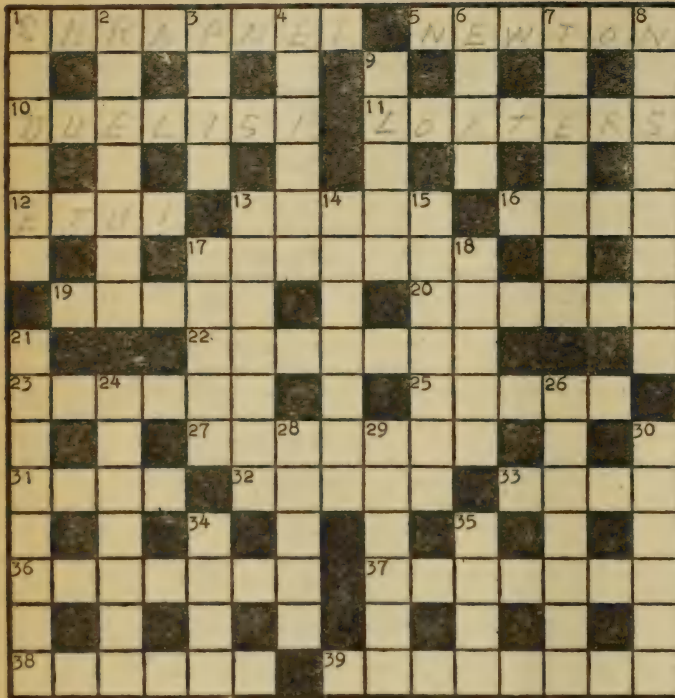
Here are fighting words; here is the flaming Laski blueprint. If we comprehend, it demands nothing less than that through world revolution the United States must dissolve its Constitution and Bill of Rights, Britain must liquidate its empire, even little Switzerland must be swallowed up by a world state which destroys all business men and free enterprise and is governed by high priests of "abundance."

As for us despised liberals, we look on business men as we do on professors. There are good ones and bad ones. "A man's a man for a' that." We do not believe in blanket indictments. We hold with robber barons and monopolists no more than with dictators or demagogues.

We need not be told that this is a grim world. Neither did we need our guest's lecture about the Negroes. Though we fought a civil war to free them, we are painfully aware this was not enough. We were shocked that in

Crossword Puzzle No. 145

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 His shell was the British Army's "secret weapon" during the Peninsular War
- 2 Jefferson called him "one of the three greatest men"
- 3 He cannot complain of being outnumbered in the fight
- 4 Delays upset the toilers
- 5 Let's make the clue "Needle case" this time
- 6 Final warning
- 7 It levels all ranks, as the Captain reminded the Admiral
- 8 Tool with claws
- 9 Where Saul consulted the witch
- 10 Wooden leg, or its user (hyphen, 3-3)
- 11 We see nothing in this flavor
- 12 The eagle is ours
- 13 Expel
- 14 An outstandingly bright feature of the circus clown (two words, 3 & 4)
- 15 It cannot grind with the water that has passed
- 16 Where knights of old often ran into one another
- 17 "Life is a jest, and all things show it; I thought so ----, but now I know it"
- 18 Run true (anag.)
- 19 "Go in, sir" (anag.)
- 20 Elgin's unmarried
- 21 Double entendre (two words, 4 & 4)
- 22 Take by compulsion
- 23 When a lad leaves Ireland, he may leave this
- 24 Why fret over oil when we have this plant?
- 25 If the birds have flown, it may be because these have been removed (hyphen, 4-4)
- 26 Embrace
- 27 Sweetmeat made by Clara and me
- 28 Appoints an ass to head it
- 29 Unfortunate, this
- 30 "Oh would I were dead now, Or up in my bed now, To ---- my head now, And have a good cry!"
- 31 ---- the warp, and ditto the woof
- 32 Word in America for the end of the line
- 33 Scene of two Union defeats in 1861-2 (two words, 4 & 3)
- 34 Hero of Voltaire's novel so called
- 35 Passed out around five
- 36 Lazy
- 37 Old Faithful, perhaps
- 38 Bird of prey, and the reverse
- 39 He should have a good memory

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 144

ACROSS:—1 LOHENGRIIN; 2 CALER; 3 RE-TRAD; 10 NUMERAL; 11 OCH; 12 LEM-NOS; 13 LIES; 15 RETICENT; 16 KOPECK; 18 TRUISM; 20 CHEATERS; 23 ESPY; 24 SPITTED; 25 BED; 28 REALGAR; 29 IRON ORE; 30 WHANG; 31 STRADDLES.

DOWN:—1 LARGO; 2 HATCHET; 3 NEEDLE CASE; 4 RUDIMENT; 5 NONCOM; 6 CAMP; 7 LARINE; 8 BILL SIKES; 14 HOT AND COLD; 15 ROPEN ROW; 17 WHIT-TIER; 19 UPSALA; 21 EMBROID; 22 SPARKS; 26 DYERS; 27 AGOG.

the universal range of Mr. Laski's vision he was silent about his party's and his government's conduct regarding Palestine, India, and Indonesia.

Looking back on a century and a half, we fancied that though we, the people of the United States, stumble and sometimes backslide, though we are racked by grave domestic and foreign conflicts, inequalities, and injustices, we had, through our halting constitutional system of checks and balances, created something worth cherishing and extending toward a more equal and abundant life for all men. UNRRA seems better to us than the undertaker. We of the United States who are incurable builders do not believe that to shatter is to construct. The Laski bomb seems to us a dud.

JAMES N. ROSENBERG

New York, December 28

Credit to Dr. Duggan

IN HIS ARTICLE *Homage to Alvin Johnson*, in *The Nation* of January 5, Max Lerner credited the retiring head of the New School with initiating the committee which during the war found places in American universities for exiled European scholars. Dr. Johnson has protested. He writes that "the credit for this magnificent job belongs wholly to Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, the dean of American international education." The fact is, both men deserve honor for their part in that excellent enterprise. Dr. Duggan was chairman of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, but Dr. Johnson was closely and actively associated with its work.—EDITORS THE NATION.

RESORTS

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

A Resort Estate of unmatched beauty. Ideal for winter rest and recreation. Write or phone Ridgefield, Conn. 820.

HATHAWAY SKI LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces and private porches. Wind-up Mountain Trails, Ski Tow, 700-foot Ski Slope. Delicious food. Easy transportation.

For reservations or further information write or call HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y. Telephone: Tannersville 299

The Fieldstone

On Round Island Lake

A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York.

ALL SPORTS — OPEN ALL YEAR
MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7965

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 2, 1946

NUMBER 5, PART 1

The Shape of Things

SUCCESS IN COPING WITH THE FINANCIAL and economic crisis will be the touchstone of the new French government headed by Felix Gouin, Socialist leader. That crisis is reflected in the growing scarcity of necessities on the legal market, in the continued rise in prices, in the difficulty of arranging for urgently required imports. But the most sinister danger sign is the rapid expansion in currency circulation. Production in France is recovering, but it cannot keep pace with the output of money from the printing presses. Both to stimulate production and to check the issue of currency, drastic measures are required. One of the largest contributors to the current budgetary deficit is the army, two million strong, and any genuine economy program must begin by trimming the military establishment. Partial demobilization, together with a sharp reduction in the number of civil officials, will in addition release more man-power for productive purposes. Action on these lines is included in the plans of the new government, which has also announced its intention to freeze salaries of public employees, intensify curbs on the black market, and introduce some form of monetary control. On paper this appears to be a fairly adequate program, but its translation into fact will be unpopular in the short run, and the short run includes the spring elections. Action, therefore, depends on the willingness of the three major parties represented in the Cabinet to abandon all competitive angling for votes and to function as a real national government.

✱

IN ONE OF THE MOST CYNICAL STATEMENTS of the century, Hitler's heir, Francisco Franco, has flatly denied any kinship with the Axis. Evidence of his Nazi ties, accumulated over the past nine years and now fully confirmed by the Ciano diaries and the testimony of the war criminals at Nürnberg, was wiped out in an hour of amiable conversation between the Generalissimo and A. P. correspondent DeWitt Mackenzie. The interview, in which Franco announced the early establishment of a democratic regime headed by the "Christian general" himself, was granted just a few hours after a Spanish military court had condemned ten more anti-fascists to death, including Cristino García Granda, commander of

the Spanish forces in the French *maquis*. The former Axis puppet, devoid of decency though he is, would never have dared tell an American correspondent such a story had he not felt encouraged by fresh indications that the United States and Britain intend to continue their policy of appeasing Spain. On the heels of an announcement by the three major French parties that they will ask Felix Gouin's new government to sever relations with Franco, comes the news that the United States has sold five "non-military" planes and a mass of other mechanical equipment to Spain. And according to Walter Winchell, the Spanish fascist regime will also receive American army machine-guns (also "non-military"?)] from Italy. Not to be outdone by Washington, the British government has just concluded a deal with Franco for the purchase of British-made trucks; fifty are already on the high seas with hundreds more scheduled to follow. No wonder Franco laughs off the San Francisco resolution and the Potsdam decision outlawing Spain from the United Nations.

✱

CHINA'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL has apparently made considerable progress in bridging the political chasm between the Kuomintang and the Communists. The problem of nationalizing the Kuomintang and Communist military forces seems well on the way to settlement as a result of the agreement to create a joint command and General Marshall's acceptance of an advisory position on the reorganization committee. All parties have accepted a plan to expand the State Council as the supreme organ of government until the new constitution is adopted. And the obstacle raised by Chiang Kai-shek's insistence on convening the pre-war National Assembly on May 6 seems to have been neatly sidetracked by an understanding that the Assembly will have no power except to rubber-stamp the constitution drawn up through inter-party negotiation. But the problem of allotting posts in the new government and the question of Chiang Kai-shek's emergency powers remain unsettled. The Kuomintang insists that it should hold a majority of key posts in the new government until an election can be held. Representatives of the Communists

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	113
Break in the Clouds	115
Bias in the Colleges	116
USA and UNO by <i>Freda Kirchwey</i>	116

ARTICLES

Where There Is No Vision by <i>I. P. Stone</i>	118
This Is Why They Strike by <i>Edward Jones</i>	119
The Sun Shines in Pittsburgh by <i>King Gordon</i>	121
Korea's Heritage by <i>Andrew Roth</i>	122
Arabia Britannica by <i>Rufus Baxter</i>	125
In the Wind	127
Everybody's Business by <i>Keith Hutchison</i>	128
The People's Front by <i>Del Vayo</i>	129

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes by the Way by <i>Margaret Marshall</i>	130
Briefer Comment	132
Verse Chronicle by <i>Randall Jarrell</i>	134
Drama by <i>Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	137
Music by <i>B. H. Haggin</i>	138

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 139

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 146 140 by *Jack Barrett*

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor *Literary Editor*
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, Washington Editorial Bureau: 313 Kelllogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two Years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

and the Democratic League insist on a genuine coalition government in which some key posts will be held by non-partisan leaders. Although this struggle for political supremacy is basic, the disputes are of a nature that should be easily compromised, if the will to compromise exists.

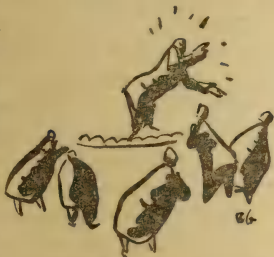
✱

IN THE BEGINNING GOD MADE THE HEAVENS and the earth in six days, arranging the land and oceans, and setting the stars and the sun and moon in their places. That was either 5,950 or 1,000,000,000 years ago; the precise figure is in dispute. The important point is that from then until the other day the earth was relatively incommunicado. Now the Army Signal Corps has changed things, bouncing a radar pulse to the moon and back in two and a half seconds flat. This is only a beginning, as the history of invention has painfully taught us. The first gasoline-driven motor became the contemporary traffic jam, while the bomb that fell on Hiroshima was once an innocent, if unintelligible, equation. We know, we moderns, that the echo from the moon's icy and hitherto inviolate surface opens possibilities of trouble the Signal Corps dares not even hint at. Any day now we may set up two-way connections with Mars. When that happens *The Nation* nominates Orson Welles to carry on the first interplanetary chat; he knows those boys already.

✱

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN Activities has voted to bring contempt proceedings against Helen R. Bryan, executive secretary of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, because of her refusal to produce the records of that organization. We applaud Miss Bryan's courage in defying her would-be inquisitors. Her action should provide an opportunity for a full review by the House of the activities of this un-American Congressional committee which has evidently set itself the difficult task of making Martin Dies seem, by comparison, tolerant and objective. Another of its recent victims is the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, which has been circulating a petition in support of the Dickstein resolution condemning racial discrimination. Ernie Adamson, counsel of the un-American committee, who apparently has never heard of the constitutional right of petition, declares that the National Committee's solicitation of money is "for the purpose of controlling the thoughts of American citizens." Mr. Adamson's own uncontrolled thinking is illustrated by his professed inability to discover any "Nazi Party" in the United States. Perhaps he has been looking through the telephone books for organizations calling themselves "Nazi" or "National Socialists." Is he too innocent to know that a group by any other name can smell as bad or are his olfactory membranes insensitive to fascism?

IN THEIR FILIBUSTER AGAINST THE BILL TO create a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, a handful of wilful Southerners are causing serious people throughout the world to question the adequacy of our legislative system. In no other country would it be possible for a tiny minority in a legislative chamber to stop all action for an indefinite period. It is bad enough that there should be delay in setting up an agency empowered to stop racial discrimination in the field of employment. But the filibusterers, who in theory are members of the majority party, are prepared to obstruct indefinitely, not only this vital part of the President's reconversion plans, but his entire program as outlined in his message to Congress. They are able to do this only because a considerably larger group in the Senate, including many supposed supporters of the FEPC, is unwilling to discard the hoary Senate tradition of unlimited debate. The fact that the present deadlock could last for more than a week despite an exceptionally heavy legislative calendar points to the need for a fundamental revamping of the Senate rules. But the immediate need, if still more time is not to be wasted, is for a public uprising to demand prompt adoption of the cloture rule.



this will raise its hourly average to no more than \$1.31½. In fact, the upshot of the collective bargaining between the U. A. W. and the Ford and Chrysler corporations appears to have set a pattern which it will be hard for other big mass-production concerns now involved in industrial disputes to ignore. This pattern, moreover, has been confirmed by an agreement for a 17½-cent hourly wage increase reached without a strike by the Radio Corporation of America and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, C. I. O. If General Motors, General Electric, Westinghouse, and International Harvester now remain recalcitrant, they will afford new circumstantial evidence to support the charge that they are primarily interested in union-busting.

Labor peace in the engineering industries, however, will not mean much in the way of production until the steel strike is ended. Already Ford has been forced to lay off 15,000 workers for lack of steel, and if the dispute continues for long, innumerable factories will be forced to close and unemployment will increase enormously. The public, perhaps, is not yet fully aware of what a national steel stoppage means, for its effect is not immediately perceptible to everyone, as is that of a meat strike. The President, however, is fully informed about the gravity of the situation, and it is regrettable that he should not have followed through more strongly after his proposal for settling the dispute was rejected by United States Steel on behalf of the industry as a whole. His rather peevish remark at his last press conference that the trouble was due to the desire of both sides to show their power suggested an unrealistic desire to stay above the battle.

However, the President did reiterate his belief that the steel companies ought to make a return to work possible by agreeing to his recommended wage increase of 18½ cents an hour. The Ford and Chrysler settlements make any retreat from this figure, which would leave the relative levels of steel and automobile wages undisturbed, quite impracticable for the President and the steel union alike. As we go to press, there are indications of a new approach by the steel masters to the White House. With Mr. Truman adamant on wages, their objective will be to secure a price increase beyond the \$4 a ton tentatively offered before the strike broke out. Basic steel prices have been frozen at approximately pre-war levels, and although cancellation of rebates and higher quotations for specialties have increased the average return per ton, some rise in prices may be justified. A \$4 increase, however, should more than cover additions to the wage bill of the industry and leave a good margin for profits, provided output is maintained fairly near capacity. That this is possible for a long period can hardly be questioned since the demand for steel, as for goods of all kinds, will be enormous once business accepts the necessity for giving labor a share of post-war prosperity and gets on with the job.

Break in the Clouds

A WEEK which began with the industrial picture cast into heavy shadow by the shut-down of the steel industry has ended with a perceptible lifting of the clouds. Workers are returning to the packing plants with a promise that the government, which has taken over their management, will implement any wage increase approved by the fact-finding panel. The threat of a railroad strike appears to have been dissipated by an agreement between the companies and eighteen unions to arbitrate wage demands. Most important of all, wage negotiations have been peacefully concluded between the United Automobile Workers and the Ford and Chrysler companies providing for increases of 18 and 18½ cents an hour respectively. As a result Ford's average hourly rate will be raised to \$1.37 and Chrysler's to \$1.30½.

In view of these settlements General Motors is left without a shred of excuse for refusing to pay the 19½-cent increase recommended by the fact-finders. It took the position that its ability to pay as the largest and most prosperous automobile manufacturer was irrelevant. Wages, its spokesmen declared, must be determined by the competitive "going rate" for the industry. It cannot complain, therefore, that 19½ cents is out of line, since

Bias in the Colleges

IN THE United States, as in Nazi Germany or pre-war Poland, opportunity for a higher education is sharply conditioned by a student's religious, racial, or national background. This shocking although not entirely unexpected revelation is documented for the first time in a preliminary research report prepared in New York for the Mayor's Committee on Unity, headed by Charles Evans Hughes, Jr. Quotas restricting the number of Negro, Jewish, and Italian students in our "better" medical and law schools have long been a matter of common knowledge. The report for the Mayor's Committee reveals that these discriminatory practices have not only spread to the liberal-arts colleges in and near New York but have become so general that members of minority groups find great difficulty in getting an adequate education. Although the colleges publicly deny it, many deans and prominent faculty members privately admit that discrimination exists, applying to Catholics, as well as Jews, Negroes, and Italians. A usual device is to restrict the number of students who can be admitted from New York City. The private colleges in the New York area, which are among the worst offenders, defend the practice as necessary to "preserve their "national" character; more remote institutions say that they cannot turn over their educational facilities to New Yorkers at the expense of local residents. As the result of this stratagem, the percentage of Jewish students in the colleges is said to have fallen about 50 per cent in the decade preceding World War II.

Members of the various minority groups living in New York may, it is true, still obtain undergraduate training in the colleges run by the city. But they find themselves virtually shut out of professional training, especially in medicine. From 1942 to 1944, with a severe shortage of physicians throughout the country, only six graduates of City College were admitted to two of the city's leading medical schools. The proportion of Jewish students in Grade A medical schools covered by the report dropped from 12.2 per cent in 1933 to 6.3 per cent in 1938. Only a few Negroes are accepted by the first-rank medical schools, while Catholics and young men and women of Italian ancestry must surmount formidable obstacles if they are to get an adequate medical education.

Any fair-minded person will admit that these academic restrictions are not entirely the result of racial or religious bigotry in the institutions. Although we look to the colleges for leadership in the fight to expose racial and religious hokum, we must recognize that, as part of the American community, they are subject to all kinds of pressures. The position of any one institution is difficult. If it adopts liberal entrance requirements, it faces the danger of being swamped by members of

the minority groups, thus sacrificing its "standing" in the community as well as the real benefits of a broadly representative student body. Clearly we are confronted with a situation that must be met by joint action. Some organization such as the Association of American Colleges should work out a plan for outlawing racial and religious bias to which all institutions would subscribe. This process would be hastened if the federal government and each of the states made certain that no direct federal or state aid, or indirect aid such as tax exemption, was given any educational institution practicing discrimination in its admission system.

New York presents a special problem. While it stands near the top in per capita expenditure for public education, it ranks lowest, according to the report to the Mayor's Committee, in its support of higher education. It is one of the few states in the country which does not maintain a state university. As an immediate and effective means of combating bias, and providing an opportunity for higher education for all its citizens, the New York legislature should pass the bill recently introduced to create a state university with adequate facilities for professional training.

USA and UNO

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

SLOWLY the unwelcome suspicion is spreading in London that the United States, not Russia, is the great enigma. Russia may be tough, aggressive, provocative. It is usually intelligible. Its policy is predicated on a clear view of its interests, which demand firm adherence to big-power control within the world organization and a generous extension of its own area of dominance outside. Where these lines of policy threaten to collide, Russia gives right of way to its private security arrangements. The reasons for this are not obscure. One of the most important is the enigmatic role of the United States.

Britain, too, is comparatively easy to understand. Chastened by its obvious relative weakness in the Big Three, it is prepared to trust more to the operations of the UNO, and in the UNO to expand the powers of the lesser nations. Britain aspires to leadership of the Western nations while at the same time clinging to its position in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean with the desperate tenacity of a man who knows his hands are slipping.

Only the United States pursues a course difficult to interpret in terms of clear objectives. Bursting with material power, strong beyond all possibility of challenge, this country's policy remains obscure and unpredictable, and hence immensely disturbing. Our leaders talk with apparent conviction about our determination "this time" to carry our full share of responsibility for building a

solid world order. Only a few months ago President Truman announced that we intended "to have a positive policy toward every country and on every question." What is this positive policy? Let us look at the questions on which our position has become more or less clearly defined.

First and most important, the atomic bomb. The bomb has hung over the UNO's deliberations as palpably and visibly as if it were suspended from the chandelier. But all eyes are turned away from it. Nobody talks about it. An atomic-power commission is set up by nearly unanimous agreement, but this act is accomplished in a semi-automatic, off-hand manner, as if it were a matter of little importance. Perhaps it is. For the commission can only recommend to the Security Council, and the United States can veto its recommendations, meanwhile keeping the bomb in its sole possession—meanwhile manufacturing bombs reported to be a thousand times stronger than those which dropped on Japan. What can the nations do but set up a commission on the terms proposed and pass quickly to other questions?

The policy of the United States on the control of atomic power is aggressively, provocatively nationalistic.

Second, the trusteeship question. On the colonial aspects of this question our expressed policy is liberal in the extreme. We don't like colonialism; during the war we encouraged the aspirations of dependent peoples in the Pacific and helped Britain push France out of the Levant. And even today our sympathies are rather with the Javanese than with their rulers. We can be counted upon to get trusteeships for colonial areas under way as soon as possible. But in the Pacific where our new line of defense is being laid out we take a very simple view of our international obligations. The island bases won from Japan are strategic areas, necessary to "our" security; if we consent to include them within the trusteeship system, we shall maintain "exclusive" control over them. If we decide to hold them outright, the trusteeship agreement provides for that, too. They are ours either way. American blood won them; America will keep them. Until this moment it has apparently never occurred to us that our position might be challenged—as we have challenged the unilateral security moves of our Allies.

The policy of the United States on the trusteeship question is nakedly, almost innocently, nationalistic.

On other issues it is less clear, although often we follow a similar pattern, warmly indorsing democratic or collective procedures for other nations, deftly dodging them when our own interests are involved. Take, for instance, the Western Hemisphere. We have constructed a regional system on our side of the world, in which the United States is dominant. We intend, according to President Truman, to settle hemisphere problems "without interference from outside." This is a policy. But it runs directly counter to the whole concept of the United Nations Organization. If Britain asserted the right of

Western Europe to settle its problems without American interference, we would say that the Charter had been violated and the hope of collective security lost; and we would be right. We strongly oppose the heavy hand of Russia in Eastern Europe, but Russia has never asserted exclusive rights there. And in this regional structure of ours we tolerate a regime wholly fascist, openly aggressive in its purposes.

What is our "positive policy toward every country and on every question?" At London the American delegation hoped to keep controversial issues out of the meeting, an obvious impossibility in a world simmering with political conflict. This week our delegates must deal with Iran's charge against Russia—an issue that involves a major struggle for power between the Soviet Union and Britain; they must take a position on Britain's role in Greece and Indonesia; on French objections to trusteeship for colonial areas to be "incorporated" into France. The question of Argentina's suspension from the UNO, raised by The Nation Associates in a memorandum which appears with this issue, may be formally put before the Assembly. France is expected to call for joint action to restore democratic institutions in Spain. On all these questions the United States must act. How shall we act? Mr. Byrnes has come home (to prepare for the peace conference in May!) leaving the American delegation in the hands of Mr. Stettinius. Anyone who watched that well-intentioned nonentity at work in San Francisco, who heard him, for example, attempting to explain the admission of Argentina, will smile at the idea that he can deal effectively with the political problems crowding in for attention.

What the UNO needs above all else is strong, disinterested leadership, and no country is so well situated to provide it as the United States. Our overwhelming power as well as our relative physical detachment protect us from the pressures that today drive other nations to short-range, unilateral, defensive moves. We can afford to support broader measures of security. We are in a position to move consciously and energetically toward the goal defined so impressively by the President when the UNO meeting opened. "It is important," said Mr. Truman, "that the nations come together *as states* in the Assembly and in the Security Council and in the other specialized assemblies and councils that have been and will be arranged. But that is not enough. Our ultimate security requires more than a process of consultation and compromise. It requires that we *begin now to develop the United Nations Organization as the representative of the world as one society.*"

If this statement received less attention than its content warranted, it is because both states and peoples have learned to discount the words of American leaders. It is high time we developed the maturity to make our strength more than a club and our promises more than rhetoric.

Where There Is No Vision

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 24

THE collector of banalities will find rich pickings in the President's message on the state of the union. "The plain fact is," Mr. Truman said at one point, with the air of a man about to make a disclosure, "that civilization was saved in 1945 by the United Nations." His draftsmen have a way of painfully and laboriously thinking through to a truism. "The way to get good nutrition for the whole nation," the message offers, "is to provide employment opportunities and purchasing power for all groups that will enable them to buy full diets at market prices." There are passages which recall Calvin Coolidge: "On the domestic scene, as well as on the international scene, we must lay a new and better foundation for cooperation." At times the White House seemed to feel that a plethora of adjectives might make up for the continued absence of any concrete plan, as on housing. "A realistic and practical attack on the emergency will require aggressive action by local governments, with federal aid, to exploit all opportunities," Mr. Truman averred, "and to give the veterans as far as possible first chance at vacancies." The sentence shows a gift for anti-climax. The housing program itself, if it can be called a program, prepares one whole-heartedly to accept the message's forecast: "It will be years before we catch up with the demand for housing."

It would be literary foppishness to dwell on phrases of this kind if the fault lay in the writing, though effective expression is no small part of leadership. But the fault lies deeper. One has the feeling in reading this unnecessarily lengthy and criminally tedious message that Mr. Truman and the little band of mediocrities who have become his advisers are trying to follow the New Deal program in a kind of fog. The men who wrote the message—Mr. Truman, like Mr. Roosevelt, necessarily relies on collaborators in major tasks of this kind—often do not seem to know what they are trying to say or what they are trying to do. An example is the passage developing that old chestnut about achieving in peace the same "full utilization of our physical and human resources" we are supposed to have reached—and did approximate—during the war. "To accomplish this," the message hastens to add, "it is not intended that the federal government should do things that can be done as well for the nation by private enterprise, or by state and local governments. On the contrary, the war has demonstrated how effectively we can organize our productive system and develop the potential

abilities of our people by aiding the efforts of private enterprise." The first sentence of the quotation begs the question; the second is a non sequitur; the point—if any—is lost in the final phrase. Industry was not mobilized for war merely by "aiding the efforts of private enterprise" but by directing those efforts and subordinating them to an over-all program. The men who wrote that passage were afraid to see the point.

This fear of coming to the point, either in thought or action, is characteristic of the Truman Administration. It stands up dutifully to be counted among the supporters of the post-war program outlined by President Roosevelt. It faithfully repeats the New Deal formulas. But it gives little indication of really understanding them or of readiness to fight for them. William H. Davis must have found it sourly amusing to read the passage in which the President told Congress, "If we manage our economy properly, the future will see us on a level of production half again as high as we have ever accomplished in peace time. Business can in the future pay higher wages and sell for lower prices. . . ." Mr. Truman summarily dismissed Davis as Director of Economic Stabilization last September for making substantially the same statement. The present White House crowd talks the New Deal language, but as though it were a foreign tongue imperfectly understood. Thus Mr. Truman as Senator and President has often dwelt—as he did again in this latest message—on the need for a higher level of wages after the war to make possible a higher level of economic activity. Some strikes are unavoidable in reaching this objective. Yet at his press conference today Mr. Truman described the steel strike as if it were merely a struggle for power between labor and management, in which the public's sole interest was to curb both sides. One feels, perhaps unjustly, that Mr. Truman sometimes fails fully to grasp the implications of his own stated policies.

This failure seems to be more than intellectual. One often wonders whether Mr. Truman is in full sympathy with some of the measures that have his formal support. He has come out for the FEPC again and again, but the manner has been that of a candidate supplying a necessary indorsement. He has never really explained the basic issues. He had a chance at press conference today when he was asked whether, from his experience as a Senator, he cared to comment on the filibuster against the FEPC. Mr. Truman said that as a Senator he had always been against filibusters and for cloture, but that this was a question the Senate would have to decide without out-

side interference. Since he has asked the Senate for a permanent FEPC, it seems rather late to take a hands-off attitude toward the filibuster. He might have ducked the cloture issue but supported the FEPC forces by telling the press and the country how important the fight for the FEPC is. Or doesn't the President think so? His sudden apparent loss of interest at the press conference seemed to cut the ground from under his Senate majority leader. Barkley's outspoken statement this afternoon in what appears to be a lost battle took great courage. No one would deny that the President has also been courageous on this issue, but he does not follow through.

A growing inconsistency between word and deed is apparent in all the Administration does. Mr. Truman's latest message calls for "major steps . . . to maintain enforcement of anti-trust laws," but Tom Clark, the big Texas glad-hander he picked as Attorney General, has about as much interest in the Sherman act as I have in canon law. The Anti-Trust Division, once one of the most ably manned agencies in Washington, has been losing some of its best men. It will lose more on the heels of today's announcement by Clark that the FBI will handle anti-trust investigations in the future and the Anti-Trust Division will do "the courthouse work." If there are any Communists violating the anti-trust laws, J. Edgar Hoover will get them. Mr. Truman's anti-monopoly strictures also make odd reading in the light of two other appointments. J. Stuart Symington, who was doing a good job as Surplus Property Administrator, has been named Assistant Secretary of War for Air to succeed Robert A. Lovett. (The latter, a New York banker, deserves the highest commendation for his able and devoted work during the war in that post.) Surplus

Property will now be dominated completely by the RFC, and George E. Allen has been made head of that agency. Allen's New York financial connections with Victor Emanuel, the Schröder bank protégé, ought to be fully examined in the Senate before he is confirmed. The other appointment that calls for scrutiny is that of Edwin W. Pauley, the California oil man and Standard Oil political ally who has been named Under Secretary of the Navy. The navy has a lot to say about oil; the RFC controls war plants that are crucial in the fight against monopoly. How to judge Mr. Truman's position? By the words of the message? Or by the appointments?

Mr. Truman's difficulties are enormous, but they are increased by the mediocrities he prefers to have about him and by his own lack of decision. He must go down the New Deal line to win the Congressional elections, but he must overcome the opposition of the Southern Democrats to put a New Deal program through Congress. He must bring the strike wave to an end with major wage concessions for workers but without letting inflationary forces get out of hand; this means a minimum of price concessions. Steel is the key to the labor situation; here he has been well-meaning but inept, and lacking in that last ounce of courage which would make United States Steel back down. Housing offers his greatest immediate opportunity for dramatic leadership; here he has shown neither nerve nor imagination. His recent radio appeal to the country against Congress failed; there is no one in the White House crowd who can dramatize an issue. The President's verbose and flaccid message is as confusing as the White House crowd is confused. The country needs to be electrified, not bored.

This Is Why They Strike

• BY EDWARD JONES

The pseudonym of an economist who has made a special study of steel wages

A YEAR ago, in Braddock, Pennsylvania, where the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation has its Edgar Thomson Works, the average steel worker earned \$50.85 for working 47.5 hours a week.

After taxes were taken out, he had \$45.92 left. He lived in a dingy, soot-covered house, often near the railroad tracks or next to the mill, paying \$32.50 a month for rent, heat, and utilities.

His wife spent 45 per cent of the family income on food. One might think from this that Braddock steel workers indulged themselves by catering to a cultivated palate, but in point of fact the money they spent on food averaged a little more than 30 cents a meal per person.

If you don't know what that means, ask your wife.

At about the time that a survey by the United Steelworkers of America was gathering these statistics, the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics of the University of California figured out the minimum budget on which a family of four could live in health and decency. It came to \$59.15 before taxes. The steel worker's pay was \$8.30 short of this minimum. But with an average of \$10 a week more coming in from a second worker in the family or from a boarder or renter, he was able to make ends meet and to save a little. The typical steel worker's family had saved about \$600 during the war—\$300 in cash for a rainy day and \$300 in war bonds.

Then came V-J Day, and the industry began to cut back sharply to a forty-hour schedule. Working forty hours, our average Braddock steel worker makes about \$39.20. However, when forty hours are scheduled, something less than that is actually worked, because of such factors as illness and production changes. It is a fair estimate to say that our average worker receives slightly less than \$39 a week.

In the past few months the average steel worker has not earned enough to cover his expenses. He has therefore been drawing on the money he has in the bank or cashing his bonds. He saw that it was only a matter of a few months before his savings would be exhausted and his family would face the plain necessity of a lowered standard of living.

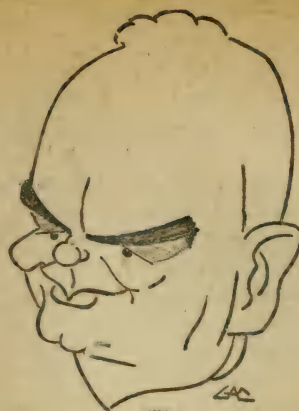
Those who are worried about the effect of too much loose money floating around the country should understand that the Steelworkers' demand for an increase in pay, originally of \$2 a day and now of 18.5 cents an hour, is calculated to prevent, even if only in part, a reduction in purchasing power and a threatened depression of living standards.

Their claims are presented to an industry that faces a very rosy future. It can be sure that for the next two years the demand for its products will outstrip the supply. The demand from the automobile industry alone is said to represent a two-year backlog. Run down the list of other big steel consumers—building construction, oil equipment, railroads, refrigerators, washing machines; they will all be hungry for steel for at least eighteen months, more probably for twenty-four.

The economics of steel are dominated by the fact that equipment is so large a part of unit cost. A high rate of production means, therefore, not only more tons sold but much lower cost per ton. In pre-war years prices were fixed to allow a company to break even when operating at from 50 to 60 per cent of capacity. In the years 1935 to 1939, when the industry operated at 59 per cent of capacity, it made a profit, after taxes, of \$115,000,000. When production reaches 90 per cent or higher, profits become tremendous.

While war-time tax rates were as high as 85 per cent, taxes in 1946 will be no more than 38 per cent. Most of the companies in the industry, if they sought merely to preserve 1944-45 profits, after taxes, could more than pay the additional 18.5 cents an hour out of this decrease in taxes. The elimination of premium payments for overtime will save the industry 8 to 9 cents an hour. A further saving can be expected from the downgrading that will probably take place in a looser labor market. The union estimates that this will amount to 5 cents an hour.

Productivity will take a spurt in 1946. Normal technological development has been vigorously accelerated by war-time needs. Steel-ingot capacity has been increased by 18.8 per cent. While a part of this expansion will not be useful in peace time—for example, not all the in-



Philip Murray

creased capacity for electric-furnace alloy steel will be needed—most of it will be employed in replacing obsolete equipment. Progress that might normally have taken ten years has been accomplished in five.

A battery of open-hearth furnaces was built by the Defense Plant Corporation for the Homestead Works of Carnegie-Illinois.

They produce 26 per

cent more tonnage per man-hour. There is no reconversion problem here. These new furnaces will simply push out the old.

Many if not all of the companies face the future with the entire cost of this new equipment already written off. The government permitted war-emergency facilities to be written off in five years, or by the end of the war—which was declared, for this purpose, in September, 1945. This means that the companies charged an extremely high rate of amortization in high-tax years and now face a future of relatively low taxes with income that would normally be spent for amortization freed for profits.

Philip Murray has called attention to the action of Bethlehem Steel in writing off \$44,000,000 in amortization in the third quarter of 1945. This converted a profit of \$23,000,000 into a loss. Because it showed a loss, Bethlehem got a tax refund of \$35,000,000.

It is reasonable to assume that with profits and taxes higher in war than in peace, the steel companies have been very liberal in earmarking income for depreciation and depletion. How liberal, it is difficult to say, but the leeway is undeniable. If future years prove leaner, it will be possible to reduce allocations to these accounts, leaving a larger share of current profits for stockholders. Furthermore, the carry-back refund provision of the 1945 revenue act functions to cushion the companies against any operating losses or failure to reach normal profits in 1946.

Factors which have restrained the productivity of the industry during the war will be rapidly removed. The forty-hour week and the return of veterans will mean a more efficient and vigorous working force. But wealth and assurance of continued demand also mean tremendous bargaining power—the ability to sit tight until terms can be won. When 700,000 steel workers "hit the bricks" at 12:01 a. m., Monday, January 21, they settled down for a contest of endurance.

"Quiet" and "grim" are the words to describe this

strike. Reporters looking for the violent drama that the public expects in a steel strike have been disappointed. The glare of Bessemer and the yellow-orange smoke of steel have disappeared from the Pittsburgh sky. Picketing has boomed the sale of heavy underwear. Bars are

empty; the money often spent there is needed for food.

The men don't know how long they will be out and they are not harboring any illusions. As one of them put it, "If we've got to, we'll stay out until Fairless freezes over."

The Sun Shines in Pittsburgh

BY KING GORDON

Pittsburgh, January 22

TODAY the sun shone brightly in Pittsburgh. People said they had not seen it shine so brightly for years. The quaint Gothic gingerbread on Andy Mellon's bank stood out sharply against a blue sky.

Because there was no smoke.

The thermometer registered five above.

You didn't hear much about the strike—not away from the United Steelworkers' headquarters in the Commonwealth Building. The cigar-stand man in the Pittsburgher argued that the company had a right to all the profits it could make, that it was none of the union's business what they made, and that Phil Murray had a pretty swell job and he was making the most of it. But the proverbial oracular taxicab driver said that most of Pittsburgh's sympathy was on the side of the men, and how did anyone think you could keep up purchasing power and have full employment unless wages were upped.

On the fifteenth floor of the Commonwealth Building things were busy but without confusion. Phil Murray had an unhurried word for the visiting fireman before he went into policy conference. PM was shooting pictures of the top chiefs of strategy. News reporters from out-of-town papers were passing the time of day. Telephone calls were coming in constantly from this district and that.

There was not much excitement. Because the excitement—the big excitement—was past. The strike was here. The strike that they had seen coming for months, even years, ever since it became apparent that United States Steel and the big boys of the Iron and Steel Institute were not going to talk terms.

You had a feeling that the steel workers were settling down to a long, hard siege. And that they were ready for it.

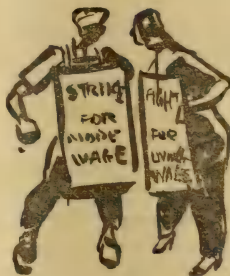
We drove out to Homestead along the Monongahela, stopping a couple of times to talk to pickets walking in a circle before the shut gates of plants or warming themselves over a coal fire in an empty oil drum. ("These boys know how to make fires that burn hot," one of the officers said to me. "It's their business.") But even with the fires it was cold work.

Gray-haired, scholarly Chuck Ford, chairman of Dis-

trict 15 at Homestead, told us the system they had worked out. "Everybody does a shift on the picket line. And it adds up to just four hours a week. We send out cards telling them what shift to report to. It's the fairest way. And it's good for morale." While we were talking to him a member phoned in to say that the date given him was not convenient; he didn't want to get out of his turn, but could he be given another hour? Chuck

referred him to the local that was handling the pickets for the three gates of the big Carnegie-Illinois plant.

Chuck described the meeting up at Duquesne last Sunday night just before the strike began. "Duquesne has the reputation of being a tough town, and in the past there has been plenty of trouble. But on Sunday there



was a meeting of seven hundred in the high school with about a thousand outside listening to loudspeakers. One of the burgesses spoke; one or two of the local business men. The reason for the strike was explained by the union officers. It was a quiet, serious meeting. No noise. No attacking the company. After the meeting those who had been assigned took up their posts on the picket line. One of the newsmen who were there said it was about the finest meeting he had ever attended. He said, "There was something very American about it."

In 1937 things were not so quiet. The company was out then to smash a young union which had not been put to any test. It used every device to intimidate strikers, entice in scabs, break morale. Armed guards swarmed round the gates. Inside the plant signs of great activity were kept up—tar paper was burnt in the furnaces, hammers crashed, yard engines shunted up and down.

But now it was different. The union was strong, disciplined, recognized. I saw no sign of guards. And it was merely a token picket line that walked slowly around at the gates.

We went across the street to the union hall. The president of the local was Frank Casper, a die-maker in the big plant. (Only one of the officers was a full-time union official: the rest were active steel workers.) He was

dark-faced, young, serious, authoritative. Here the pickets were being appointed. Half a dozen girls lent from the clerical workers' union were busy at desks. Pickets came and went. Hot soup was there for those who had got chilled in the bitter cold.

One of the officers came up with a slip of paper with special picketing assignments for the following week, honorary assignments of two hours each.

Thursday—all women

Friday—all vets, World War I and II

Saturday—all Negro

Sunday—volunteer firemen

Monday—all merchants

Tuesday—political figures

Wednesday—all clergy

"Will they all come?" I asked.

"Well, they've all been invited. The town is pretty solidly behind us."

We drove back past the long black buildings, the high smokestacks with no smoke coming out, past the picket lines at the Amity Street gate. One of the steel workers with us said: "Take a look at that; we put it up in 1938. Big ceremony with all the officials of the town taking part."

It was a monument to the steel workers who had been killed in the Homestead strike of 1892.

Korea's Heritage

BY ANDREW ROTH

Author of "Dilemma in Japan"

WHEN Lieutenant General Hodge, commander of the American occupation forces in Korea, asserted that the Koreans were "the same breed of cat as the Japanese," he must have been thinking of the declassed Korean *ronin*, or gangsters, used by the Japanese army for much of its dirtiest work. He could not have been conscious of the valiant struggle which Koreans have waged for almost forty years against the grinding exploitation of their country by the Japanese.

Japanese rule in Korea makes Western imperialism seem paternal in comparison. Although Korea is far more richly endowed with mineral resources, water-power, and fertile rice land than Japan, the Korean living standard has been depressed to about one-fourth of the incredibly low Japanese standard. At the time of liberation ten *Zaibatsu* concerns controlled 85 per cent of all Korean industrial capital; only a few industrial crumbs remained in Korean hands. Four-fifths of the land was also owned by absentee Japanese landlords, and rent and taxes were so high that, by Japanese admission, hundreds of thousands of Korean farmers were reduced every spring to collecting bark and roots for food.

Political oppression kept pace with economic exploitation; no opportunity was missed to crush all forms of independent thought and action and to convert Koreans into obedient and docile servants of their conquerors. Important posts were monopolized by the Japanese, and all persons suspected of harboring "dangerous thoughts" were hunted down. All teaching was done in Japanese, and few pupils advanced beyond the primary grades; only one out of twenty-five Koreans reached high school. At Keijo University 63 per cent of the students were Japanese.

But despite their abject poverty and almost complete

isolation from the rest of the world, Koreans have never ceased to resist. Japan became the "protector" of Korea in 1905 after defeating its Russian competitor and receiving the go-ahead signal from Britain and the United States. The first anti-Japanese insurrection broke out the next year; riots and demonstrations continued, and countless Koreans were imprisoned or killed.

In 1910 the Japanese marched in troops and stepped up their control to outright annexation. About five thousand men of the Korean army, led by its commander General Li Tung-hui, a graduate of the Tokyo Imperial Military Academy, retreated first to the hills and then across the Yalu River into Manchuria. There they based themselves upon the hundreds of thousands of Korean farmers who had emigrated to avoid Japanese control. Raiding parties crossed the border to Korea and ambushed Japanese troops in incessant guerrilla warfare. At one point the Japanese were so enraged by these attacks that they sent two divisions of troops into the Chientao region of Manchuria and slaughtered an entire settlement of four thousand Koreans.

For a few brief days in March, 1919, Korean resistance took on a different character. A group of Christian leaders, inspired by a naive faith in the fifth of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, issued an American-style Declaration of Independence. American-educated pacifists convinced the populace that President Wilson and the powers at Versailles would listen to their plea for freedom. Two million people paraded peacefully through the streets chanting "*Mansei! Mansei!*" (Korean equivalent of *Banzai*).

The Japanese replied to these peaceful demonstrations with medieval violence. Some six thousand Koreans were killed, tens of thousands flogged, and scores of

thousands arrested. At least one Christian leader was crucified; in one village a church was burned, and the people were shot as they ran out. As a result, resistance was driven underground, and the nationalists were forced to move their base of activity abroad.

SPLIT IN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

In the fall of 1919 three thousand Korean exiles gathered at Shanghai from all over the world. They elected a parliament and established a Provisional Government with Rhee Syng-man as President General, Li Tung-hui as Premier, and Lyuh Woon-heung as Foreign Minister. (Rhee and Lyuh are now the leaders of the chief contending factions.) This government in exile operated its own press and ran a military school, smuggling the literature and the cadets back into the homeland.

The Provisional Government was split along lines which have persisted to this day. An "American" faction, then in the majority, consisted largely of middle-class intellectuals who had fled to America when Japan took over in 1910 and had received their professional training and politico-economic outlook in this country. They were Christian moderates who believed they could persuade the United States government to intervene in behalf of Korea's freedom. Dr. Rhee, the Provisional President, had been a schoolmate of President Wilson's and retained complete faith in him.

Their opponents scoffed, declaring that only open warfare, not diplomatic maneuvering, could drive the Japanese from Korean soil. They were known as the "Siberia-Manchuria" group because Korean settlers in those areas were the strongest supporters of this view. The million Korean farmers in Manchuria had been providing aid to guerrilla bands for a decade, and the 800,000 Korean settlers in Siberia were playing an important role in defeating Japanese intervention. They formed a considerable portion of the sparse population of Siberia and fought with particular vigor because of their long-standing grudge against Japan. This group was more radical in its economic views and tended to think of the Soviet Union as the main anti-Japanese factor in the Far East.

At first the conservative "American" group had more weight, but after 1924 nationalist recruits swarmed to the left, the earthquake of 1923 starting an exodus of radical Korean students from Japan. Most Koreans in Japan were either factory workers or students. Many of the students were very poor and even more susceptible than their Japanese schoolmates to the radical ideas which at that time were causing the police so much concern.

The police reacted to their fears in a particularly brutal way. Japan was in the throes of an economic crisis, and after the earthquake the authorities feared there would be even more widespread disturbances than the deep-rumbling "rice riots" of 1918. To divert the atten-

tion of the people the Tokyo police chief broadcast a warning that Korean anarchists were burning, stealing, and murdering, and called upon the Japanese to "use all necessary measures" to defend themselves. At the same time squads of thugs organized by the police and by jingoist societies maimed and killed Koreans in the most brutal fashion. Young girls were tortured with bamboo spikes and then tossed up and down on blankets until they died. In Tokyo Koreans were requested to assemble at military headquarters for their own protection, and the 800 who complied were all slaughtered. About a thousand students and several times that number of workers were killed in this pogrom.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

Many of the Korean students who left Japan at this time, as well as other militant nationalists, were drawn as if by a magnet to Canton, where the Chinese nationalist revolution was in preparation. They felt that a success for Chinese nationalism—then based on a Kuomintang-Communist alliance receiving Soviet advice and support—would be a setback to Japan and the other imperial nations that were keeping China in a semi-colonial servitude. Koreans expected that the great "northern expedition" which was to free China of imperialists and war lords would march on and free Korea of the Japanese. Consequently they served enthusiastically as propagandists, military instructors, and soldiers in the nationalist army. When Chiang Kai-shek purged the left in 1927, casualties were high among the Korean volunteers. The crippling of the Chinese nationalist revolution spread gloom in Korean circles throughout the world.

Within Korea the Japanese increased their police force to curb militant nationalists and at the same time tried to wean the middle and upper classes away from the movement. Well-to-do Koreans were encouraged to start small factories. Publication of a Korean-owned newspaper, the *Oriental Daily News*, was permitted. Left nationalists and Communists managed to lay the groundwork for labor, youth, and peasant groups. In 1924 a General Union of Korean Workers and Farmers was organized, and although its meetings were immediately forbidden it established secret branches throughout the country. In 1925 a Communist Party was formed, composed almost entirely of intellectuals who naively made themselves conspicuous by wearing their hair long, sporting red ties, and keeping their shoes studiously unpolished in order to appear proletarian. This bohemian period was brought to a rude end in 1928 when the Japanese police crippled the party by arresting a thousand members and sympathizers.

The Korean scene remained explosive, and in the winter of 1929-30 a Japanese student in Korea provided a spark when he made an insulting offer to a Korean schoolgirl in public. This touched off denunciations, parades, and clashes between Korean and Japanese stu-

dents. The disturbances reached a climax in a nationwide strike, which was suppressed with the special brutality the Japanese reserved for Koreans and Japanese radicals.

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war demonstrated anew how closely the Korean situation was related to conditions in China. The Japanese conquest of Manchuria was a serious blow because it brought the Korean immigrants there under direct Japanese control. But when China began to fight in 1937 Korean resistance was stimulated. A Korean volunteer brigade of several hundred men was formed in central China under Kim Yak-san, Korea's most famous terrorist. In Manchuria about ten thousand Korean troops and fifty thousand par-



Drawing by Bernard Golden

tisans fought alongside the Chinese guerrillas under the command of Wu Seng-nun, a former terrorist who had once made an attempt on the life of General Tanaka. Another two thousand Koreans fought in the areas controlled by the Chinese Communists, and one of their number, Wu Ting, served as chief of staff to General P'eng Teh-huai, vice-commander of the Eighth Route Army. At the same time the Japanese, by their own admission, had 30,000 partisans to contend with in Korea. All these groups—left-wing nationalists, terrorists, anarchists, Communists—were loosely linked in a united front.

The Chinese government used the multi-lingual Koreans as translators, intelligence operatives, and propagandists but feared the contagion of their radical notions. It was to check the leftist Koreans that Chungking, in 1940, resuscitated the Provisional Government, with the aged Kim Koo as President and the seventy-eight-year-old Dr. Rhee as Washington representative, and sponsored a Korean-independence army of a few thousand men. This government represented the remnants of the "American" faction, which had grown increasingly con-

servative and was antagonistic to the leftist leaders of the Koreans fighting the Japanese in northern China and Korea. In Washington Dr. Rhee sought to achieve recognition for his group by proclaiming the need for a bulwark against communism. In Chungking the Provisional Government came increasingly under the influence of the most reactionary circles—such as the "CC" and "Whampoa" cliques—upon which it depended for financial and political support. Some left nationalists who had hoped that the Provisional Government could be broadened to include all elements found conditions in Chungking intolerable and made their way north to Yenan, where they joined the Korean People's Emancipation League.

WORLD WAR II CHANGES THE PICTURE

As the tide of war turned against the Japanese, they tried to make up for the depletion of their resources by squeezing rice, man-power, and revenue out of Korea. The Japanese-sponsored Korean People's Mobilization League acted as an instrument for extracting "voluntary" contributions and for making certain that farmers did not hide their produce from the authorities. In the last year of the war more than 500,000 Koreans under twenty were conscripted for military service or for labor in Japanese industries. All men between twenty and thirty were forced into Korean factories, and tens of thousands of women and students were forced to work without pay on railways and airdromes.

The Koreans reacted with more determined resistance. Thousands of youths fled to the mountains and engaged in guerrilla warfare. One band of about 15,000 men, led by Kim Jin-hsing, succeeded in establishing contact with the Chinese Eighth Route Army. Repeated uprisings against conscription and military training were brutally crushed by the police. Workers in armament factories organized sabotage groups, some of which the Japanese discovered and smashed. Korean soldiers deserted, farmers refused to harvest crops, and thousands of persons were arrested for listening to foreign broadcasts or refusing to worship the Emperor.

Tribute to the strength of Korean resistance was paid in April, 1945, when Emperor Hirohito "graciously granted" Korea the right to representation in the Imperial Diet. All Koreans recognized this as a sign of weakness and redoubled their efforts. By the end of the war more than half a million persons were participating in illegal activities as members of peasant and labor unions, student groups, and political parties. The fires of nationalism, stoked by forty years of oppression, had brought the country close to the boiling point. Into this seething caldron the competing Russian and American armies of liberation have thrown their vastly differing potions.

[This is the first of two articles on Korea by Mr. Roth.]

Arabia Britannica

BY RUFUS BAXTER

An old contributor of articles to The Nation from the Near East

Cairo, January 18

TWO apparently unrelated events seem to observers in this part of the world to fit neatly into a pattern of Near East politics which week by week takes on more coherent form. These events are the visit to King Farouk of King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, absolute ruler of Saudi Arabia, and Great Britain's declaration of Transjordan independence. Both are taken as steps in the consolidation of Arab unity under British sponsorship, a process which has been greatly accelerated since the end of the war for reasons I shall try to explain. The recent meeting of the Arab League here in Cairo expressed in rhetorical form the grandiose plans and dreams of the Arab politicians, but more solid gains are likely to emerge from the talks going on between Farouk and his advisers and Ibn Saud and his numerous sons and retainers; moreover, the termination of the British mandate over Transjordan not only brings an additional Arab state into the councils of the United Nations but increases the prestige of the League. One can be sure Britain made its decision with these facts in mind.

The notion of Arab unity, old as Islam itself, is largely animated by religious zeal. It was Mohammed who gave to all Arabs and Moslems on earth one God and one fatherland—the Islamic Omma. The greatest of the Arab historians, Ibn Khaldoun, wrote in the fifteenth century that the Arabs were incapable of founding an empire without the inspiration of religious enthusiasm. The heritage of the Caliphates gives the Arabs what the heritage of the Roman Empire gave medieval Europeans—a haunting though frustrated urge toward unity. More than once, long after the disintegration of Arab civilization became complete under the Ottoman Turks, the Arabs were seized by this obsession. The massacre of 3,000 Christians in Damascus in 1860 was a manifestation of it. A famous Moslem tract circulated at that time said in part: "We recall to you the words of the Most High: 'Make no differentiation between the infidel nations, for we have thrown enmity and discord into their midst until the day of the last judgment.' Moslem nation, awake! Awake to destroy the race of the servants of the Cross, in this country which they have defiled." Although certainly the sincere Arab nationalists of today nourish no such dire intentions, recent events in Cairo, Alexandria, Aleppo, and Tripoli come as an evil echo of those of 1860, and it is disquieting to notice that among the most ardent adherents of the cause in

Egypt are members of the fanatical Moslem Brotherhood and the Youth of Mohammed.

The pan-Arab movement in its modern, political dress goes back to World War I, to McMahon and Lawrence, to the Sykes-Picot agreement. The McMahon letter to the Sherif Hussein of Mecca in 1915 gave assurances that Great Britain was "prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions demanded by the Sherif of Mecca," excluding the two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo.* In return, Hussein was to throw in his lot with the Allies against Germany.

The Sykes-Picot agreement (May, 1916) provided, among other things, that Great Britain and France would "recognize and protect an independent Arab state, or a confederation of Arab states." What actually happened after the war fell somewhat short of Hussein's expectations. True, one of his sons, Feisal, was encouraged by the British to establish himself in Syria, and when the French, who had been given a mandate for Syria, drove him out, he was invested with nearly royal prerogatives in British-mandated Iraq. Another son, Abdullah, became and is still titular ruler of British-mandated Transjordan. But Palestine was opened to Jewish colonization under guaranties provided in the Balfour Declaration and confirmed in the mandate, while down in the Hejaz itself Hussein fared very badly. In 1924, when the Turkish National Assembly abolished the Caliphate there, Hussein laid claim to the title. Thereupon he was attacked by Ibn Saud and forced to abdicate. Ibn Saud was declared king in 1926. Egypt, not considering itself or being considered an Arab state at all, was under a formal British protectorate until 1922, becoming more or less independent in 1936—less rather than more. So the years passed, and the dream of Arab unity remained unfulfilled.

It was revived in 1941 when Anthony Eden announced in the House of Commons that the British government would support a plan for unity among the Arab states. A gesture of this sort was no doubt wise at the moment, for Britain's prestige was at a low ebb in the Middle East, with Germany threatening the Allied position from the west and north.

* Sir Henry McMahon, however, said in a letter to the *London Times* in 1907: "I feel it my duty to state, and do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Hussein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised."

EGYPT THE FULCRUM

The following winter events occurred in Egypt which made that country the fulcrum of the new pan-Arab movement. Considerations of political and military security induced the British authorities in Egypt to force on King Farouk a government of their choosing. The operation was carried out rather unceremoniously. In February, 1942, the Abdin royal palace was surrounded by tanks, and elsewhere in Cairo the alerted British army occupied strategic points. A tank forced the palace gate and was followed by a car in which rode the British Ambassador, Sir Miles Lampson, now Lord Killearn, and the commanding general. Lampson informed Farouk, by that time a prisoner in his own palace, that he must ask Mustapha Nahas Pasha, leader of the nationalistic Wafd Party, to form a Cabinet, or face the consequences. Farouk, humiliated but helpless, acquiesced.

The maneuver was an astute one, for the key to Egyptian politics is the perennial struggle for power between the Palace and the Wafd. The Wafd is the major party; its unquestioned leader is Nahas Pasha. By imposing Nahas on the King, the British brought in a government sure to be popular, at least for a while, and at the same time relatively pro-Ally and docile.

In 1943 Nahas began to promote Arab unity under the sponsorship of Egypt. Whether the initiative was his or not, I do not know. Certainly his Cabinet, as was expected, was quite incapable of coping adequately with the country's desperate internal problems, and Nahas may have wanted to bolster his position with an easy diplomatic success. The King, of course, was at every moment watching for an excuse to get rid of him. In any case the Egyptian government's pan-Arab policy, if not actually suggested by the British, was enthusiastically seconded by them, and they kept Nahas in power long enough to see it through.

In January, 1943, Mr. Eden repeated his assertion that the British government would view with sympathy any movement among the Arabs aiming at economic, cultural, or political union, adding, however, that none was yet in sight. He was not kept waiting long. Nahas called a series of conferences in the course of which the Prime Ministers of Iraq, Syria, Transjordan, and the Lebanon visited Egypt. These conferences led to the conclusion of a protocol which provided for the creation of an Arab League. The pact was finally signed on October 7, 1944. By that time, Saudi Arabia, most important and most independent of the Arab states, had come into the fold, followed shortly by the Yemen.

The pact is couched in magnificent rhetoric, but a wide gulf separates word and deed. Although the members state pledge common action on such matters as customs, commercial and financial arrangements, communications, intellectual cooperation, nationality and extradition laws, and social and sanitary improvements, the Arab League is essentially a political instrument.

First of all, it relegates to the position of followers Egypt's potential rivals for leadership—Iraq with its long-cherished Greater Syria plan (also espoused by the other Hashimite appanage, Transjordan) and Saudi Arabia with its holy cities. Secondly, it flatters the Arab world with illusions of world power. Already Arab leaders speak sometimes in the name of 40,000,000 Arabs, sometimes in the name of 300,000,000 Moslems from Morocco to India. Thirdly—and this is the heart of the matter—it facilitates Britain's effort to reorganize the Middle East into a cohesive bloc.

THE LEAGUE'S STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS

Britain's interest in the Middle East was never greater than now, and rarely since the time of Napoleon has its position here been so exposed. These considerations have led it rather grudgingly to yield a part of its economic hegemony to the United States, in the hope that from now on the interests of the two countries will be so closely associated throughout the area that they must defend it together. The same considerations led the British to plug for Arab unity more consistently than hitherto. Great Britain will very likely try to enlarge the Arab League to embrace the Sudan and the Persian Gulf principalities—Muscat and Oman, Kuwait, Bahrein, Qatar, and various sheikdoms—which, though insignificant in themselves, account for a million or so Arabs living in a region vital to Empire communications and oil reserves. Meanwhile the League has claimed the trusteeship of Arab Libya and strongly hinted that it cannot ignore the "appeals" from the Arabs living in French North Africa. Skilfully handled, the Arab League can be a potent instrument.

But its weaknesses, too, are great. First of all, most of the minorities in the region are wary of it if not actually opposed to it. The Lebanese Christians in particular will become less accommodating if the Moslem angle is too strongly emphasized or if the efforts of Iraq and Transjordan for the creation of a Greater Syria show signs of success; this is unlikely at the moment because of the opposition of Egypt and of Ibn Saud as head of a rival ruling house*. Then, too, 9,000,000 Kurds have national aspirations of their own that run head on against the interests of at least two Arab states. And most Jews, Armenians, and Turcomans are unsympathetic. Palestine, of course, is the chief stumbling-block; there the British will continue if possible to steer a middle course between Arab and Jewish demands and try to induce the United States to accept coresponsibility for finding some sort of solution.

The league's low economic and military potential is another major source of weakness. The Arab states are straining their meager budgets to keep an aggregate of perhaps 100,000 badly equipped, ill-trained, and totally

* It has been hinted in the press that a reconciliation between Ibn Saud and the Hashimites may have been brought about by Farouk during the Arab king's visit to Cairo.

unarmed troops under arms. As far as I know, not a single Arab country is equipped to manufacture a rifle, much less a tank or an airplane. All of them are handicapped either by a primitive tribal society or else by appalling poverty, disease, illiteracy, and exploitation; some by both. If the Arab League hopes to have any substantial weight in world councils, it will either have to play one power off against another or become an appendage of a single first-class military power. The latter course is the only one possible at the moment, and the military power in question is Great Britain.

TOOL OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The Arabs kid themselves along with pomp and oratory, but the British are in deadly earnest. Their policy, conditioned by the exigencies of empire, is lucid and coherent—except in Syria, where they went perhaps a little too far; it is unaffected by changes of government in London. The Arab League can become an admirable tool for furthering British imperial interests. Already a Middle East Office has been set up at Whitehall to facilitate relations with the Arab states. It is unlikely that this agency and the Arab League will work at cross purposes, for their aims, if not precisely the same, are complementary. Collaboration will help consolidate Britain's position against antagonistic forces from outside the area or within it. American economic and Russian political penetration can be countered with greater ease. (France has already been reduced to a negligible quantity.) From the economic point of view, particularly as long as the sterling-area controls can be maintained, the Middle East will be more effectively integrated into the general Empire scheme. Moreover, the Arab League is not an association of peoples but of notables, men who can be counted upon to use their augmented power to prevent social changes detrimental to their own and to Britain's interests. Semi-feudal land tenure is a bulwark against industrialization and economic expansion, which would challenge the British position. Even if the peoples of the Middle East cannot be kept forever in a state close to serfdom, progress can be slowed down. For this purpose Arab-Jewish understanding must be frustrated at all costs, for the Zionists incarnate the menace of social change. Since an Arab-Jewish entente is a specter which frightens the Arab leaders as much as it does the British, the League can be counted upon to fight it.

The moment any part of the Middle East is in a position to say: Here we have a modern, functioning economy that can stand on its own feet; here we have a peaceful, disciplined population, strong enough to command the respect of our neighbors; here we no longer need, or want, your tutelage—at that moment the British will be forced to choose between evacuation or conquest. Palestine represents that danger. Only the Arab-Jewish controversy will, in the future, justify continued British occupation. The Zionists have harmed their

cause by emphasizing integral nationalism. None the less, they have created a modern state, however minute, and in many localities have made Arab-Jewish cooperation a fact. The conflict of interest and of ideology between them and the British can only grow worse in the days ahead—especially since the Jews are the only people to have any appreciable access to dollar credits. If the Palestinian Jews take to the *maquis*, as they are beginning to do, it will be against the British, not against the Arabs. But the Arab League will be on hand to give the conflict the appearance of one between Jews and Arabs, just as a few months ago it served as a cover for the British ouster of the French in Syria.

In the Wind

WITHOUT WISHING TO ALARM you unduly, we nevertheless think you ought to know about this frightening statement that was made at the New England Sales Management Conference in Boston last month. "Salesmen as a group," said one of the speakers, "will have more effect upon the permanence of peace than all diplomats, more effect on wages and prices than all negotiators."

DURING THE WAR, according to the British Information Service, a special military operation was set up to guard the personal safety of Prime Minister Churchill. The code designation for the project was "Operation Elephant."

AN EVEN DOZEN JAPANESE PRINCES will be unemployed as a result of occupation directives banning military men from public office. The United Press quotes the Jiji News Agency as saying that as a result "one of Japan's prime social problems now would be providing jobs for the purged princes."

FORMER ASSOCIATES of the fabulous Jack and Heinz plant are being blacklisted by Cleveland employers, *Business Week* reports. "The kind of profit sharing to which they are devoted converts," explains the magazine, "is more distasteful than almost any color of union philosophy to employers."

CASTLE MOUNTAIN, a Canadian peak near Banff, Alberta, has been renamed Mount Eisenhower.

WHEN HEARST'S SEATTLE *Post-Intelligencer* resumed publication in mid-January after a 56-day strike, its readers were treated to a 134-page Sunday edition. It featured 62 pages of comics, including a 12-page summary of the strike-interrupted daily comics; 36 pages of American Weekly; and 3 pages of pictures. The editors also managed to squeeze in 33 pages of news.

DIOGENES, BLOW OUT YOUR LANTERN; your search has ended. The following classified ad appeared in the Portland *Oregonian* of January 9: "Veteran of World War II wants a position with good pay. Likes horses, dogs, and attractive women. Lazy and incompetent."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Budgetary Planning

THE President's mammoth combined state-of-the-union and budget message presumably represents a cooperative effort by a number of his advisers. Unfortunately, nobody seems to have thought of calling in a good editor to cut out the repetitions, suppress the clichés, and generally organize it into a cohesive whole. As a result, only the most conscientious citizen is likely to brave its formidable manner for the sake of its matter.

That is too bad, for buried in the turgid mass there is a lot of sound economic sense. Mr. Truman is not nearly so forceful a character as his predecessor, but his steadfast adherence to the main principles of the New Deal shows that he has a share of the same sort of tenacity that distinguished Mr. Roosevelt when it came to really important issues. Despite rebuffs by Congress and carping by the conservative press, which doesn't love him in January as it did in May, Mr. Truman has reemphasized the thesis that "the government must assume ultimate responsibility for the economic health of the nation." That, of course, was a basic tenet of the Rooseveltian philosophy. It implies over-all government planning to keep the economy on an even keel and to counteract the tendency of free-enterprise helmsmen to steer a wildly erratic course when left to themselves.

Today fiscal policy is the government's most effective means of insuring a high and stable level of employment. As the President said in his message: "Government programs are of such importance in the development of production and employment opportunities—domestic and foreign—that it has become essential to formulate and consider the federal budget in the light of the nation's budget as a whole." In the later stages of the war the government was the greatest customer of industry and agriculture, buying more than half the gross national product, that is, the aggregate output of goods and services. In order to maintain national income at or near its war-time level, private spending by consumers and private investment in capital goods must rise *pari passu* with the fall in government spending. That change-over means a lot of difficult adjustments, but in some ways it has been proceeding more smoothly than it was reasonable to expect before V-J Day. Unemployment has been held to a moderate figure, the flow of income payments has not been seriously checked, and both consumer spending and investment have expanded sharply.

In fact, buying pressures are so strong that they are threatening to burst price ceilings, and in framing the budget the President rightly took account of the immediate danger of inflation. That meant giving thought to the maximum possible reduction in the deficit, since deficits, particularly when they are financed through created bank credits, swell the stream of purchasing power and add to inflationary pressures. In a deflationary period, when goods are plentiful in relation to purchasing power, deficit financing can pro-

vide a valuable corrective. Under present conditions, however, if the budget is to be properly used as a compensatory mechanism, it should ideally not merely balance but yield a surplus for debt reduction. Theoretically those critics who complain because Mr. Truman has not eliminated the deficit in fiscal 1947 are right. But taking into consideration the expensive incidentals of winding up a world war, the large and inflexible item of debt interest, and the many commitments to veterans, unemployed workers, farmers, and foreign countries, the President has done well to hold down total estimated expenditure to \$35.8 billion, including outlays dependent on the passage of new legislation.

While the budget will not balance next year, it will not be necessary to borrow new money in order to make ends meet. The Treasury cash balance is so ample—the Victory bond drive was almost too successful—that it can take care of the deficit and, in addition, make possible debt repayment to the tune of \$4.4 billion. This situation, however, could be upset if Congress were to decide on further tax remissions. Mr. Truman's message urged that taxes should remain unchanged in the coming year. He pointed out that very substantial reductions became effective at the New Year and additional relief would be inflationary. This point is well taken. The lightening of tax bills obviously adds to the total of spending money in the hands of the public, and that, as we have already noted, is too great in relation to the probable volume of goods available. Congress, however, may be less interested in checking inflation—a subject inclined to bore a good many legislators—than in handing out benefits in an election year. Consequently the President's aim of approaching a balanced budget in fiscal 1947 and achieving it in 1948 may be thwarted. A lot of educational work needs to be done before there is general acceptance of the simple but vital proposition that the time to reduce taxes is when trade is slumping. In boom periods they should be maintained at a high level or even increased.

Some of the President's critics have accused him of inconsistency for worrying simultaneously about inflation and deflation. It should not be so hard to grasp the connection between these twin evils, both symptoms of an unbalanced economy. The immediate danger, it is true, lies in the former, but one reason why it is necessary to keep a tight check-rein on an inflationary boom is its inevitable transformation into a deflationary bust.

Under inflationary conditions business always enlarges its share of the national income. With the price level trending steadily upward, the interval between buying and selling means an automatic increase in profit margins. Swollen earnings induce confidence, encourage investment in plant and inventories. Production consequently begins to expand, but as it expands, purchasing power is shrinking, for wages and salaries inevitably lag in the race up the inflationary spiral staircase, while fixed incomes are stuck at the bottom. Finally business begins to realize that it is piling up goods in a declining market, and everyone tries to unload at once. Then comes the débâcle. Mr. Truman personally experienced the effects of this cycle after the last war, and he is desperately concerned in saving the country from a repetition of the experience. In that endeavor he deserves more support than he is receiving.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

IF I had to characterize Czechoslovakia in a few words, I should call it "the most sensible country in Europe." Of all the liberated nations it appears to be making the most rapid strides toward economic and political recovery. Its progress is no gift from heaven. Throughout the war the Czechs painfully schooled themselves for the difficult jobs that awaited them after liberation. While other governments in exile dissipated a large part of their energies in trying to heal internal splits, the Czech regime always gave the impression of an efficient and well-articulated team. That it functioned so smoothly is due in large part to the extraordinary common sense of the captain: Eduard Benes is, above all, a man of sound judgment. In a crisis, his practical, down-to-earth solutions have never failed to rally the country behind him. There is no need, however, to picture him as a sort of Czech saint; though an outstanding national leader, he is at the same time very much of a party man—but one who knows when the party's interests must yield to those of the nation.

These qualities are clearly reflected in Benes's speech to the Provisional National Assembly on October 28, 1945. Reviewing political developments in Europe from the rise of Hitler to the present time, the Czechoslovak President expresses his long-held conviction that the pre-war system has outlived its usefulness, that out of the war must emerge a new society, with a more universal outlook and greater social and economic justice than the old. Whether he is dealing with revision of the constitution or the relations between Czechs and Slovaks, budget balancing or agrarian reform, he constantly reminds his audience that "it is in the spirit of this epoch of revolution that we must solve all the problems that face us in the sphere of our home policy." Perhaps in actual practice he is inclined to proceed more slowly. On the question of nationalization, for example, he applied the brakes so sharply that he almost had a serious accident. But when the political parties declared themselves ready to assume complete responsibility for the nationalization measures, he immediately went along with them.

At times, however, Benes can be absolutely uncompromising. Despite protests from British and American liberals, he has insisted upon his position in regard to the Sudeten Germans. He had long ago made up his mind that the Sudetens must go, and he believes he has the moral authority to take this drastic step: "We tried up to the year 1938, and especially in that year, to arrive at an understanding with our Germans in a truly liberal and genuinely humane spirit. All our endeavors were totally disappointed." Now they must leave. Benes is not willing to allow a potential fifth column to complicate the problem of reconstruction. But he is moved by no spirit of revenge. Indeed, he has tried as far as possible to prevent individual reprisals and violent measures of expulsion by local authorities; at all times he has insisted that the transfer be effected "in a humane and not a Nazi manner, and in full accord with the Allies."

Since the liberation, Czechoslovak foreign policy has been successfully oriented toward close ties with Russia without any loss of national identity. At the UNO conference in London Masaryk could truthfully say, "We are masters in our own house." While Czechoslovakia's pro-Soviet attitude is undoubtedly influenced by its geographical position and the presence of Communists in the government, it is also deeply rooted in the people themselves and was strengthened by the British-French betrayal at Munich. On the other hand, friendship with the Soviet Union does not exclude Czech collaboration with the West. For that collaboration to develop normally, however, it is essential that the Western powers make no attempt to check the clear trend toward socialism in Europe, especially in the East. On his return from a visit to Prague, Will Lawther, president of the British mine workers' union, said bluntly, "It is incredible that our diplomatic service should be used to threaten to starve one of our allies, only because in the nationalization of certain Czech industrial properties British interests were affected."

If Czechoslovakia is well on the road to recovery, it is mainly because of the spirit of unity which seems to animate all four parties of the government coalition. Relations between the Social Democratic Party and the Communists are better than anywhere else in Europe. The Czech trade unions, with a pre-war membership of 2,200,000 in a country of 15,000,000, are considered the most powerful on the Continent. But where formerly a dozen different political tendencies divided their ranks, today the unions, already back to a strength of 2,000,000, stand firmly united, and their leadership has been reinforced by men drawn from the resistance. One has only to look at the relationship of the labor movement and the government to understand the meaning of national unity in action. Three men head the trade-union organization: Zapotocky, a Communist; Erban, a Social Democrat, and Wunsch, of the Benes party. A similar combination exists in the Cabinet: the Prime Minister, Z. Fierlinger, is a Social Democrat, while Vice-President Klement Gottwald is a Communist. Foreign Minister Masaryk is a member of the Benes party; the Under Secretary, Vlado Clementis, is a Communist. Committees of coordination have been formed to iron out party differences. Far from anticipating the end of the coalition, Benes recently said that it ought to continue for at least five more years.

It is against this political background that Czechoslovakia's first general election will take place on May 26. The voting franchise has been extended to include soldiers and the eighteen-year-olds. One can only speculate on the outcome. Until recently it was generally believed that the Social Democrats held the edge; lately the Catholic Party has been gaining ground; most observers give the Communists from 20 to 22 per cent of the vote. Much will depend on the independent voters, but one thing is clear: the government that emerges from the election will still be based on a firm policy of inter-party unity.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL.

TOCQUEVILLE'S great critique of democracy* was first published well over a hundred years ago; it has been reprinted many times and in many languages since then. But to read it in the context of these days is to feel that its panoplied republication in America in 1945 was a providential event devised by a higher and more witting power than Alfred A. Knopf.

I speak particularly of Tocqueville's discussion of cultural matters—using the word cultural in a wide, not a narrow, sense—for while his political predictions are often more curious than correct, his comments on the cultural shape of things to come continue to be almost too relevant for comfort, and fascinating as well. They happen to coincide with certain preoccupations of my own, and I hope I may be forgiven if instead of presenting an orderly review of "Democracy in America" I appropriate some of Tocqueville's extraordinary insights as texts for comment on the condition of man in this democratic age.

Alexis Henry Charles Maurice Clerel, comte de Tocqueville, was an aristocrat, a "young liberal" of his time, who recognized and was committed to the democratic revolution. Having raised himself into the clear between two worlds, he achieved a remarkably calm view both of the aristocratic society which was passing and of the relatively new social development, democracy, which by its very nature has since rendered most men incapable of the disinterested view.

Tocqueville regarded the principle of equality as the driving force of democracy. This principle would, he said, bring great benefits into the world, but it would also suggest to man some "dangerous propensities" which must be resisted and overcome in man's best interest; and his book is a warning, addressed to the leaders of men and nations, of the ordeals to which, in his view, the new and inevitable order of affairs must subject the human spirit.

The good society, for Tocqueville, was that which allowed the largest scope for the development and the free creative use of the individual's powers of mind and imagination—prime source of the varied and beautiful and enduring achievements that make up the sum of human culture. He felt that democracy offered the possibility of the good society on a universal scale; but he also envisaged a democratic society which might limit rather than enlarge the horizons of the mind. He was particularly concerned lest man unwittingly give over or consciously reject his cultural heritage, which was by force of circumstance identified with aristocratic society but which was also the distillation of the experience of the race. And his anxiety on this score sharpened rather than blurred his perceptions.

"I admire [the principle of equality] because it lodges in

the very depths of each man's mind and heart that indefinable feeling, the instinctive inclination for political independence," said Tocqueville; but he did not confuse equality with liberty, and he perceived that in the very process of making men feel independent the principle of equality would also tend to isolate them one from another and to show each his own weakness.

When the inhabitant of a democratic country compares himself individually with all those about him, he feels with pride that he is the equal of any one of them; but when he comes to survey the totality of his fellows and to place himself in contrast with so huge a body, he is instantly overwhelmed by the sense of his own insignificance and weakness.

The sense of individual weakness, combined with the promise of equality and the passion for it, would give rise, said Tocqueville, to tendencies which must be combated as inimical to the highest development of man. It would, for one thing, set up a pressure toward conformity on a huge scale—I shall discuss this later; for another, it would turn every man's attention upon himself and his own prosperity in relation to that of his neighbor (the Joneses), and this in turn would lead to an "inordinate love of material gratification" but of a peculiarly safe variety.

The special taste that the men of democratic times entertain for physical enjoyments is not naturally opposed to the principles of public order; nay, it often stands in need of order that it may be gratified. Nor is it adverse to regularity of morals, for good morals contribute to public tranquillity and are favorable to industry. It may even be frequently combined with a species of religious morality; men wish to be as well off as they can in this world without forgoing their chance of another. Some physical gratifications cannot be indulged in without crime; from such they strictly abstain. The enjoyment of others is sanctioned by religion and morality; to these the heart, the imagination, and life itself are unreservedly given up, till in snatching at these lesser gifts men lose sight of those more precious possessions which constitute the glory and greatness of mankind.

The reproach I address to the principle of equality is not that it leads men away in the pursuit of forbidden enjoyments but that it absorbs them wholly in quest of those which are allowed. By these means a kind of virtuous materialism may ultimately be established in the world, which would not corrupt but enervate the soul and noiselessly unbend its springs of action.

This summary, and indictment, of the bourgeois way of life has hardly been improved upon, while the phrase "virtuous materialism" is a wonderful example of the author's profundity and wit.

Tocqueville noted in America in 1831 the twin passions for equality and for commerce. These proclivities, along with our superior resources and our technological skill—"men living in democratic ages cannot fail to improve the industrial

* "Democracy in America." By Alexis de Tocqueville. The Henry Reeve Text as Revised by Francis Bowen Now Further Corrected and Edited with Introduction, Editorial Notes, and Bibliography, by Phillips Bradley. Alfred A. Knopf. \$6.

part of science"—have combined to produce the most egregious example so far of "virtuous materialism." It is only just, however, to say that our example is one which the rest of the world has done its best, and has now, quite understandably, taken a new resolve, to emulate. One of the few certain results of the war will turn out to be, I think, an increased worldwide preoccupation with things. In this country, after the past few years of privation, it has entered a new obsessive phase.

And at this point another of Tocqueville's merciless notations on the quality of American life falls with peculiar force. He commented on its "excited yet monotonous aspect"; he found here a "strange melancholy," a "restlessness in the midst of prosperity." It was Tocqueville's opinion that "their taste for physical gratifications must be regarded as the original source of that secret disquietude which the actions of the Americans betray."

Few intelligent observers will deny that there is still "restlessness in the midst of prosperity" and that this restlessness seeks assuagement in the piling up of possessions, large and small. Few will maintain that it will be assuaged though every home be fitted out with a deep-freeze unit, television, and an electric maid—if only because the passion for things is by its very nature insatiable.

In this restlessness perhaps lies the hope, dim as it often seems, that "virtuous materialism" will raise up the agent of its overthrow, that the millions who continue to "strain their faculties to the utmost to achieve paltry results" will eventually demand more satisfying rewards, and democratic society work out—as Tocqueville said in paying his respects to those who would try to go back—"that species of greatness and happiness which is our own."

T. S. Eliot had something to say on this point in an interview recently published in *Horizon*. When he was asked, by a rather awkward interviewer, if he saw any "creative future" in view of the ascendancy of technology, he answered:

I think it is possible that that process... may go still further in the same direction, but I think that any tendency like that gives rise to its own opposite, and that in the end, sooner or later... there will be a general rebellion against it, because, you see, that sort of thing leads to something which the technological type of mind leaves out of account. And that is that human beings will just become bored with the kind of life they have from it—and I think that boredom is a very powerful force in life and that people will do the most extraordinary things to escape from it.

The nature of the "greatness and happiness which is our own" is not to be defined or foreseen. It will obviously be as various as the human species; it will involve in some way the creative use of man's peculiar gifts.

Tocqueville, being of his age, often invoked religion. Eliot has invoked it in our age, but for most people religion has become an archaic and impossible refuge. Yet the question persists: "For what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" It persists because it is not a religious but a human question—to which religion has been only one of the answers.

Next week I shall discuss Tocqueville's prognosis of the specific effects of the spread of democracy on the practice and appreciation of the arts.

RUSSIA

★ HER HISTORY

★ HER PEOPLE

★ HER NEIGHBORS

★ HER GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Lecture Courses by

HANS KOHN (Her History), historian and educator, describes the intellectual development of Russia, and the genius of Russian literature.

6 Thursdays, 8:30 P.M. Beginning February 14. \$6.

JOSEPH WINSTON (Her People) lived in the Soviet Union for seven years during the 30's as a consulting engineer and worked with her people.

9 Thursdays, 8:30 P.M. Beginning March 28. \$9.

VICTOR YAKHONTOFF (Her Neighbors)—his understanding of Soviet Far Eastern policy is based on years of experience and study.

15 Wednesdays, 8:30 P.M. Beginning Feb. 6. \$15.

ERICH HULA (Her Government and Politics), political scientist, member of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science.

15 Thursdays, 6:20 P.M. Beginning February 7. \$15.

THE NEW SCHOOL

66 West 12th Street • New York 11 • GR 7-8454



H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

"CRUX ANSATA — An Indictment
of the Roman Catholic Church"

An historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis.

Cloth Binding \$1.75

Paper-covered \$1.25

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS" by L. H. Lehmann

A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist collaboration.

Cloth Binding \$1.75

Paper-covered \$1.00

COMBINATION
OFFERS

Both Cloth Bound Books \$3.00
Both Paper Bound Books \$2.00

New Pamphlet

"VATICAN POLICY
IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

48 pages of Documented Facts 25c

Free to those who return this ad with their order
for the above books

Order From:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 251
229 WEST 48TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

BRIEFER COMMENT

John Henry Newman

OF THE GREAT FIGURES of the Victorian past there is none that stands the years so well as Newman. Non-Catholics are as likely as not to begin to read him with aversion, but the challenge that he offers to one's assumptions is so lively and so real, his sense of the world is so subtle and coherent, and his psychological perception is so complex and shrewd that any reader who takes pleasure in endangering his own fixed ideas must be grateful for the exhilaration that Newman can give. It is unfortunate that neither of the two books on Newman published in the centenary year of his conversion to Catholicism does justice to his intellectual interest. John Moody's "John Henry Newman" (Sheed and Ward, \$3.75) is the work of an amateur scholar—the author of "Moody's Manual of Investments"—a Catholic layman who has had a lively religious career, having been, before his own Catholic conversion, a member of the Low, the Broad, and the High groups of the Protestant Episcopal church. Mr. Moody's biography is simple, lucid, and warm, and as such admirable. But it is touched with a certain snippy, parochial condescension to non-Catholic thought; and the modesty of

its intellectual pretensions does not justify the inadequacy of its intellectual power; nor is it sufficient in its scholarship, for it omits from its bibliography many of the most notable of the modern studies of Newman. Charles Frederic Harrold's "John Henry Newman" (Longmans, Green, \$3.50) is the work of an Episcopalian and a professional scholar. It is free from the limitations of partisanship, and it is as scholarly as one could wish—or as one would expect from the learned author of "Carlyle and German Thought." But Professor Harrold's book, although likely to prove indispensable to students of Newman, is not likely to be attractive to the general reader. It is quite frankly an academic work—after two chapters of condensed and undramatic biography, it goes on to the summary, exposition, and criticism of Newman's ideas and powers. It is impossible not to be aware of how painstaking, balanced, careful, and sound this evaluation is; yet it is equally impossible not to feel that it has the effect of leaving Newman's thought inorganic and remote, and this despite Professor Harrold's own insistence on its vitality and relevance.

LIONEL TRILLING

Working Reporter

ELSIE DANENBERG went to Britain while the bombs were still dropping to report the part, the very large part, that its women were playing in the war effort. She was not content, however, to be taken on conducted tours: she wanted to share experiences before writing about them. Consequently, "Blood, Sweat, and Lipstick" (Greenberg, \$2.50), the book which describes those experiences, has a freshness and authenticity lacking in many descriptions of war-time England. Despite the title there is not a great deal of blood in these pages or very much lipstick; there is an abundance of sweat. In the course of twelve months or so Mrs. Danenberg undertook a large number of jobs. Some of them were dangerous, many of them were dirty, all of them involved hard physical labor. They included work with an aircraft rescue squad, in a cotton mill, with the Women's Land Army, on a canal boat, in a fishing-shed gutting herrings, in a railroad repair shop cleaning locomotives. These and other chores gave her an opportunity, such as no other American correspondent seized, of entering into the lives of British workers. Thus her book, while lightly written, offers a revealing picture of social conditions and problems which, now the external enemy has been defeated, challenge the united energies of British men and women.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Flash! 1. *Genuine book values: Lin Yutang's THE VIGIL OF A NATION, original J. Day ed., \$2.75—only \$1.00; ANNA and the KING of SIAM (M. London), the original \$3.75 John Day ed.—only \$1.50; order now while available.*

2. *Book Service: We mail everywhere the books reviewed and advertised here and elsewhere. Downtown Book Bazaar, 212 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.*

JUST OFF THE PRESS . . .

SHALL EUROPE STARVE?

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

A thorough factual survey of the U. S. Government's failure to give adequate relief to suffering Europe this winter.

- Overfed America
- The German Horror
- Hungering Europe
- Proposals for Action

10c a copy • 20 for \$1.00 • 100 for \$5.00

Order from:

POLITICS

45 Astor Place

New York, 3, N. Y.

READ

"A JEW SAYS 'BOO'"

by Kenneth Leslie

THE STORY OF THE ANMUTH CASE BEFORE
JUDGE CLARE FENERTY

PUBLISHED BY THE PROTESTANT

521 Fifth Avenue

New York 17, N. Y.

*Judge Fenerty was the principal speaker at the Friends of Frank Fay meeting at Madison Square Garden on January 10, 1940.

PRICE - 10 CENTS

World War II: an Informal History

"THE STORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR," edited, with historical narrative, by Henry Steele Commager (Little, Brown, \$3), does not pretend to be a formal or systematic history. It is far too early, as Mr. Commager says, for that effort, since the important records are not yet available. It is with the experience of the war that this book is concerned. An abundant selection of writings by men of all ranks and nations who were eyewitnesses of the campaigns is set in a remarkably clear and substantial narrative framework by the author-editor—quite the most readable thing of its kind so far published. Mr. Commager is admirably catholic in his choice of material. A speech of Winston Churchill's is set beside a Russian colonel's description of action,

"RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD"

**"Rt. Hon. Earl of Halifax
British Embassy
Washington, D. C.**

"Your nation now seeks a loan from the United States. And I, my lord, as a citizen of the United States, oppose the granting of this loan. I should like to tell you why.

"You, my lord, and certain English governments of the last years, seems to have done your share in upsetting the peace of the world. You sympathized with and backed Mussolini. Various English interests helped arm Hitler. In the Civil War in Spain you helped choke Republicanism, and allowed Spain to be the proving ground of the Fascist war machines. You made Munich. The history of government, my lord, in England, in our time, is that first you armed, then you appeased. And this, my lord, causes me to consider the various English governments of the last years the most inept since George III.

"I say this with deep regret. For England gave the world much of its concept of free men. And the English people in this war sacrificed heroically, and won the admiration of the world. But their governments have been stupid and inept.

"I was appalled, my lord, at your reign of terror in Greece. I deplore the use of American lend-lease materials to massacre Greeks. I deplore your massacre of the Indonesians. And I view with horror and loathing your massacre of Hebrews, both in postwar Germany, and in Palestine.

"I am a Jew, my lord, and an American, and I hope, a citizen of the world. Five million Jews, my lord, were murdered in Germany. And, in my opinion, you, my lord, and your governments, were accessory to the crime. For you could have opened the doors of Palestine. I believe, my lord, the conscience of the world will decry you not having done so. I believe the American people feel perfectly willing for all Jews who want to go there, to go to Palestine.

"Your reasons, my lord, for not opening Palestine to Hebrew repatriation are scant and false. Palestine is no colony of England. England has a mandate there, a mandate in essence being a trusteeship, which has not been administered sensibly or in good faith. The Balfour Declaration, on which the mandate was based, called for a 'Homeland' in Palestine. All quibbling about words, my lord, cannot reduce the implication. A homeland is a homeland, not a place where the people appointed to this homeland are barred, or those already established there experience taxation without representation, or experience trial without jury. . . .

"You are driving a people desirous of freedom to revolution, my lord. And then you will haul out the tanks, possibly obtained through American lend-lease. And possibly use Arab or Hessian mercenaries.

The American League for a Free Palestine, in publishing the open letter by Lester Cohen, internationally famous writer, author of "Sweepings" and the recent best-seller "Coming Home," appeals to the people of this country, whatever their origin or creed, to protest this outrage against mankind.

Make your voice heard. Demand of President Truman and of your Congressman that:

(A) The United States Government forbid the British Government to use lend-lease materials in its unholy war against Hebrew survivors, whether in Europe or Palestine.

(B) The United States Government give full assistance to the immediate repatriation of the Hebrews from Europe to their own territory, Palestine.

For quick action, give us your financial support and help us to bring this nation-wide campaign to a successful conclusion.

GUY M. GILLETTE, President

CO-CHAIRMEN: William S. Bennet, Louis Bromfield, Ben Hecht, Will Rogers, Jr., Harry Louis Selden, Andrew L. Somers, M. O.

"My lord, should the Greeks revolt against the regime you have imposed, should more Indonesians join the revolt, should the Hebrews revolt against you in Palestine, I should be very much for them. Resistance to tyranny, my lord, is obedience to God.

"And it does no good to throttle the press services out of Palestine, and to refer to those fighting for liberty as 'terrorists.' George III put a price upon George Washington's head, and Benjamin Franklin's, and called them 'rebels.' Name-calling and head-pricing, my lord, will not do.

"There might have been some excuse, my lord, for the Imperialistic point of view back in the days when oil was important in war. Some months ago, from the Imperialistic point of view, there might have been some reason for frying the Hebrews in Palestinian oil. But, my lord, the atom bomb has antiquated oil and the oil point of view.

"My lord, the governments you served have proved to be shortsighted and inept. They have collaborated with the tyrannies they later had to resist. They have imposed tyrannies in the midst of a war for freedom. They have made mock of the legend of England. And of the freedoms for which we fought.

"When the 'rebel' Benjamin Franklin was unofficial ambassador to France he wrote the French an essay on economy in which he termed the government of England a very bad risk. In the same sense, my lord, I think you and the government you represent a bad risk. For, my lord, you have crowned the war for freedom, Four Freedoms, if I remember correctly, with a series of tyrannies. And tyrannies, says history, cannot survive the ultimate explosion of those tyrannized.

"My lord, desist. Stop shooting Greeks and Indonesians. And stop killing Hebrews. The Hebrews, my lord, for five thousand years of written history have struggled for freedom. They have struggled for it in many places and have brought the light of freedom to much of the world. That is why they were hated by tyrants from Haman to Hitler. But freedom, my lord, fires in the flames of war and persecution. And I can tell you, from their history, that if you continue your persecution of the Hebrews in Palestine they will find a blood-drenched freedom there.

"I think, in this age there may be a better way of doing things. And I ask you to come to a more sensible way.

"Yours, sir, in the hope of the Peace much talked about but not yet declared or evident."

Lester Cohen

American League for a Free Palestine
25 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I am heartily in accord with your endeavors and enclose herewith the sum of \$—— to help you bring about the early repatriation of the surviving Hebrews of Europe to Palestine and the end of tyranny in Palestine through the mobilization of American public opinion.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

Please make checks payable to Mrs. Louis Untermyer, Treas.
By a ruling of Treasury Dept., Contributions to This Organization
Are Tax Exempt.

(N.)

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation*

- ☐ with *Harpers Magazine* . . . \$6.50
You Save \$2.50
- ☐ with *Consumers Union* . . . \$7.00
You Save \$1.50
- ☐ with *Harpers Magazine*
and *Consumers Union* . . . \$9.00
You Save \$3.50
- ☐ with *Free World* . . . \$7.50
You Save \$1.50
- ☐ with *Saturday Review* . . . \$8.50
You Save \$1.50

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION by itself

- ☐ One Year \$5 ☐ Two Years \$8 ☐ Three Years \$11
☐ Servicemen's Rate \$3 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra



SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy, but you will make a considerable saving in money over the newsstand price.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

2-2-40

The NATION

and both beside a report from the *New Yorker*. (And why not? For that magazine's correspondence in Britain and France has been far more useful than the high-pressure stuff of *Life* and *Time*). But, good value as this book is, the prospective buyer should be warned that it is to be published by Pocket Books at one-twelfth of the present price.

RALPH BATES

VERSE CHRONICLE

THE BURNING-GLASS. By Walter de la Mare. The Viking Press. \$2.50.

THERE are several beautiful poems in "The Burning Glass"; it is a book which will interest and occasionally delight a reader of any generosity or imagination. It will not satisfy his ideas of what poetry should be, unless his ideas are deplorable ones; but how many poems will? It is important for us to realize that many of the values of good poetry are irreconcilable: if some good poems have a tough reasonableness underneath the slight lyric grace—as the Stagirate says—a great many have a tender unreasonableness. In the old days I should have suggested borrowing a few nuclear physicists to persuade us that it is possible and profitable to use one set of hypotheses on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and another set the rest of the week; but today it would be like borrowing the murderer from "Macbeth"—one could not listen for trembling. Academic critics will overrate De la Mare's book because he writes the "right" sort of poetry—that is, romantic and traditional; modernist critics will underrate it because he writes the "wrong" sort. I should say that he sometimes writes poetry that is good of its kind, and that this is the only sort of good poetry there is: there is none that is good of all the kinds, and there is no kind superior to all the rest—though some sort of rough, *caeteris paribus* valuing of the kinds is possible.

De la Mare comes so late in the development of romanticism that though he still believes in the romantic's world he believes in it helplessly and hopelessly, as a long and necessarily, though perhaps not "really," lost cause. For its sweet ghost—a specter that is haunting the industrial and scientific world that has destroyed it—he feels a nostalgic, rapt despair. Restrained by considerations neither of expediency nor of possibility, his romantic doctrines have become extraordinarily characteristic and extravagant: the forlorn hope is always the purest hope. Yet he grieves not so much over what has happened to everybody as over what must necessarily happen to anybody: over Man and the Present and what Is, these terrible crippling actualizations of the Child and the Past and what Might Have Been. This world of potentiality that he loves and needs is the world of the child as it seems to the grown-up. What we are is made bearable for him only by his knowledge that we once were potentially—hence, *were*—everything that we are not; and dreams and myths and tales, everything else that would be except for the fact that it isn't, are a similar consolation. To him the ordinary rational or practical life resembles the mechanical and rationalized routine, the hysterical anaesthesia of the hypnotized subject:

what is real lies above (God, Beauty) or under (dreams, animals, children) or around (ghosts, all the beings of myth or *Märchen*). It is children and animals and the heart ("which with a deeper life doth beat/Than any wherein thought hath part") that participate in reality: the blinkers of reason confine our conscious, systematic knowledge to what is unimportant or irrelevant. Yet De la Mare's Heart not only has its reasons but does a surprising amount of reasoning with them; and its sentences are grammatical and full of semicolons. He does not share the characteristic superstition of much modern opinion: that generalization or "statement" has no place in poetry.

De la Mare's world is neither the best nor the worst but the most enchanted of all possible worlds. If reality is not what we would like it to be, it is nevertheless what we feel it to be: to be is to be *felt*. In the "clear, grave, dark" universe of these poems Falstaff and a ghost are ontologically equal, and both of them are ontologically superior to you, reader, unless you appeal to De la Mare a good deal more than there is any reason to suppose you do. Unfortunately this criterion is a thoroughly accidental one; if De la Mare happened to develop a taste for science a whole new category of reality would suddenly come into being. The images he treats everything in terms of, the choir and furniture of his world, demonstrate beyond question what is Real to him: dreams; intuition; emotions, perceptions—any quality or essence common sympathetically and valued intrinsically; the more appealing universals (Beauty or Truth is real to him, entropy or triangularity isn't); the supernatural—everything from elves and Ariel to those powers or deities with which the natural world is haunted; nature, especially moonlight, the stars, clouds, trees, the pleasanter and better-known animals, flowers, the sea, and such; and children. A child asleep is for De la Mare the archetype of all knowledge: the delicate and secure innocence of the child's face mirrors a knowledge beyond any wisdom, "maps secrets stranger than the seas". In hieroglyphics more austere, And older far than Rameses'." (It is odd that this judgment is never extended to puppies or kittens, which have the same wonderful look.) If we happened to be oviparous, and our children looked like young owls or robins, this idea would hardly have occurred to De la Mare. But such an extension to the universe itself of a principle derived from one contingent, infinitesimal segment of that universe is too common for its recognition to involve much blame.

De la Mare uses delicately and sometimes magically the ordinary vocabulary of the romantic poets ("lorn as curlew's in the hush/Of dewfall. . ."); but he has a feeling for terse, homely, concrete phrasing that is not ordinary, and a surprising Hardyish willingness to use awkward and ineffective abstractions because he spontaneously thinks of a subject in those terms. He uses the most flagrant poetic diction, half for old-fashioned manners and half for love: he seems to share the Collegiate Dictionary's fighting belief that a poem is "a composition in verse, characterized by imagination and poetic diction." Similarly he thinks the gaudiest trappings of Elizabethan tragedy intrinsically valuable, and his fervidly romantic and dramatic speeches in blank verse are interestingly close to those of Kipling's mock-Elizabethan play. (His poems are *about* part of the pre-1941 world, not our own—

NATION READERS

are cordially invited to the
ANNUAL CONFERENCE, I.L.D.
HOTEL COMMODORE, N. Y. City • FEBRUARY 8-9, 1946
Conference Luncheon on

THE ROLE OF LABOR AND PROGRESSIVES IN THE ATOMIC AGE

SATURDAY NOON, FEBRUARY 9, 12:30

Speakers:

M. J. COLDWELL, M. P., President C.C.F. of Canada; STUART CHASE, Economist; JAMES B. CAREY, Secretary, C.I.O.; MARJORIE D. SPIKES, British Educator; CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN, Vice-President, I.L.G.W.U.

TICKETS, \$3.75

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS: Friday evening, "Progressives and the Social Order"; Saturday, 10 A.M.: "Political Action"; Saturday, 8:15 P.M., "Trade Union Policy"; "International Policy," participated in by a distinguished group of 36 experts. Admission to Panel Discussions, 50¢ each.

Write for Program to Harry W. Laidler

League for Industrial Democracy

112 East Nineteenth Street

New York 3, N. Y.

National Urban League Guild's

Sixth Annual Beaux Arts Ball

Savoy Ballroom, Lenox Avenue at 140th Street

FRIDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 8, 1945

Alan Courtney of Station WOR, Master of Ceremonies

Lucky Millinder and His Orchestra

Three **\$50.00** Prizes for Most Original, Most Humorous, Most Unique Costumes

Come in Costume and be judged by

ROMARE BEARDEN MIGUEL COVARRUBIAS
KATHRYN DUNHAM NORA HOLT LOIS TIDDEN

For the Benefit of the National Urban League
(for Social Service Among Negroes)

Advance Subscription \$1.25 (incl. tax) • Tickets at Door \$1.50

Reservations: Phone Miss King, Chelsea 3-1838

You may again buy BOOKS through *The Nation*

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
85th ST.
86th ST.
WEST LEX.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERBIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO

NOW

"Engrossing Melodrama" — N. Y. Times

"Highly Recommended" — N. Y. Herald Tribune

CHARLES

LAUREN

BOYER • BACALL

— In —

'CONFIDENTIAL AGENT'

— With —

KATINA PATINOX • PETER LORRE

Adapted from GRAHAM GREENE'S novel

— And —

'LOVE, HONOR AND GOODBYE'

VIRGINIA BRUCE • EDWARD ASHLEY

"EXCITING FILM"

— N. Y. Times

"A CORKER"

— N. Y. Sun

RENE CLAIR'S

'AND THEN THERE WERE NONE'

AGATHA CHRISTIE'S Masterpiece of Suspense

Starring

Barry Fitzgerald • HUSTON • Louis Hayward

— And —

WALT DISNEY'S

THE WONDERFUL ADVENTURES OF **PINOCCHIO**

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
Kelt's
FLUSHING
Kelt's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL

B. G. DeSylva presents
BETTY HUTTON in
"THE STORK CLUB"

— with —

BARRY FITZGERALD
DON DE FORE

Robert Benchley • Bill Goodwin
Iris Adrian • Mikhail Rasumny
Mary Young

and introducing **ANDY RUSSELL**
Midnight Feature Nightly

In Person
WOODY HERMAN
and his
ORCHESTRA
— featuring —
FRANCES WAYNE

— plus —
DOROTHY KELLER

Extra added attraction
BUDDY LESTER

Don Baker at the Organ

NOW PLAYING **PARAMOUNT**

TIMES SQUARE

MIDWINTER BOOK NUMBER

ISSUE OF FEBRUARY 23

Publishers wishing to utilize the special advantages offered by this feature issue for advertising of better books are urged to make space reservations as soon as possible. Deadlines: for space reservations, February 8; for final OK's or complete plates, February 14. Publisher's advertising rate, \$200 per page. For information, Phone Barclay 7-1066 or write

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

though there is something prescient in their gloom.) When he writes in the grand manner it is with a certain innocence, as children act out an execution; he is genuinely unassuming, a mouse in a corner, and never thinks to tell you, as better but vainer poets do: "Now I am going to be humble."

It is easy to complain that De la Mare writes about unreality; but how can anybody write about unreality? From his children and ghosts, ideal as they are, one learns little about children and nothing about ghosts; but one learns a great deal of the reality of which both are projections, of the wishes and lacks and love that have produced their "unreality." (We read religious poems not to learn about God but to learn about people.) At the very least De la Mare is a perspective of reality, a way of sight, that satisfies the limitations he and his readers share, and that exposes to his readers the limitations that are peculiar to De la Mare—or to themselves. He has made himself a fool for the sake of Faerie, for the sake of everything that is irrational, impractical, and at the same time essential; and because he has persisted in his folly his best poems—limited and extravagant as they are—are full of the personal distinction, the involuntary individuality that are marks of a real poet. But his poetry represents our world only as the flickering shade pattern of leaves upon an arm can represent the arm; the hard hot flesh in the sunlight has nothing to stand for it but vacancy.

RANDALL JARRELL

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents



MAURICE EVANS

In His New Production of Shakespeare's

HAMLET

Columbus Circle Thea. B'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thu. & Sat. 2:30

UP IN CENTRAL PARK

Book by HERBERT Lyrics by Music by
DOROTHY FIELDS DOROTHY FIELDS SIGMUND ROMBERG
BROADWAY THEATRE B'way at 33rd St. Mats.: Sat. & Sun. Eves. Incl. Sun. 2:30 & 8:30

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS!"—Nichols, Times

Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
In JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

(from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account")
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4836
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

Kermit Bloomgarden & George Heller present

DEEP ARE THE ROOTS

A New Play by ARNAUD d'USSEAU and JAMES GOW

Staged by ELIA KAZAN

FULTON THEATRE Forty-sixth Street West of Broadway. Circle 6-6380.
Evenings: 8:40, \$4.20, \$3.60, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Matinees
Wednesday and Saturday, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Tax inclusive.

"A TREMENDOUS EVENING IN THE THEATRE!"—Morehouse, Sun
KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Music by JEROME KERN • Book and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
ZIEGFELD THEA. 64th Street and Sixth Avenue. CI 5-5200
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

IF IT were not for the classics, ancient and modern, this would be in the theater a very dismal season indeed. Last week it was Molière who alone seemed worth talking about, and next week I hope to say something about the admirable revival of "Pygmalion" offered by the recently formed Theater Incorporated. At the present moment, however, I am too full of the Guild's new production of "The Winter's Tale" (Cort Theater) to think of anything else, and I must announce without further ado that I found it one of the most rewarding performances of Shakespeare I have ever had the good fortune to see.

"Hamlets" good, bad, or indifferent come and go. The very best of them are really always something less than adequate in the simple sense that, however excellent they may be in one respect or another, they never completely realize the whole which any competent reader more or less clearly divines in the text itself. "The Winter's Tale," on the other hand, is not a play whose greatness is self-evident. I confess, indeed, that I had never previously known just how to take it, and consequently I never read it through to the end without a certain embarrassment, without a private admission that, for all the justly famous passages, it seemed as a whole an astonishingly feeble performance to come from the pen of the greatest writer the world has ever known. Those responsible for the present production have, miraculously, found just that "way to take it" which eludes most readers, and the result, so far as I am concerned, is one for which "revelation" is the only adequate word.

On the program B. Iden Payne and Romney Brent are credited jointly with the direction. I have no way of knowing who is chiefly responsible for the general conception of the production, but actors and designer alike have been somehow led to achieve a unified style which successfully interprets a highly unusual dramatic intention to an audience completely unprepared by habit or tendency to understand or appreciate anything remotely resembling what Shakespeare has offered them. The superficial aspects of the style are easy enough to describe. Everything from Stuart Chaney's brightly beautiful costumes and graceful conventionalized

settings through the sometimes stately and sometimes prankish performance of a very unusually competent company creates a story-book world to which the criteria employed in everyday life are obviously irrelevant. But what seemed like a similar method was employed in the Helen Hayes production of "Twelfth Night" with no more than merely pleasant results, whereas here the effect is to release from Shakespeare's play a beauty whose very existence I confess I had never more than glimpsed.

Moreover, and despite the often deprecated change in tone and the sixteen-year lapse of time between the two halves of the play, the effect is overwhelmingly cumulative. One begins, as the first scene unfolds, to accept with a willing suspension of disbelief the childlike tale of a king who so unreasonably suspected his impossibly pure and impossibly long-suffering wife; but before one can be aware of what has happened the voluntary credence has become involuntary and one can no

Order by Mail to Get the New,
Hard-Hitting PM Feature

FIGURELLO H. LaGUARDIA

The most provocative new columnist whose weekly articles are as militant and yet as warmly human as his famed radio broadcasts. LaGuardia writes every week for PM SUNDAY EDITION.

Fill out and mail this coupon with check or money order (no cash please) and make sure of mail delivery direct to your door . . . of PM, with the weekly column that is already the talk of the nation.

Extend My Subscription ☐

Enter My Subscription ☐

Name
(Please print)

Street State
(City and Postal Zone)

1 Year

6 Months

Daily and Sunday . . . \$16.00 ☐ Daily and Sunday . . . \$8.25 ☐

Sunday Only \$ 4.90 ☐ Sunday Only \$2.50 ☐

Mail to PM, Box 81, Times Square, New York City. These rates apply only to U. S. A. and Possessions. Subscriptions accepted for mailing only outside of New York City.
(Na-LaG)

longer choose but hear. In all literature there is probably no scene more utterly preposterous by the standards of realism than that concluding one in which the statue of Hermione reveals itself to be not a statue but Hermione herself, emerging at last from sixteen years of hiding in a cottage on the palace grounds. But at least two spectators, I know, watched the revelation and the recognition with breathless interest and wept to find everything turning out so precisely as it should. No spectacle is more touching than the spectacle of happiness, and when this particular journey ends in lovers' meetings the representation of so much joy is almost intolerable, affecting one like the triumphant conclusion of a great symphony whose logic and credibility have their existence in a realm equally far removed from that of everyday life. It is perhaps ungracious to do no more than mention the performances of Romney Brent, Jessie Royce Landis, Florence Reed, Henry Daniell, and the rest, but this is one of those rather rare occasions when it is the whole of which one is most aware.

Critics have not usually been at their best in dealing with the plays of Shakespeare's "last period." What they have said about the "deeper wisdom" and "Godlike serenity" of "Cymbeline" and "The Tempest" and "The Winter's Tale" does not seem to illuminate much a mystery which is, to me at least, still almost completely inexplicable. But it does seem that an age in which few can be found naive enough to suppose that a painting is necessarily damned because it does not literally imitate some object would also be an age in which dramatic critics would not gravely point out, as more than one reviewer of "The Winter's Tale" did, that the jealousy of Leontes is "inadequately motivated." However remote the analogy may be, the seeming childishness of "The Winter's Tale" bears no more relation to actual childishness than a painting by Matisse bears to a child's sketch involving similar simplifications as well as similar distortions, and to say that the incident of the statue coming to life is improbable is to be as acute as one would be to object that a chair by Matisse is out of perspective. Shakespeare sets himself to consider certain realities called "jealousy," "faithfulness," "young love," and the like. He makes of them a dramatic arrangement very much as a painter makes an arrangement of objects, and I confess that I have very little idea how he does

it. But the effect is overwhelmingly beautiful, and the fact that he did not bother to motivate Leontes's jealousy or to make the reappearance of Hermione probable detracts in no way whatever from the final effect.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

ANOTHER important event which evening of ballet put on by the National Orchestral Association in association with the School of American Ballet. The program consisted chiefly of new works created for the occasion by Balanchine—created for only this one performance of students, but by the same process as the works for professional companies, by the exercise of nothing less than the full measure of Balanchine's great powers, their interaction with the particular music, their operation through the particular capacities of the dancers, with results which, like other works of Balanchine, were astoundingly and excitingly new and beautiful. One of them, to Mozart's Sinfonie Concertante K. 364, provided a striking illustration of something that I pointed out last fall—that in Balanchine's ballets, as in Mozart's concertos, the mind, the language and style, the formula are always the same, but the completed forms are constantly new. Over and over again Balanchine has used the formula of the *Adagio* of ballerina supported by male dancer, and achieved each time something newly and wonderfully imagined; and here, with the slow movement of the Sinfonie Concertante, was still another such *Adagio*, different again and wonderful. And on the other hand, to an *Elegy* of Stravinsky Balanchine created an extraordinary duet—a powerful slow intertwining of two dancers in a "modern" style that I could not recall his having used before—which was, in effect, his way of saying to the "modern" dancers: "I can do it better than you."

Again there was occasion for me to admire Leon Barzin's competence as a conductor and excellence as a musician, and to reflect sadly on the situation in which they continue to be used in the training of players for positions in great orchestras that are conducted by his inferiors.

I didn't see the 1927 production of "Show Boat"; but I have been hearing its great songs ever since; and their

appearance in incredible succession provided much of the pleasure I got from the new production. They were excellently sung too by Carol Bruce (Julie), Charles Fredericks (Ravenal), and Kenneth Spencer (Joe), but not by Jan Clayton (Magnolia), whose thin, sharp, tremulous soprano was not agreeable to listen to, and whose appearance and acting were uncomfortable to watch. Other things I enjoyed were Buddy Ebsen's comic drolleries, the period stage-dances devised by Tamiris for the white dancers of the cast, the settings by Howard Bay, costumes of Lucinda Ballard, and staging of the work by Hassard Short. And other things that made me uncomfortable were the arty dances of the Negro dancers of the cast, including the excessively coy Pearl Primus; and almost everything—characters, story, humor—contributed by the book.

A reader informs me that he did listen to the forum and quiz during the intermissions of the broadcast of "Rigoletto," and that I would have been surprised if I had listened. "Not that you would have found that the discussion of the subject of opera in English said anything or got anywhere. What would have surprised you was the viciousness that clothed itself in the observances of surface politeness. The participants complimented and deferred to each other as they tried to catch each other in mistakes, to show each other up, to press a knife into each other's ribs. They did the same thing in the quiz, which may have been frolicsome when you heard it, but was a nasty performance this time." Possibly I would have been surprised by all this; certainly I would have wondered that it should be considered relevant to a performance of "Rigoletto."

From the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe announcement of its coming New York season I learn with joy that "Le Baiser de la fée" is to be restored to the repertory. This is one of the great dramatic ballets that Balanchine produced a number of years ago, filled with the fascinating strokes of imagination that someone once referred to as "fantaisie Balanchine." I am still hoping to see the others again: "Concurrence," "Cotillon," "The Prodigal Son," "The Ball."

There will also be a new work by Balanchine—"Night Shadow." And a praiseworthy artistic gesture is the production of one of the three-act classical works that Petitpas created for the imperial Russian stage—"Raymonda," which will be recreated in its original style by Balanchine and Danilova, both of whom appeared in it in Russia.

Letters to the Editors

Straus: Corroboration

Dear Sirs: Lest some readers be skeptical of Mr. Straus's article in *The Nation* of January 5, may I, as a member of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, add a few corroborating comments on These Men Block Housing. In a bulletin issued May 15, 1945, by the Columbus, Ohio, Real Estate Board, after a long and practically successful campaign against public housing for slum clearance and a successful campaign against government war housing, this statement was printed: "John and Willard made a trip to Washington, where they were given assurance that no defense-housing project would be built in Columbus unless it was evident that private enterprise could not cope with the emergency, and then only after consultation with officials of your board." Columbus had a housing shortage then—war industries called for housing. However, thanks to this restrictive activity, our shortage increased to such a degree that it now calls for comprehensive federal treatment along the lines Mr. Straus suggests.

Mr. Straus puts his finger on the chicanery going on around housing at the national level when he points out that few G. I.'s can buy or afford \$10,000 homes. The great demand, the great need, in Columbus as elsewhere in the nation is for homes renting up to \$35 or \$40 a month, and homes for sale at \$3,000 to \$6,000. Setting \$10,000 as the ceiling means simply the continuation, and the extension, with government approval, of the "trickle-down home-building system."

With reference to the powerful lobby of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, perhaps your readers will be surprised to learn that membership in this organization is no longer limited to the real-estate field. For the last several years the membership doors have been thrown wide open to all comers; filling-station operators, chain-store operators, automobile dealers, tire dealers, newspapers, printers, real-estate speculators, owners of large property holdings, savings and loan institutions, banks, and what have you, now compose the group.

I feel that private enterprise in Columbus can, if it will, provide housing at the \$50 a month level. Private building here levels off at around a \$30-monthly (shelter) rent. It cannot

and it does not supply housing at lower levels. Here, as Mr. Straus states, the answer indisputably is public housing.

Finally, not one urban redevelopment scheme, federal or state, has the important price-limit safeguard suggested by Mr. Straus. Unless this type of legislation is to become a speculator's dream, the land-price limitation and other equally important safeguards must be included. It is sincerely to be hoped that his suggestion in this direction is accepted by Congress.

HENRY E. WORLEY

Columbus, Ohio, January 24

Straus: a Challenge

Dear Sirs: Nathan Straus's article entitled These Men Block Housing was excellent in many respects. My basic criticism of the article is that while the Congressional attitudes portrayed were absolutely accurate in 1939 and 1940, I doubt very much if they are fully correct today. Mr. Straus's specific recommendations are a challenge to those who are attempting to think through a national housing program at this time. No one could disagree with his objectives, no matter how difficult they would be of accomplishment.

LEE F. JOHNSON,

Executive Vice-President,

National Public Housing Conference
Washington, January 12

Straus: a Genuine Service

Dear Sirs: I read with a great deal of interest the article by Nathan Straus, former USHA Administrator, in the January 5 issue of *The Nation*. I believe that Mr. Straus, while undoubtedly perfectly sincere, sees certain shadows in the dark which have been magnified in this article. It is and always has been my personal belief that there is no basic conflict between public housing and private enterprise. Mr. Straus in his article not only indicates that there is such a conflict but actually proposes a very definite entrance into the field normally belonging to private endeavor by the public-housing authorities.

It has been my observation that the barrage issued by the private building interests against public housers is primarily the propaganda of the "high command" only, the lobbies of the N. H. B. A. and the N. A. R. E. B. It

is my feeling, after discussing the matter with numerous people in real estate and the home-building trades, that they echo the statements of the powerful lobby without rationalizing the statements or subscribing to the points of view expressed. When you sit down to talk with them in a friendly rational fashion you find that they are usually in general agreement with the aims of public housing, and they frequently end up by indicating their support and assistance.

I think Mr. Straus has done a genuine service in presenting the situation as vigorously as he has. However, the figures quoted on the number of dwellings needed in the various rental ranges are, I believe, open to question. Administrator Blandford and Commissioner Klutznick have indicated the present need as totaling 5,000,000 houses with 12,600,000 units in the next decade. Mr. Straus's statement, too, that *only* public housing can provide healthful, livable homes within the means of people able to pay from \$20 to \$50 a month in rent is, I believe, not altogether accurate. The public-housing program today is geared to provide accommodations for \$10 to \$30 per month or at the most \$20 to \$40. People able to pay above \$40 are very definitely within the field of private enterprise.

Mr. Straus's proposal for a Congressional appropriation of \$200,000,000 for grants to communities for the purchase of housing sites is an interesting one and deserves considerable study.

In closing I feel that, despite my lack of total agreement with Mr. Straus's statement, he has performed a genuine service in focusing attention on two vital phases of the present housing crisis—the matter of the clearance of slums and the provision of veterans' housing. For these, I believe he is entitled to our gratitude.

FREDERIC A. FAY,

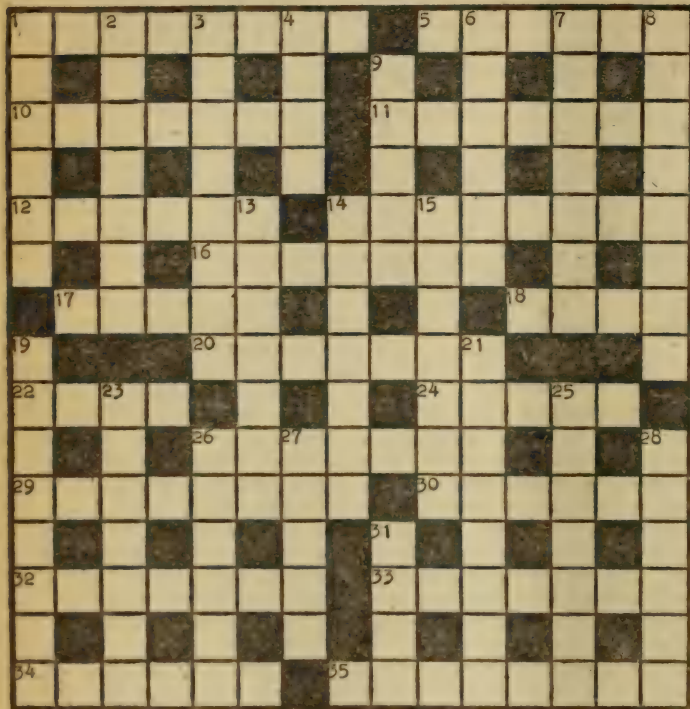
Ass't Executive Director, Housing
Authority of the City of Portsmouth
Portsmouth, Va., January 16

Your Help Is Needed

Dear Sirs: In the December 22 issue of *The Nation*, I notice that you have listed organizations which are collecting clothing to send to various parts of the world for war victims. This is, it seems to me, a splendid way of indi-

Crossword Puzzle No. 146

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Mirth-provokers with a light touch
- 5 If you wish to wound these Celts, call them this
- 10 Lora, somewhat deranged, embraces a pal in an Italian seaport
- 11 Evidently not the hero in Goldsmith's *The Good-natured Man*
- 12 This Egyptian peasant sounds like a regular guy
- 14 Suave as Uriah Heep
- 16 The Mississippi or the Amazon, perhaps, in their very early youth
- 17 Elusive when uncollared
- 18 Eyesore that is better curtailed
- 20 An omission from this bit of harness would be one way to cause trouble
- 22 What Julius Caesar said when Brutus stabbed him?
- 24 Looks like the devil, doesn't it?
- 26 "Hark! to the hurried question of -----: 'Where is my child?' An echo answers, 'Where?'"
- 29 The whole crowd, not excluding Kit
- 30 Unwilling to contribute anything to poetry
- 32 May hold you up on the highway
- 33 Praps in the kitchen garden
- 34 A musician I boost
- 35 English king—the Unready one

DOWN

- 1 A commendable virtue—in an ancestor
- 2 No friend of Montague, in the Shakespearean tragedy
- 3 These followers of Wycliffe seem to have been all lords

- 4 Such unrestrained indulgence is nonsense when I am out of it
- 6 You can't see much more of these Yugoslavians than their jackets
- 7 Delete (two words, 4 & 8)
- 8 An ass among the hares
- 9 You should be able to get this small cake in this Scots town
- 13 Got a move on
- 14 Strip of clothing
- 15 Heroine and title of a wartime film paid thus
- 19 A pretty conceit
- 21 It would be contrary if a poet were
- 23 Don Q.'s Rozinante was a sorry specimen of one
- 25 Would he want to hold an inquest on every bridge hand?
- 26 "Our ----- are traitors, And make us lose the good we oft might win By fearing to attempt"
- 27 Innuendoes
- 28 Heed Pa (anag.)
- 31 "Out, damned ---- I out, I say"

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 145

ACROSS:—1 SHRAPNEL; 5 NEWTON; 10 DUELIST; 11 LOITERS; 12 ETUI; 13 CRASH; 16 LOVE; 17 CATSPAW; 19 ENDOR; 20 PEG-LEG; 22 VANILLA; 23 EMBLEM; 25 EVICT; 27 RED NOSE; 31 MILL; 32 LISTS; 33 ONCE; 36 NUTURE; 37 ORIGINS; 38 SINGLE; 39 HEAR! HEAR!

DOWN:—1 SYDNEY; 2 RAEBURN; 3 PHIZ; 4 EXTORT; 6 EREN; 7 TREFOIL; 8 NEST-EGGS; 9 CLASP; 13 CARAMEL; 14 ASSIGNS; 16 HAPPENS; 17 COVER; 18 WEAVE; 21 TERMINUS; 24 BULL RUN; 26 CANDIDE; 28 DIVED; 29 OTIOSE; 30 GEYSER; 34 GULL; 35 LIAR.

cating to your readers something concrete that every individual can do to help.

I was disappointed, however, to see that the Unitarian Service Committee was not among the organizations listed. For over a year now we have been conducting a vigorous campaign for used clothing. Nearly every month, and sometimes twice a month, shipments of clothing are leaving New York. Most of the clothing has gone to France, but some of it has been sent to Czechoslovakia and Holland as well. Just now we are preparing shipments for Austria and Hungary, and all contributions are welcome. HOWARD L. BROOKS
Boston, Mass., December 27

[*The Nation* regrets that the Unitarian Service Committee was omitted from the pre-Christmas list, and heartily indorses its appeal.]

Brady Did It

Dear Sirs: In his column of January 12 Joseph Wood Krutch was juggling with theatrical history in crediting the Theater Guild with the production of Elmer Rice's play, "Street Scene." I am sure the record will show that it was produced by William A. Brady.

JACOB WILK

New York, January 15

Look It Up!

Dear Sirs: Our newspapers are full of talk these days about decentralization of our cities. Apart from any consideration of the atom bomb, it seems to me this is desirable, and I am moved to call the attention of your readers to a book published thirty-five years ago, "Road-town," by Edgar Chambless.

The author's plan was to build what might be described as a skyscraper laid on its side and extending 1,000 miles or so, with a noiseless road and promenade on top and a noiseless railroad underground beneath the structure. There would be a large number of individual homes as in a city block, and there would be unlimited country when you stepped outside your door. Heat, light, hot and cold water, and telephone would be obtained by pressing a button.

The idea was far ahead of its time, and now might be the occasion to revive it. At the time I called it the most constructive city-planning idea ever published, and that opinion still stands. Look it up!

UPTON SINCLAIR

Monrovia, Cal., January 15

A Request for
The Suspension
of
ARGENTINA
from
The United Nations

Memorandum Submitted to
The General Assembly of The United Nations by
The Nation Associates

Reprinted as a Special Section of

THE *Nation*

FEBRUARY 2, 1946

IN TWO PARTS: PART TWO

THE outside world has had little official news from Argentina since June 4, 1943, when a band of army officers headed by Edelmiro Farrell and Juan Perón overthrew the legal government and seized power by armed force. But American newspapermen in Buenos Aires have succeeded, despite intermittent censorship and covert and open threats of reprisals, in giving the people of the United States a fairly comprehensive picture of the Nazi-fascist regime that rules Argentina. Together with statements made by our own government, their first-hand observations constitute a damning indictment of an Axis satellite that has violated every pledge made when it signed the Chapultepec Agreement and was admitted to the United Nations Organization. On the basis of these reports The Nation Associates has compiled the memorandum which follows. It has been submitted to Paul Henri Spaak, president of the United Nations Assembly now meeting in London, and to the leading delegations. Copies have also been sent to the President of the United States and to the State Department.

A PROPOSAL FOR ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS

ON MARCH 27, 1945, the Farrell-Perón regime of Argentina declared war on Japan and Germany. On April 4, 1945, it signed the Act of Chapultepec incorporating the agreements of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace.

Thus it fulfilled two conditions precedent to its admission to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco.

The first condition was laid down by the inviting powers; the second by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, which met early in March in Mexico.

On April 30, 1945, acting on the initiative of the American delegation and backed unanimously by the Latin American republics, the San Francisco conference voted to seat Argentina.

On September 8, 1945, the Farrell-Perón regime formally ratified the United Nations Charter.

On October 24, 1945, the United Nations Organization came into formal existence after fifty-one member nations had signed and filed their ratifications.

The first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is now in progress in London. Its purpose is to establish the machinery, and initiate the acts through which the principles of the United Nations Charter may be implemented.

Article I of the charter provides that the initial function of the United Nations "is to maintain international peace and security."

In the interests of international peace and security, we propose that the General Assembly initiate action to suspend Argentina from membership in the United Nations Organization.

This action is proposed on the score that:

1. The present regime in Argentina is a totalitarian government which has persistently and deliberately violated all obligations assumed under the United Nations Charter and the Chapultepec Agreement.

2. That its purpose is aggression.

When the representatives of the Perón-Farrell regime were admitted to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in April, 1945, no one was under any illusion about the character of the regime. It was known to be a military dictatorship, totalitarian in form and method. It was known that many Axis agents and much Axis wealth were finding a haven in Argentina.

The military dictatorship which Colonel Perón controls made its first bid for power when the government of President Castillo was overthrown by a military coup in June, 1943.

In February, 1944, one month after the government of General Ramirez had announced a break of relations with Germany and Japan in accordance with the Rio de Janeiro agreement of 1942, power was seized by General Edelmiro

J. Farrell and Colonel Juan D. Perón. According to a Bulletin of the United States State Department issued on July 26, 1944, extremist pro-Axis elements forced the change in government. The Farrell-Perón regime refused to implement the break with the Axis. Instead, Axis agents and spies arrested by the Ramirez regime were released, and affirmative assistance was given to Axis business concerns both through large government contracts and through the requisitioning of materials from firms friendly to the democratic cause.

Pro-Axis newspapers enjoyed official support and assistance in obtaining newsprint, and carried on a bitter propaganda campaign against the United Nations and for the Axis.

These charges are made officially by the State Department of the United States. As a result of Argentina's acts the United States and all Latin American republics withdrew diplomatic recognition from the Farrell-Perón regime in 1944.

On January 11, 1945, another State Department Bulletin declared:

Argentina is being used as a base for intensive Axis subversive activities directed against the American continent and the United Nations. . . . Axis diplomatic officials were flagrantly abusing the principles between civilized nations. . . . These diplomats had organized and were directing, financing, and coordinating the activities of different groups or cells of agents, and it was also shown that diplomatic channels were being used for the transmission of information to the High Command in Berlin.

Although Argentina was not present at the Chapultepec conference, every effort was made to secure its subsequent agreement to the proposals accepted there. When, on March 27, Argentina finally grudgingly declared war, it was notable that the declaration was made first against Japan, and second against Nazi Germany, on the ground that Germany was an ally of Japan.

When, on April 4, the Farrell-Perón regime signed the Chapultepec Agreement it was hoped that at long last hemispheric solidarity might be achieved. On the basis of this hope, and in the belief that in exchange for membership in the victorious United Nations the Argentine government would adhere to its pledge, the United States delegation at San Francisco took the initiative in urging and obtaining the admission of Argentina to the United Nations on April 30, 1945.

Nine months have now passed since the San Francisco conference. During this period Germany has been defeated in Europe and Japan in the Far East. During this period, too, the Farrell-Perón regime has become an outright totalitarian government, fashioned in the image of Nazi Germany with Perón the undisputed dictator. Deliberately and brazenly it has violated the Agreement of Chapultepec and the United Nations Charter.

The entire country is being mobilized for war; more than

50 per cent of the national budget has been allocated to military purposes.

Children of both sexes, from the age of twelve on, are subject to military training.

Civil liberties have been suppressed.

Education has been regimented.

The democratic press has been intimidated or destroyed.

Freedom of labor has been destroyed, and important labor unions have been converted into puppet organizations.

More recently the Perón regime, adopting the scapegoat strategy of the Nazis, has made anti-Semitism an integral part of its program.

A police Gestapo under the direction of Perón and his satellites now supplements the army. The concentration camp

and the torture chamber have become everyday instruments of internal control.

While the population of Argentina is suffering cruel oppression and the denial of fundamental freedoms, important Nazi agents continue to find protection, and Axis business and Axis schools flourish.

Following the pattern of his Nazi masters, Perón is now planning to obtain so-called "legal" sanction for his totalitarian rule by a presidential election scheduled to be held on February 24, 1946. The outcome of this election can be forecast today. The democratic parties are making a courageous and united stand against Perón's candidacy, but the government controls the police, the military, and the electoral machinery.

THE NAZI-FASCIST PATTERN

AT NUERNBERG an Allied tribunal is conducting the trial as war criminals of leaders of the Nazi Party and their military satellites. The principal charges against them are crimes against humanity and crimes against the peace. The indictment presented by Presiding Judge Robert H. Jackson emphasizes that the first act of the Nazi Party was to acquire totalitarian control of Germany in order to carry out its objectives.

In the following pages we present evidence of the extent to which the Perón regime, patterning its acts after the Nazi model, has already gone in its preparations for war and in the furtherance of its totalitarian aims.

Preparations for War

The philosophical basis for the war policy of the Perón government was set forth in June, 1944, by Colonel Perón himself in a speech at La Plata University, in which he stated that "war is an inevitable social phenomenon," and that "all other activities must be subordinated to the purpose of national defense—not simply by the armed forces of the nation, but through the subordination of all government departments, private institutions, and the entire people." He continued:

Throughout the ages there have lived philosophers—and I will not hesitate to call them Utopians—who have stated that it is possible to avoid war. Always within a short space of time some new conflagration has broken out to disprove this theory. . . .

The concept of "the nation in arms" or "total war" which was expounded by Marshal von der Goltz in 1883 is in a certain sense the most modern theory of national defense by which nations direct in time of peace as in time of war every living force within the state in order to attain a political objective. . . .

It is essential that all the intellectuals of our nation, whatever may be their particular field, should study and understand war, realizing it to be the only means of solving a situation we may be called upon to face, should God one day decide that war must reach the borders of our country. . . .

If diplomacy is unable to procure the desired political

objectives, then it is imperative to be prepared to do so by force, whenever the situation compels the use of such extreme methods. . . .

He then summarized as follows the points he had made:

1. War is an inevitable social phenomenon.
2. All so-called peaceful nations, and among them our own, if they desire peace must prepare themselves for war.
3. The problem of national defense of the Fatherland is one to which all activities must be subordinated. National defense cannot be improvised at the moment that war is at our door, but requires many years of constant and conscientious preparation. It cannot be regarded as a problem for the armed forces only, but must be established through the harmonious integrated work of the different government agencies, private institutions, and all the people of Argentina, whatever may be their particular sphere of work. National defense gives rise to such enormous problems requiring profound professional knowledge that no single person can be absolved from taking part. Finally, whatever demands it may make on us represent contributions to the glory of our nation and the happiness of our people.

In line with this position, on November 17, 1944, a new organic Law of the Army was announced compelling all Argentine citizens to prepare for the defense of their country. While conscription for active military duty applies only to males, girls and women are to be prepared for service in the army in various women's auxiliary corps. Military training for men falls into three periods—pre-conscription, conscription, and post-conscription. Pre-conscription begins at the age of twelve and continues until the age of twenty, when conscription starts for a maximum of two years. Upon their discharge all males are subject to post-conscription until the age of fifty.

During the year 1945 the military budget of the Argentine government was five times as great as that of 1942, the year before the Perón-Farrell revolution. As the declaration of war against the Axis in April, 1945, a month before the cessation of hostilities in Europe, was purely symbolical, no legitimate justification for this huge increase in military expenditures can be offered. For the year 1946, presumably a

year of peace, the Perón regime has passed appropriations for military expenditures approximating 50 per cent of its entire budget. This at a time when the national deficit is mounting and many other department budgets have been cut, notably the National Board of Education.

As a supplementary arm, a nation-wide secret service and police force of over 30,000 has been established in the past year, with functions parallel to those of the Gestapo and Storm Troops in Nazi Germany.

The neighboring republics of Chili and Uruguay live in constant fear of acts of aggression. Paraguay and Bolivia are already under the domination of Argentina.

"The size of the standing army has been increased, and military construction along Argentina's frontiers with Chili, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay is greater than ever before. New barracks have been built in frontier areas, most of them by German companies which were on the Allied black list because of Nazi connections," according to Joseph Newman in the *New York Herald Tribune* of January 10, 1946.

On January 29, 1945, Gabriel Gonzalez, Chilean ambassador to Brazil, charged the Perón regime with having as its principal objective a war on the continent and warned that Chili would be its first victim.

In October of 1945, Dr. Juan Antonio Rios, President of Chili, during a visit to New York, corroborated the fears of the threat against Chili.

The government of the United States is presumed to have in its possession information concerning shipments of arms by the Perón regime into neighboring republics to "provoke revolutions" for the establishment of regimes favorable to the present Argentine government.

Indicating knowledge of the aggressive intentions of the Perón regime, Dean Acheson, as Acting Secretary of State of the United States, on October 4, 1945, announced: "In view of recent developments in Argentina, the United States government does not feel that it can properly negotiate or sign with the present Argentine regime a treaty of military assistance."

That this is still the attitude of the United States government was confirmed by Acting Secretary of State Acheson in a public statement on January 11, 1946.

The Totalitarian Character of the Regime and Its Methods of Terror

As far back as July 26, 1944, the State Department of the United States publicly characterized the Farrell-Perón regime as totalitarian. In a Bulletin issued that day the State Department declared:

The dominant power in Argentina was and continues to be in the hands of pro-Axis elements determined to impose their desires. Furthermore, it is significant that these same elements control the most important ministries and agencies of the national government, as well as the governments of the provinces, and have rapidly and energetically implanted a dominant totalitarian system that fully complements and supports their pro-Axis foreign policy through control of the press, the courts, and other key institutions. The basic civil rights have been either nulli-

fied or so modified as to have no real meaning. Every effort was made to stamp out democratic opposition to the government's totalitarian program.

The seizure of power by Perón on October 18, 1945, served only to advance the development of the totalitarian system in Argentina. How a program of repression and intimidation has been carried out in torture chambers by methods borrowed from the Nazis and applied by a Gestapo, trained by leading operatives of Himmler, was described by John White, one of the most informed writers on Latin America, in an article appearing in *The Nation* of March 3, 1945.

Declaring that the Gestapo's barbaric use of torture had been transplanted to the Western Hemisphere, Mr. White charged that soon after the Farrell-Perón regime came to power, Gestapo agents from Germany expanded a city detective bureau in Buenos Aires into a great national organization specializing in persecution and torture. "This organization," he said, "has set up concentration camps for political prisoners similar to those in Nazi Germany, tortured thousands of victims guilty of nothing more serious than belonging to labor unions or democratic political parties, killed or caused the death of hundreds of people bearing Jewish, Polish, or Russian names, and caused the disappearance of other hundreds."

In describing the techniques used, he said that diplomatic agents of United Nations governments had sent information corroborating the use of these techniques to their home governments:

The "electric spur" is the favorite instrument of the new school of native sadists who have been trained by Gestapo experts. It is a simple electric cable with several fine steel needles at the end. These electric needles are applied to the most sensitive parts of the naked body, such as the eyelids, the sexual organs, and the rectum. The torture usually is applied at two or more parts of the body simultaneously and has such terrific effect on the entire nervous system that it frequently produces insanity. In less extreme cases it paralyzes the muscles and causes great painful swellings and deep sores. It is persistently reported that at least five thousand people in Argentina have been tortured with the electric spur.

A simpler but equally effective method is to jab long hatpins through the testicles. Another frequent "treatment" subjects political prisoners, women as well as men, to a third degree in which their naked bodies are burned with lighted cigarettes in an effort to force them to answer questions the way the police want them answered.

The "cup" is a device in the form of a funnel which is pressed against the body and from which the air is then pumped out. The resulting vacuum causes a huge swelling inside the cup and draws the blood to the surface, leaving a large black-and-blue sore. This device is used on prisoners known to be suffering from heart ailments. When applied in the region of the heart it aggravates the affection and often causes death from "heart failure."

The "bucket" is a huge vat filled with urine and excrement. The prisoner who is given this "treatment" is hung by his feet from the ceiling and then lowered until his head is submerged in the contents of the vat. This particular technique has the attraction of producing two forms of torture at the same time—semi-drowning in filth, and

congestion of the brain from the downward flow of the blood.

One form of torture makes use of a familiar office appliance. In many European and South American countries letters, contracts, and other business documents are written in copying ink and preserved in duplicate by being put between the pages of a "copybook" which is then squeezed between iron plates. The Argentine political police have found this office press a convenient method of smashing the fingers of prisoners who refuse to sign certain declarations.

The "slab" is a torture machine made of two huge sheets of steel. The victim is placed between the sheets, which are pressed together gradually until he suffers internal hemorrhages and vomits blood.

The "whip" and the "rod" have been seen in the movies. The long leather whip is usually dipped in water before the lashes are applied; the rod is made of fine steel bars that cut into the flesh like knives.

Professional boxers are employed to beat up certain prisoners since they know how to produce the desired effect without leaving telltale wounds.

One highly refined form of mental torture drives the prisoner almost to the point of insanity without actually causing any physical hurt. The victim usually is awakened at two or three o'clock in the morning and told that he is to be executed by a firing squad. He is then "taken for a ride" in an automobile, accompanied by two or three guards armed with rifles and obviously members of the firing squad. Finally he is stood against a wall and the firing squad is lined up, but at the last minute he is reprieved and taken back to his cell. . . .

Sometimes as a variation a prisoner who is to be released is "taken for a ride" in an automobile, accompanied by armed guards. When the automobile gets to a deserted region outside the city, the prisoner is told that he is at liberty. Being familiar with the famous *ley de fuga* by which prisoners are shot while supposedly trying to escape, he stands there afraid to move and under mental torture that may induce insanity.

La razzia is an importation from the Sicilian Black Hand societies and is used for intimidating the opposition, especially the working classes. Gangs of armed thugs terrorize entire neighborhoods by breaking into and wrecking houses and by storming meetings of associations and trade unions, beating up those present and destroying the furniture and fixtures on the pretext that the meeting is plotting against the government. Schools, libraries, and newspaper offices have been raided frequently, and on two occasions movie theaters in Buenos Aires were stormed while crowded with people.

Even when they are not tortured, political prisoners are demoralized and intimidated by being subjected to what is popularly known as *el mal trato*. Women of the working class, especially wives and daughters who have refused to testify against their husbands and fathers, are put into cells with prostitutes and women criminals. They are not permitted visits from their families or from a lawyer; nor can they receive decent food from outside the jail.

The *mal trato* is applied to men prisoners in even worse form. If they are ill they usually are sent to regions where it is certain that their illness will get worse. They are given very poor food or deprived for entire days of anything to eat or drink. They receive no medical attention and may be put into cells with criminals of the lowest order.

So many lawyers have been punished for defending political prisoners in Argentina that it is practically impossible now for prisoners to find lawyers, except the ones who occasionally are assigned as "defense lawyers" by the government.

Suppression of Civil Liberties

In the agreements reached at Chapultepec the American states:

1. *Reiterate and fervently adhere to the democratic principles which they consider essential for the peace of America.*
2. *Declare that "the purpose of the state is the happiness of man in society; the interests of the community should be harmonized with the rights of the individual; the American man cannot conceive of living without justice just as he cannot conceive of living without liberty."*
3. *Proclaim "the adherence of the American republics to the principles established by international law for safeguarding the essential rights of man and declare their support of a system of international protection of these rights."*

In possession of the military and backed by a police Gestapo and a civilian army of bureaucrats, the Perón regime since its admission to the United Nations Conference has proceeded systematically to destroy the rights of its own citizens, in defiance of elementary principles of human decency and in violation of its commitments under the Chapultepec Agreement and the United Nations Charter.

On May 3, 1945, the police deliberately charged and opened fire on unarmed citizens celebrating the fall of Berlin.

On August 15 similar assaults were committed by the police on persons celebrating the Japanese surrender.

On August 16 crowds of soldiers commanded by non-commissioned officers terrorized the center of the city, killed two citizens, and wounded many others. They laid siege to the building of the pro-democratic paper *Crítica*, which they attempted to set on fire. Cheering Hitler, Mussolini, and Perón and shouting "Death to the Jews," soldiers were permitted to commit their outrages without any interference from the police. Dr. Alberto M. Candiotti, former Argentine ambassador to Mexico, says that the rioting soldiers told him they were obeying "superior orders."

On August 18 Colonel Perón announced that civil war was the only solution to the situation existing in the Argentine. In an interview with Dr. Pedro Cue, director of the Cuban daily *El Mundo*, Perón declared: "I do not fear civil war because I am prepared for it. I have at my disposal 300,000 soldiers and 4,000,000 workers armed with clubs."

On September 27, 1945, there were wholesale arrests of prominent citizens guilty only of signing declarations in favor of freedom. Among them were editors of liberal papers, political leaders opposed to the Perón regime, and ordinary citizens who had expressed a belief in democracy. Perón himself went to the Buenos Aires jail to look over the prisoners. Included among those arrested were three of the six rectors of Argentina's national universities.

On October 7 the police charged a crowd near a cemetery paying homage to a nineteen-year-old student killed in a clash between university students and supporters of Perón. In a wholesale lockup 1,594 students were arrested, including

149 girls. The University of Buenos Aires was closed, its president and executive officers dismissed. Six professors were also taken into custody.

On October 21, 1945, Arnaldo Cortesi, writing in the *New York Times*, declared:

Argentina again is witnessing the shameful spectacle of citizens being obliged to find protection against their own government in foreign embassies. The Peruvian embassy, for instance, has taken in several persons, including former Federal Judge Ramón S. Vasquez who filed a complaint in court against the police for having tortured political prisoners. In the Uruguayan embassy, along with others, are former Foreign Minister José María Cantilo and the family of Rear Admiral Leonardo MacLean. . . . Several newspapers were attacked in various parts of Argentina, as were also some private homes, such as that of Dr. Alfredo Calcagno, rector of La Plata University. In some industrial districts of Avellaneda anyone who appeared in the streets wearing a tie was subject to assault. In Cordoba the offices of the Argentine North American Cultural Institute were stoned while police looked on without interfering.

On December 9 a mass-meeting of the Democratic Union (a coalition of four political parties, including the Radicals, Socialists, and Communists) comprising between 150,000 and 200,000 persons assembled to hear speakers urge the defeat of Perón in the presidential election. It was fired upon; and two persons were killed and sixty seriously injured. The shooting, according to the *New York Herald Tribune* of that date, was supposedly intended to stampede the throng and break up the meeting.

On December 19 Norah Pines reported in the *New York Post*:

Supporters of Colonel Perón were urged to release a wave of terrorism to insure his election, and if he lost to put the country on fire, in a speech by Dr. Federico Cantoni, political boss of San Juan Province and one of Perón's top advisers. Dr. Cantoni threatened that should Perón lose the elections, "we will paralyze the country with one strike after another as long as it is necessary to impose our will."

The extent to which the elementary rights of man have been subverted in the Argentine was described by Spruille Braden on August 29 in his farewell speech in Buenos Aires prior to his return to the United States. He declared:

One by one there appear all the elements used by fascism in its stupid stratagems since the day of the so-called March on Rome. Subversion and disorder organized by the government itself and using paid assassins under an honorable disguise, utilization of coercion by the state not to suppress but to protect subversion, bragging by the coward who attacks those he believes fallen but who humbles himself before the powerful, calculated and underhanded use of violent methods, cunning maneuvering showing false respect for established norms and launching an attack while hiding its origin, violation of the law of hospitality which forbids any treacherous attack on him who is sheltered under the same roof, practice of the so-called "tactics of confusion," . . . use of intimidation and threats against the precise persons whom that government was under obligation to protect and respect. . . .

On October 27, after his appointment as Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American affairs, Mr. Braden said: "The Argentine regime is just as fascist as any which existed in Germany and Japan." And the following day, he amplified that statement by declaring:

The state of siege recently imposed on Argentina by Perón is the negation of that very Bill of Rights for the preservation of which we have fought this and other wars. In more concrete terms, a state of siege permits swaggering officers to beat any peaceful citizen because he refuses to hail the leader. It permits a hoodlum with brass knuckles to strike the face of a young girl because she cries "Long live democracy!" It permits arrests without charge; it permits saber-wielding mounted police to ride down men, women, and children.

In the city of Buenos Aires the normal police force of 8,000 to 9,000 has been increased to more than 30,000, and according to Police Commissioner Velasco, the men "would rather charge a crowd than eat." Campo de Mayo, once Argentina's most powerful garrison, with a peak force of 27,000 men, has been reduced to a complement of 6,000 or less, and the security authority has been turned over to Velasco. This is attested by a report in the *Inter-American* of January, 1946.

Another army of supporters of the Perón regime is found in the civil-service bureaucracy, which in the three years since the dictatorship was established has been increased from 172,000 to 250,000. This means that more and more persons are dependent for their livelihood on those who control the state. The increase in civil-service employees has been matched by wholesale dismissals of government employees who do not sympathize with Colonel Perón's methods, according to a report in the *New York Herald Tribune* of December 29, 1945.

Regimentation of Education

The signatories to the Chapultepec Act agreed:

1. To recommend to the governments of the American republics the most careful deletion from the official textbooks used in their schools of everything which might tend to jeopardize the inter-American system.

2. To recommend to the governments of the American republics that they exercise the greatest vigilance to see that the teachings in their schools are based on the principles of freedom, peace, justice, and equality that are found in the bases of the inter-American system.

3. To recommend to the governments of the American republics the deletion from official textbooks used in their schools of everything which sustains directly or indirectly racial or totalitarian theories or which might therefore be susceptible of compromising the friendly relations between the states of the continent.

The regimentation of the education of the Argentinian population is part of the program of the Perón regime.

In the primary schools of the country children are taught to copy and discuss the following phrases in accordance with a ruling of the Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction, from the text of which we quote in part:

Women to procreate heroes—not to be mothers of renegades.

Argentine woman must fulfil faithfully her natural obligations.

To be worthy of our traditions we must live arrogantly.

We are a liberating nation and therefore have the right to carry out correction in Latin America.

To be an Argentine does not mean pacifism, speculation, or anything literary; it means one must be dynamic.

The extent to which the Perón regime has attempted to regiment the higher institutions of education can be judged by the fact that on September 29, 1945, all six national universities decided to suspend their activities as a protest against the unprecedented wave of oppression.

On October 5 this act of defiance was countered by the police, which stormed and took by force the University of La Plata, imprisoning 315 unarmed students. Following this act the government prepared a decree dismissing all university presidents and replacing them by so-called government interventors.

On October 8, according to the *New York Times*, the police themselves reported that some 2,100 students were being held in jail. According to this report five or six rectors of the universities, many deans of faculties, and dozens of university professors had passed some time in jail during the previous two weeks.

On December 5 the *New York Herald Tribune* reported that students of the University of Buenos Aires refused to take their annual examinations as a protest against the Perón regime. The only students reporting for the examinations were a handful belonging to the anti-democratic Nationalist faction.

While regimenting its own educational system, the Argentine regime has permitted Japanese and German schools to continue unmolested. All but 9 of the 200 German schools and all but 1 of the 16 Japanese schools continue to function. As a token of its adherence to the Act of Chapultepec, the government has dismissed 27 foreign teachers.

Suppression of Freedom of the Press

The Charter of Chapultepec recommended:

1. That the American republics recognize their essential obligation to guarantee to their people free and impartial access to sources of information.

2. That having this guaranty in view they undertake upon the conclusion of the war the earliest possible abandonment of those measures of censorship . . . which have been necessary in war time. . . .

3. That the governments of the American republics take measures, individually and in cooperation with one another, to promote a free exchange of information among their peoples.

4. That the American republics . . . make every effort to the end that when a juridical order in the world is assured, there may be established the principle of free transmission and reception of information, oral or written, published in books or by the press, broadcast by radio, or disseminated by any other means, under proper responsibility and without need of previous censorship, as is the case with private correspondence . . . in time of peace.

The Perón regime has imposed direct and indirect censorship upon the democratic press of the country. It has arrested editors and arbitrarily suspended the publication of opposition papers. It has harried foreign correspondents.

Police maintain a strict supervision to make certain that nothing in opposition to the Perón regime is published.

For their refusal to obey orders hundreds of provincial papers throughout the country have been suspended and their editors jailed.

In addition to silencing published opposition, the Perón representatives function actively to insure that every statement by the government is published.

Typical of the brutality and intentions of the Perón regime is the fashion by which it acquired the support of *Critica*, a pro-democratic evening newspaper with a circulation of between 200,000 and 250,000. On October 18, 1945, 5,000 armed supporters of Perón, accompanied by 100 policemen and supported by four armored cars, attacked the paper. The assailants poured lead into the *Critica* office, according to the *New York Herald Tribune*, for two hours. The police then took over, arrested sixty-six employees, and closed the paper. A week later *Critica* was permitted to resume publication but was told, "either cooperate or be destroyed."

Raul Damonte Taborda, publisher of *Critica*, was dismissed through a legal action, and the operation of the newspaper was turned over to an official interventor after Mrs. Salvadora Medina Onrubia de Botana, who inherited the enterprise from her husband, had decided to make peace with Perón. The interventor took over in an official ceremony after midnight attended by Mrs. Botana and representatives of Perón.

Foreign correspondents have been subjected to intimidation. On July 2 Joseph Newman, correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, took refuge in the American embassy because of threats made by telephone by a man claiming to be Captain Moretti of the Ministry of War.

The United States had to intervene officially with the Argentine Foreign Office because of the coercion exercised upon John Nasht of *Newsweek*. Before permitting him to leave the country the Perón government tried to force Mr. Nasht to sign a statement saying that his cabled material had been incorrect.

The Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service on various occasions were informed that all their dispatches would be censored. Early in October the censorship was lifted, but only after a strong official protest to the Argentine Foreign Ministry by the United States government.

In contrast is the permission granted for the publication of a new German language newspaper, *Freie Presse*, on December 1. The editor of the new publication is Herr Müller, an Austrian, for many years on the editorial staff of the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, a Nazi-controlled paper.

As late as September, 1945, moreover, pro-Nazi publications such as *Junges Volk*, organ of the Hitler Youth, *Teutonia*, and the *Herold* were still operating.

On January 17, 1946, the American embassy in Buenos Aires released a number of documents showing Nazi con-

nections with Argentine government officials and the government's partial control of the Nazi press.

The story, as recounted in the New York *Herald Tribune*, shows how the Nazi-subsidized press serves now to push Perón's candidacy for the Presidency. The *Herald Tribune* dispatch follows:

BUENOS AIRES, Jan. 17.—The American embassy in Buenos Aires released to the press today part of a quantity of documents discovered by American authorities in Berlin, proving Nazi connections with Argentine government officials and Nazi control over part of the Argentine press which at present supports Colonel Juan Perón for President.

On authorization from the State Department, John Moors Cabot, American chargé d'affaires, made public thirteen of four hundred German documents which were sent here from Washington. They consist of "top secret" telegrams sent between March 9, 1942, and July 6, 1943, to the Foreign Office in Berlin by Otto Meynen, then chargé d'affaires in the German embassy in Buenos Aires.

The telegrams reveal the clandestine links between the Germany embassy and a number of Argentine newspapers, including *El Pampero*, *Cabildo*, *El Pueblo*, *Abora*, and the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*. They explain how these Nazi propaganda organs got newsprint despite the efforts of the United Nations, in accordance with the Rio de Janeiro resolutions, to prevent their getting it. They also disclose how the German embassy used these organs to influence Argentine internal political affairs.

The first telegram asked the German government for authorization to spend 73,450 reichmarks monthly to subsidize these papers (the mark was worth about 40 American cents at the time). The greatest amount, 42,000 marks, went to *Pampero*. Directors and members of the staff of *Pampero* now publish *La Epoca*, Colonel Perón's principal political organ.

Three thousand marks were allocated to *El Pueblo*. Asked by reporters why *El Pueblo* was never placed on the Allied black list with other Nazi organs, Mr. Cabot explained that it was also the principal organ of the Roman Catholic church in Argentina, and was kept off the black list out of deference to the church.

The second telegram shows payments and relations established by the German embassy with Andi, an Argentine news agency which the Argentine military government selected last year as its official government news agency but later abandoned as a result of public opposition. The telegram says, "Andi was induced by the embassy to place press agents in the Ibero-American countries who are obligated to send the regular press survey down here. In this way the embassy could receive material and political information which goes beyond the North American agency reports."

A third telegram disclosed plans to continue distribution of Nazi material to Argentine newspapers in the event of a rupture of diplomatic relations between Argentina and Germany. It suggested the embassy "leave certain sums of money behind in loyal hands." This correspondent was informed that Ludwig Freude, one of the principal Nazi agents in Argentina and now one of Perón's close collaborators, was one of the men in whose "loyal hands" the German embassy left money.

Antonio Delfino, who resigned only two months ago as director of the Argentine National Bank, a government-controlled institution, was named as the man with whom

arrangements were to be made for the transfer of funds to Argentina from neutral countries. He was president of the Hamburg American Shipping Line and is a known Nazi agent.

Fulvio N. Cravacuore was named as the agent to whom religious material was to be sent for *El Pueblo*. Cravacuore is now one of the principal writers for *Democracia*, one of Perón's new newspapers.

Another document revealed the German embassy's relations with Manuel Fresco, former Governor of Buenos Aires Province. It said, "Fresco has just come directly to the embassy with a concrete proposal for the creation of a new popular morning newspaper, *La Tribuna*, and asked for a financial contribution for the purchase of newsprint that allegedly will be furnished to him by President Castillo."

This Nazi organ actually appeared under the name of *Cabildo* and assumed the name of *La Tribuna* only recently, after *Cabildo* was suppressed by the present regime in its attempt to show its support for the United Nations. *Cabildo* was described as a paper "oriented to the support of the governmental policy of Castillo and the maintenance of Argentine neutrality."

Suppression of Labor Unions

The American republics agreed at Chapultepec to collaborate for the attainment of "a constructive basis for the sound economic development of the Americas through the development of natural resources, industrialization, improvement of transportation, and the improvement of labor standards and working conditions, including collective bargaining, all leading to a rising level of living and increased consumption."

Further, they resolved "to consider of international public interest the enacting by all the American republics of social legislation that will protect the working class and that will embody guaranties as well as rights on a scale not inferior to the one recommended by the International Labor Office."

On October 31, 1945, the International Labor Office, then meeting in conference, refused to admit the Argentine workers' delegate and his adviser, Juan Rodriguez and Manuel E. Pichel. The reason given was that the Argentine government "was a de facto war government that had established a state of siege in the country, suppressed essential human liberties and rights that are incorporated in the ILO's constitution, and deprived trade unions of freedom of action and even of their leaders. Under present conditions workers' organizations in the Argentine Republic do not enjoy freedom of association, freedom of action, or freedom of speech."

Rodriguez, it was subsequently disclosed, is a paid employee of the Secretariat of Labor, a branch of the government established by Colonel Perón.

The attempt to take over the labor unions was begun by Colonel Perón in 1943 when he served as Labor Under Secretary. At that time he began a general reorganization which, following Nazi lines, has had as its objective to win the political support of the working masses, especially the unorganized and unskilled.

The fashion in which this was done was described in the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 26, 1945, by Joseph Newman, Buenos Aires correspondent of that paper:

It was not an accident that the first office which Perón himself created and directed after reaching the government was the Secretariat of Labor and Social Welfare. This was actually a new ministry, but was not so described because the constitution limits the number of ministries to eight and the government was not yet ready to flout the constitution openly.

From the Secretariat of Labor Perón began to convert the purely military revolution into a National Socialist revolution. He was aware of the great poverty which prevailed among the masses, despite the agricultural wealth of Argentina. The great landowners who ruled Argentina through their conservative party up to 1943 did less than they might have done to raise the economic and educational level of the Argentine population. . . .

Like Hitler and Mussolini, Perón began to agitate the working masses, making them conscious of their poverty and of the disproportionate wealth of their employers. He did this through branches of the Labor Secretariat which were established in cities, towns, and villages throughout the country. His propaganda agents turned out literature by the tons, and Perón himself made hundreds of speeches in person and over the state radio urging industrial and farm workers to unite behind him for a better deal. To factory workers he promised more pay, better working conditions, and paid vacations. To peons and exploited agricultural workers he promised some of the rich lands of the wealthy landowners. . . .

As part of the Secretariat of Labor he established a National Agrarian Council, which is preparing to divide up big estates and turn them over to the workers. As in the Axis countries his Labor Secretariat organized government-controlled unions which all workers were urged to join. Independent unions which refused to submit to government control were suppressed and their leaders were jailed.

As a result of internal and external pressure independent unions were permitted recently to resume restricted activities. Though these unions may have succeeded in regaining control of most of the 500,000 organized workers, no one knows the extent of the influence and control which Perón has secured over the 2,500,000 unorganized workers.

On September 13, 1945, police closed the headquarters of the Local Labor Union, comprising some 200,000 members, and arrested six of its leaders. The union included such independent labor groups as workers in construction, meat, textile, metallurgical, printing, shoemaking, restaurant, and associated industries.

Seven days later Colonel Perón issued a decree by which a general increase in wages was granted to workers and employees throughout the country.

Joseph Newman, writing in the *New York Herald Tribune* of December 21, characterized the measure as follows:

It was clearly designed by its author to win the labor vote. From the point of view of the democratic opposition, it constitutes a form of veiled fraud by attempting to buy the labor vote almost on the eve of the election through the official device of ordering all-around increases of 30 per cent in the annual income of the working class. This involves many millions of pesos, which, in political terms, amount to forced contributions by employers to Perón's campaign.

Such independent union groups as are still able to function are supporting the Democratic Union's opposition to Perón.

Anti-Semitic Program

At Chapultepec it was also resolved:

1. To reaffirm the principle, recognized by all the American states, of equality of rights and opportunities for all men, regardless of race or religion.

2. To recommend that the governments of the American republics, without jeopardizing freedom of expression, either oral or written, make every effort to prevent in their respective countries all acts which may provoke discrimination among individuals because of race or religion.

The Perón regime has recently instituted, in its emulation of the Nazi pattern, a program of terror against the Jews. On October 20, 1945, the return of Colonel Perón to power was signaled by anti-Semitic riots which were described by Joseph Newman in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

Bands of Peronistas celebrating the victory of their leader entered the extensive Jewish quarter of Buenos Aires and stoned individuals, homes, and buildings. With the tacit approval of police they engaged Jewish youths in fist fights and shouted offensive slogans. Carrying Argentine flags and posters bearing portraits of Perón, the Peronistas cried: "Death to the Jews! Viva Perón!" Police stood by, permitting the bands to go about their work in freedom. Some were seen giving the Peronistas a lift in police cars from one block to another.

As the streets were deserted, the Peronistas shouted: "Jews, come out and fight!" They approached the synagogue on Paso Street with rocks in their hands and were intercepted by a group of Jewish boys who engaged the band in a fist fight and dispersed it. Another group entered the basement of the synagogue and arrested twenty of the defenders. These were later released, but this is believed to be the first time police have violated the immunity of a religious edifice in Argentina.

Peronistas attempted to stone *El Diario Israelita*, a Yiddish newspaper which was closed by the military regime when President Pedro Ramirez was in power and permitted to reopen after a vigorous denunciation by President Roosevelt.

Another clash occurred in front of the Jewish bank, called Banco Industrial, the walls of which were painted with slogans such as "Death to the Jews. Viva Perón!" On Avenida de Mayo, the principal avenue, the following inscription can still be seen painted on the sidewalk: "Kill a Jew and be a patriot." In Plaza de Mayo, where Peronistas had staged a mass demonstration and had been addressed by their leaders the previous night, impromptu speakers harangued small groups with speeches blaming Jews for all the ills of the country and of the world.

On November 25 a new attack on the Jewish quarter was made by 30,000 of Colonel Perón's supporters. Reporting the episode Arnaldo Cortesi declared in the *New York Times*:

Anti-Jewish disturbances of considerable gravity took place in Buenos Aires during the night after a meeting of 30,000 or so of Colonel Juan Perón's supporters invaded the Jewish quarter of the city, where they broke the signs of several Jewish-owned shops and insulted everyone in sight, attacking and brutally beating anyone who attempted to protest or defend himself. . . .

The police, who were present in great force, stood by

passively while the Jews who had been knocked to the ground were savagely kicked. Finally the police intervened, but only to arrest the victims instead of the perpetrators of these aggressions. Later the police raided a peaceful Jewish social club, pointing their revolvers at about one hundred persons inside. Then they arrested several of the club's officials and members for no apparent reason. . . .

The disturbances . . . have occurred with such regularity whenever large numbers of Peronistas have gathered that it is hardly possible to doubt any longer that anti-Semitism forms a part of Colonel Perón's political stock in trade. This circumstance is perhaps owing in part to the fact that he now has the support of a considerable section of the Nationalists, who adopted anti-Semitism along with many other ideals of clearly Nazi character.

Three days later, Cortesi reported again:

Several episodes of anti-Jewish hooliganism occurred last night after a relatively small crowd of former Vice-President Juan Perón's supporters had held demonstrations in the center of the city. . . . This time the attacks on Jews were carried out by small bands of about fifty young ruffians who entered the Jewish district shouting "Long Live Perón" and "Death to the Jews" and proceeded to damage property and to assault passers-by. More than thirty pistol shots were fired and some noise bombs were thrown. . . . No casualties were reported.

The police took no effective measures against the assailants and eventually arrested one man who, judging by his name, is a Jew. . . . When it became known yesterday that a sudden meeting of Peronistas had been called, many Jews sought refuge away from their homes. Others barricaded themselves in their houses. The pro-Perón paper *Epoca* said today that the anti-Jewish demonstrations were staged by Colonel Perón's enemies, who thus planned to bring him into disrepute. . . . This suggestion is sufficiently disproved by the attitude of the police, which never showed mercy for Colonel Perón's opponents but stood passively by while Jews were being attacked.

On December 19 Dr. Federico Contini, one of Perón's top advisers, discussing the anti-Jewish demonstrations, declared in a speech: "It is a pity that a substantial number of Jews were not killed. It would have served to frighten the others."

On December 30, 1945, Joseph Newman, in the New York *Herald Tribune*, disclosed that the Committee against Racism had discovered a plot which originated in police headquarters to stage a pogrom after planting bombs and leaflets in Perón's political offices and in Catholic churches, attributing them to the Jews. The plot was publicly denounced during the first week in December and therefore failed to materialize.

Perón Harbors Enemy Agents and Axis Businesses

The parties to the Act of Chapultepec further agreed:

1. To recommend that the governments of the American republics do not give refuge to individuals guilty of or responsible for or accomplices in the commission of such (war) crimes.

2. To recommend that the governments shall upon the demand of any of the United Nations . . . surrender individuals

charged with the commission of such crimes to the United Nations making the request. . . .

3. To reaffirm the determination . . . to prevent individuals or groups within their respective jurisdictions from engaging in any activities fomented by the Axis powers or their satellites for the purpose of prejudicing the individual or collective security and welfare of the American republics:

a. To intensify efforts to eradicate the remaining centers of Axis subversive influence in the hemisphere. . . .

b. To take effective measures to prevent Axis-inspired elements from regaining or securing any vantage points within the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions from which such elements might disturb or threaten the security or welfare of any republic.

4. They resolved that measures be undertaken "to uncover, disclose, immobilize, and prevent the concealment or transfer of property and rights located within the American republics . . . which . . . whether or not in name belong to or are controlled by or for the benefit of Germany or Japan or individuals or entities within those countries.

Committed by the Act of Chapultepec and the UNO Charter to turn over enemy agents and to expose enemy holdings, the Perón government has done neither.

On November 30, 1945, Dr. Carlos Adrogué, secretary of the Committee for Vigilance and Liquidation of Enemy Property, resigned, accusing the Foreign Minister of unwarranted interference with the committee's work. The committee itself declared that the Foreign Minister had introduced a number of legal technicalities to prevent the liquidation of the Ricardo Staudt Company, chief Argentine operator in wool, with a capital of between forty and seventy million pesos. Its head, Ricardo Staudt, a German by birth, came to the Argentine in 1924 to avoid punishment for his criminal activities in Belgium during World War I and obtained Argentine citizenship. In 1941 Adolf Hitler conferred the Order of the Grand Eagle on him for his "outstanding services to the Nazi cause in Argentina." Counsel for Herr Staudt is the law firm of Cooke Brothers, of which Juan I. Cooke, Foreign Minister of Argentina, is a member. The fact that on January 8, 1946, Dr. Adrogué was kidnaped and beaten up by thugs seems more than a coincidence.

Colonel Perón himself has on various occasions intervened in behalf of top German industrialists, among them Ricardo Staudt, Ludwig Freude, and Fritz Mandl. Ludwig Freude is allegedly one of the key leaders in Nazi underground activities on the South American continent. Although on the United States and British black list, Freude's firm, Compañía General de Construcciones, early in 1945, had a contract with the Argentine government for twenty-two million pesos. In February, 1945, an investigating commission made an attempt to examine the books of Freude's company. Later an investigation of Freude's activities was ordered. This time Colonel Perón appealed personally to President Farrell, vouching unconditionally for Freude, with the result that the inquiries were suspended. Moreover, the report of the interrupted investigation of Freude was torn out of the minutes of the commission and destroyed on an order from Colonel Perón.

On October 26 the Commission for the Liquidation of

Enemy Property determined to seize all the property of Ricardo Staudt on the ground that investigations showed that large funds had been transferred from his company to Germany during the war, and that he himself regarded Berlin as his headquarters. Staudt, warned in advance of the impending action, secured an injunction. The commission appealed to a higher court and resolved to proceed with its seizure. But this action was vetoed by Foreign Minister Cooke, with the result that Staudt is still in possession of his property. Staudt is alleged to be the principal financial backer, together with Fritz Mandl, of Perón's campaign for the Presidency.

On June 25 Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton, testifying before a subcommittee of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, declared that the Nazis' grandiose scheme for finding "safe haven" in neutral and other countries while preparing for another world war was a matter of grave concern to the Allies. He said that in Argentina, where 108 major Axis economic enterprises are known to be operating, not one of these Nazi spearheads had been wholly eliminated.

On November 5, 1945, Virginia Prewett, writing in *PM*, reported:

Despite official assertions to the contrary, many known members of the Nazi economic spearheads are still operating in Argentina with perfect freedom and bright prospects for the future. . . . On September 11 the government officially reported that it was meeting its pledge, made at Chapultepec, to extirpate Nazi influence. However, only a little more than 50 per cent of the long list of German firms has been placed under government control. . . .

The *Compañía General de Construcciones* has continued operations with immunization from governmental interference. It is now working on fat government contracts and is bidding on others. . . . Its head is Ludwig Freude, who received the Cross of Merit from Adolf Hitler. . . . Among the contracts that the untouchable Freude has received from the Argentine government are: construction of a new military air base at Reconquista, 6,500,000 pesos; contracts for building military barracks in towns of Ezequiel, Juín de los Andes, and San Martín de los Andes, 17,000,000 pesos. Freude is also constructing a government shipyard at Río Santiago and a torpedo depot at Puerto Belgrano. . . . His company built the new big state hotel at Llaoliao. . . . where the German agent Hans Nobel—who also circulates freely—teaches Argentine high society how to ski. . . . With the exception of two German banks and six insurance companies all the important German spearhead firms in Argentina still retain the titles to the businesses, which are now more flourishing than ever.

Since the government's statement last September that it was "eliminating" Nazi-controlled business, the following German-owned firms have obtained government contracts: Wayass and Freytag, associated with a firm of the same name in Germany, signed a contract to do the concrete work on bridges 3, 4, 7, 8, and 11 at the new national airport. . . . outside of Buenos Aires. *Compañía General de Obras Públicas*, which is a branch of the Philip Holtzman firm of Berlin, has signed for the concrete work on bridges 5, 6, and 16 at the same airport. Since the government statement the government has also received bids now under consideration for construction of state roads, etc., from the following: *Compañía General de Construcciones*, Wayass and Freytag, *Compañía General de Obras*

Públicas, Siemens-Schuckert, Thyssen-Lamental, Grün and Bilfinger, and Calera Avellaneda.

As recently as December 6, 1945, Assistant Secretary of State Braden made new representations to Argentina because of its alleged failure to deport seventy-one Nazi agents.

On August 24, 1945, Nelson Rockefeller, former Assistant Secretary of State, and largely responsible for the admission of Argentina to the United Nations Organization, announced, five months after Argentina's declaration of war against the Axis:

Of the 15 Japanese and 223 other persons investigated for Axis espionage, only 70 German agents are under arrest. There is very little if any control over the directors and officers of Axis firms and associations, and practically no progress in seeking out Axis individuals and assets which may be seeking refuge in Argentina and whose existence is therefore concealed.

On September 15, 1945, the *New York Times* declared that among the men released, thirty-three have definitely been identified as enemy agents. No enemy agent has been interned or deported. On that same day Spruille Braden, on the eve of his departure from Argentina for the United States, said, as reported in the *New York Times*:

The Nazi element is still extremely dangerous. Unless it can be extirpated it will remain a serious threat for the future. I am not competent to state whether there will be an aggressive Germany again, but if there is to be one, then in my opinion the Nazis here in Argentina would be a spearhead against this hemisphere and the United States.

On October 20, 1945, Damonte Taborda, former chairman of the Argentine Committee on Subversive Activities, charged that the political upheaval in the Argentine was the result of a Nazi plot to regain military supremacy and world power. He also suggested the possibility that Nazi research on atomic power was continuing in Argentina.

Even arrested Axis espionage agents receive special treatment. Augustine Rodriguez Aray, a former Radical Party deputy held as a political prisoner by Perón for many months, in a formal charge to the Federal Court accused the police of aiding and abetting Axis espionage agents. He said that during his five months' stay in the Villa de Vota prison in Buenos Aires Colonel Velazco's treatment of convicted Axis spies was so friendly, partial, and benevolent that they were allowed to continue their operations both outside and inside the prison. In their cells were short- and long-wave radio sets, photographs of Hitler, typewriters, and all the material they needed for their work, as well as ample stores of food. What is more, they were allowed to leave the prison without guard day and night, some remaining absent for as long as two days.

Conclusion

We submit that the actions of the Perón regime as cited above are identical in practice and purpose with the actions of the Nazi regime when Hitler came to power. The Nazi Party also began its war program by acquiring totalitarian control of the government and by instituting a terror against the opposition within Germany. From this point it proceeded systematically to apply the same methods against other coun-

tries, conquering half of Europe bloodlessly and finally precipitating the war which has only just been concluded. The Perón regime, if left in power, will certainly launch a war in the Western Hemisphere.

On September 29, 1944, President Roosevelt discussed "the extraordinary paradox of the growth of the Nazi-Fascist influence and the increasing application of Nazi-Fascist methods in the Argentine." "The Argentine government," he said, "has repudiated solemn inter-American obligations on the basis of which the nations of this hemisphere developed a system of defense to meet the challenge of Axis aggression." He insisted that "unless we now demonstrate a capacity to develop a tradition of respect for such obligations among civilized nations, there can be little hope for a system of international security, theoretically created to maintain principles for which our peoples today are sacrificing to the limit of their resources."

On January 5, 1946, Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden, speaking on an official State Department broadcast, again branded the present regime in Argentina as Nazi,

and explained its ability to stay in power in the following terms:

They have the police, an important section of the army, armed action groups, and a typically National Socialist program; not excluding the old formula of bread and circuses for the millions. Following recognized Nazi tactics, they secure control of certain strategic labor unions, take over the transportation facilities and a few important unions. With the help of the police you can control a nation.

We submit that the United Nations, in proof of its intention to protect world peace, should act at the earliest possible moment to brand the Perón regime as an enemy of peace and security and as such to suspend it from the United Nations. Such an undertaking by the UNO is clearly an act of self-protection which will be supported by freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

The millions of casualties of World War II should guard the conscience of the world against a new appeasement. The time to act is now.

"THE IMPOSSIBLE CANDIDATE"

[To supplement the Memorandum of The Nation Associates, we publish below a manifesto by the Argentine Committee of Democratic Lawyers which has just reached us from Buenos Aires.]

THE Committee of Democratic Lawyers, in accordance with its principle of struggling for constitutional rule and its avowed purpose of orienting public opinion on present problems of government, believes it necessary to examine more closely the personality of the Impossible Candidate. . . .

Article 16 of the constitution provides that candidates for public office must be fit to hold such office. The Impossible Candidate does not fulfil this requirement in view of irrefutable proofs of his ties with Nazism. It is easy to demonstrate the complete parallel that exists between Hitler and the Impossible Candidate: identical philosophies, methods, aims, and spontaneous reactions. . . .

Both initiated their programs with strong condemnations of the previous governments. Hitler said: "The National Socialist revolution has overthrown a republic of treason and falsehood and replaced it with a government of honor, loyalty, and decency" ("My New Order," p. 193). The Impossible Candidate says: "The revolution of June 4 has an ideal and a reality which will transform the political, economic, and social picture of Argentina. From it will emerge a whole new political process. Until now everything has been distorted—liberty, citizenship, administrative functions, justice, and morals" ("Discursos," Ed. Of.; p. 206). . . .

Hitler headed the "Workers' Party" ("Mein Kampf," vol. I; p. 215); the Impossible Candidate has founded the "Labor Party" (Partido Laborista). Both maintain that they are the champions of the underprivileged classes. Hitler says: "I fight for the sons of the farmers and workers" ("My New Order," p. 88). The Impossible Candidate asserts: "Encouraged by hundreds of thousands of Argentine workers, we

pledge ourselves to the attainment of a superior social order" (Ed. Of., p. 61). . . .

Naturally, they declare that they are opposed by the same adversaries. Hitler says the "Judeo-Marxist plutocracy" opposes him ("My New Order," pp. 611, 849); the Impossible Candidate says that the "Communist oligarchy"—and his followers add with venom, "Jewish"—opposes him. . . .

They apply the same instruments of domination. Hitler assumes the title of defender of what he calls the classes ("Mein Kampf," p. 56) and seduces them by unbridled demagoguery. . . . He creates Nazi trade unions, ostensibly to protect the rights of workers (Heilen: "History of Nazism," p. 196). He defines the basis of his domestic policy: "To raise the economic standards and remove all obstacles that might exercise a destructive influence on the social body, the Nazi corporation must be the organized concentration of the different groups which participate in the national economic life" ("Mein Kampf," p. 596). The independent trade unions are persecuted and then destroyed. The official trade unions are grouped in the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* headed by a *Reichsleiter*. Their familiar slogan is "work through joy" (Stoffel: "The Dictatorship of German Fascism," p. 90). This organization fixes conditions of work, settles labor disputes, and signs collective-bargaining agreements. The law of February 26, 1935, completes the system: every worker must carry a work card and those even "suspected of holding ideas hostile to the state" can be expelled from the union.

The Impossible Candidate has copied Hitler's plan and applied it carefully in every detail ("Discursos," Ed. Of., p. 108). He, too, has assumed the role of defender of the working class and plagiarized Nazi propaganda. In similar language he proclaims that the trade unions are the base for his domestic policy: "Modern experience has shown that the better-organized working masses can more easily be

directed and led. That gave me the idea of forming an organization that could guide the trade-union movement, organize it, and make of it a mass which acts rationally in accordance with the directors of the state" (*La Nación*, September 3, 1944; p. 1). The Secretariat of Labor and Welfare, the equivalent of the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront*, is created on November 27, 1943. The independent unions are persecuted and many of them outlawed. In order to transform the remaining organizations into official trade unions, it is necessary to introduce a statute for each profession. The decree of October 2, 1945, establishes the legal system of trade-union associations and places them under the authority of the Secretariat, just as the Nazis had done. The decree of December 20, 1945, provides for the creation of a National Institute on Wages which will serve as an instrument through which to manage the workers now corralled into the official unions by basing wage rises on the decree of docility manifested. "They must not concern themselves with politics" ("Discursos," Ed. Of.; p. 97). The only thing still lacking is the work card without which a worker cannot obtain employment; this will tie the last knot in the noose around labor's neck.

The articles of our constitution are in fundamental conflict with the statutes introduced by the present regime. Article 14 guarantees the right of assembly for lawful purposes and, thereby, the right of workers to associate in independent unions and to concern themselves with politics if they so desire. The same article guarantees the right to seek work, with or without a card, and to obtain a reasonable wage without fear of persecution.

Thus Hitler's legislative program has been reproduced with touching fidelity. On February 28, 1933, Hitler suppressed civil rights; in Argentina a state of siege has been imposed. On May 2, 1933, Hitler dissolved all German associations; in Argentina democratic associations were dissolved on January 17, 1944, including the Junta de la Victoria, the Confederación Democrática Argentina, and the Junta de Ayuda a la Cruz Roja Británica (Committee of Aid to the British Red Cross). On May 2, 1933, Hitler abolished the independent trade unions; the Argentine trade unions were replaced by official unions under the decrees of July 20, 1943, and October 2, 1945. On May 4, 1933, Hitler created the Ministry of Propaganda; in Argentina the Subsecretariat of Press and Information was created on December 31, 1943. On April 4, 1933, Hitler issued a statute on the press; in Argentina a statute on the press was issued on December 31, 1943. On July 10, 1933, Hitler dissolved the political parties; political parties were dissolved in Argentina on December 31, 1943. On January 30, 1934, Hitler ordered the reorganization of the Reichstag; in Argentina the Congress was dissolved on June 14, 1943. On April 29 and December 30, 1934, Hitler defined crimes against the state; in Argentina the decree of January 15, 1945, defined crimes against the security of the state. On February 10, 1936, Hitler established the Gestapo; in Argentina the Federal Police was established on December 24, 1943.

The process is the same in both cases: when the universities intervene, the professors are dismissed, the students are persecuted, and the books are destroyed. Jewish merchants are assaulted with the same gusto in Buenos Aires as in

Nürnberg (Ed. Of., November 29, 1945, p. 1). Hitler established concentration camps; Argentina, too, has concentration camps where prisoners are tortured because they dared assert their inalienable rights as citizens.

All this does not prevent the two men from proclaiming themselves ardent partisans of democracy. Hitler says: "Germany too has a democratic government . . . it is a true democracy . . ." ("My New Order," pp. 192, 309). The Impossible Candidate says that he, too, wishes to establish "a true democracy" in this country. "We shall have an integral democracy" ("Discursos," Ed. Of., pp. 187, 223).

Their promises sound the same note. Hitler professes his hatred of war: "National Socialist Germany, by fundamental conviction, wants peace . . . Germany needs and desires peace" ("My New Order," pp. 313, 475). The Impossible Candidate also "wants to live in peace with all nations of good will" ("Discursos," Ed. Of., p. 69).

Hitler seeks the "unity of the nation" ("My New Order," p. 152). The Impossible Candidate likewise desires "the unity of all Argentines" ("Discursos," Ed. Of., p. 98). Both believe it can be accomplished by hanging and shooting.

Hitler says that he alone can save Germany from communism ("My New Order," pp. 212, 302, 411); the Impossible Candidate offers himself as the only one who can "make this grave danger disappear" (*La Nación*, September 3, 1944; p. 1).

Hitler announces that his regime will last a thousand years, and the Impossible Candidate repeats, like a distant feeble echo, that his will last sixty years (*La Nación*, December 13, 1945).

The Impossible Candidate cannot conceal his sympathies for the Axis. One has only to read his speech of July 10, 1944, on national defense: his admiration for Nazism, "for its political, diplomatic, and military conduct," crops out in every paragraph ("Discursos," Ed. Of., p. 69)—at a time when Argentine had already severed relations with the Axis.

The followers of the Impossible Candidate have obstreperously demonstrated their true feelings. The streets of the Republic echoed their cries of defiance before the defeat of the Axis. Their slogans are: "Viva Perón!" "Death to democracy!" "Death to the Jews!" "Books—No!" "Build the country; kill the students!" (*La Nación*, August 14 and 17, December 23, 1945; *La Razón*, August 11 and 16, 1945; etc.). These demonstrations need no label. . . .

The examples cited above prove that the Impossible Candidate is not fit, under Article 16 of the constitution, to be President of the Republic. The destiny of the nation cannot be intrusted to a man whose principles are incompatible with the institutions for which the great leaders of the past fought. To deliver the government to him . . . would be to compound the crime of President Hindenburg, who on January 30, 1933, named Adolf Hitler Chancellor of the Reich, and to launch our country into a similar adventure. We have seen the destroyed cities, the ravaged land of Germany and Italy, the starving people, crushed through the fault of a savior like the Impossible Candidate, and we are resolved that our country shall not suffer such devastation.

Only the tradition of Rivadavia, of Echeverría, and of Alberdi—the glorious tradition that made our country great under the ægis of justice and law—can save this nation.

If I Had to Choose

AS a long-time disciple of Jefferson, I hold that if I had to choose between a free press and any other agency, I would choose a free press; for where the press is free, no bad cause can long exist. And by freedom of the press I mean that no influence, whether of money or power or any other thing, either directs its policy or inclines it to suppression, or advocacy, for any consideration except the common good. The independence, fearlessness, and ability of *The Nation* make it an influential agency in an era when leadership without strings is the hope of a drifting world.—*Josephus Daniels*

THE *Nation*

20 VESEY STREET - NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 9, 1946

NUMBER 6

The Shape of Things

WE DON'T PRETEND TO KNOW THAT IRAN was pressed by the British into laying its quarrel with the Soviet Union before the United Nations, though the long-standing British-Russian rivalry in the area gives the charge credibility; but we are glad, in any case, that Iran was *not* pressed to withdraw. For the results of the controversy, so far, are all to the good. First, it has refuted the pessimistic theory that the infant organization must not be baptized lest it drown in the font. Mr. Bevin, for Britain, spoke bluntly concerning Russia's role in the recent revolt in Iran's Azerbaijan province, and Mr. Vishinsky, for Russia, replied in kind. Diplomatic double-talk was refreshingly absent. Yet a compromise was reached, a common-sense procedure was agreed upon, and the dignity of a small power was preserved as an encouragement and guaranty to others. Above all, the authority of the UNO was established, and the world was informed that peace depends not on evasiveness and cant but on a frank airing of genuine differences. Returning the dispute to the principals for direct negotiation, the UNO has insisted on its duty to review the results. Acceptance of this decision in good grace by the Soviet delegate and his country's return of important rail lines in Northern Iran to the Iranian State Railway offer hope of a quick and equitable settlement.

★

THE ROW BETWEEN BEVIN AND VISHINSKY over Greece was equally frank, but the issue is not susceptible to as easy a compromise. Britain is deeply committed in Greece, and the results of its intervention are well known. They have been reported in these pages and elsewhere in terms widely at variance with the version presented by Mr. Bevin. The British Foreign Secretary was treading on particularly shaky ground when he announced, "We could have done as was done in Rumania by Mr. Vishinsky. . . . We did not do that. We have not set up governments in Greece. . . ." The whole world knows that the Papandreou government was, in fact if not in legal fiction, set up by Britain and maintained in power by British arms and by Greek forces trained by the British and pledged to loyalty to the Greek crown. Subsequent governments, equally creatures of the British, were installed by methods not easy to distinguish from those

applied by Vishinsky in Bucharest. Bevin may be correct in claiming that British forces are today maintaining a semblance of order among the contending factions in Greece, but no belated, half-hearted show of impartiality can cancel out the fact that British intervention crushed the liberation movement, armed the collaborators, and put reactionaries in office. Vishinsky is very likely using the Greek case cynically, as a weapon of retaliation, but he could have chosen no sharper one. What action will be taken is still uncertain as we go to press, but in spite of Bevin's demand for a clear-cut answer to the Russian charges, the Council cannot possibly apply a simple coat of whitewash. Perhaps the old device of an impartial inquiry would offer the best way out.

★

LISBON, A PARADISE FOR NAZI AGENTS during the war, has now become headquarters for the Spanish Pretender. A procession of royalists headed by the Dukes of Alba and Sotomayor arrived from Madrid in time to take part in the show, and to contribute glamour to the monarchist campaign abroad. The British government facilitated Don Juan's journey by granting him passage through England. "When his request was first received," said a press cable from London, "it was going to be turned down, but a similar request . . . came from Dr. Giral, Premier of the government in exile, and it seemed politic to grant both requests." Bully for Mr. Bevin! From now on, no one can justly accuse the Labor government of partiality toward the Spanish Republic! Opinions are divided concerning the Pretender's chances. Certain details, especially the manner in which Franco's brother, the Spanish Ambassador to Portugal, welcomed Don Juan after rushing to Madrid for instructions, would suggest that a deal had been made. On the other hand, the insistence in the Falangist press that Franco's position has never been stronger indicates his reluctance to step aside. The Madrid correspondent of the *New York Times* attributes this new optimism to the refusal of Secretary Byrnes "to divulge at present the contents of the Franco-Hitler-Mussolini correspondence." A perfect harmony pervades both foreign offices; while London distributes amenities impartially among Republicans and Monarchists, the State Department one day expresses its

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	153
The British Loan	155
Intervention for Democracy by Freda Kirchwey	156

ARTICLES

Swastika over the Senate by I. F. Stone	158
Of Meat and Men by Willard Shelton	159
Haunted Housing by Maurice Rosenblatt	161
Philippine Aftermath, III. The End of the Road by Mildred Adams	163
Adventures in Medicine by Martin Gumpert	166
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	168
The People's Front by Del Vayo	169

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes by the Way by Margaret Marshall	170
Never-Never Land by Israel Epstein	172
Music and Musicology by Charles B. Farrell	173
Briefer Comment	174
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	176
Art by Clement Greenberg	176
Records by B. H. Haggin	177

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 179

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 147 by Jack Barrett	180
---	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall
European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting, Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kelllogg Building, Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two Years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

dislike of Franco and next day suppresses evidence unfavorable to him. We entirely agree with Henry Morgenthau, Jr., who in his Milwaukee address recommended "to the President of the United States and the Secretary of State that they vigorously support the French proposal of a three-power conference and a concerted program which will help the Spanish people get rid of Franco."

✱

THE UNFITNESS OF EDWIN W. PAULEY TO BE Under Secretary of the Navy has been amply demonstrated at the hearings before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee. Pauley has been a familiar example of the oil man in politics, grinding his own axes and those of Standard of California. As an oil man he has a right to advance his point of view but he has no right to use his political power as Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee to push his private interests. That he has done so is clear. The hearings fully confirmed the revelations about about Pauley's Mexican oil deal first made by our Washington editor, I. F. Stone, in *The Nation* of May 15, 1943. The hearings also indicated that Pauley used his influence to stall off a suit asserting the federal government's right to tideland oil, in which both Pauley and Standard of California have interests. Certain interesting questions have been raised, however, which remain unanswered. How did Pauley manage to delay the tideland suit? How can Mr. Ickes justify the retention of Ralph K. Davies as his deputy in charge of the Petroleum Administration after claiming that Davies, a salaried vice-president of Standard of California who has worked closely with Pauley, had misled him into supporting Pauley's appointment? And is it true that Ickes has been promoting Davies for the post of Under Secretary of the Interior?

✱

CHINA SEEMS ASSURED OF A DEMOCRATIC and unified government as a result of the ratification of the decisions of the Political Consultative Council by the Kuomintang standing committee. The agreement had previously been approved by a Communist Party conference at Yen-an, and acceptance by the Democratic League of a plan that will greatly enlarge its influence is a foregone conclusion. Revision of the Kuomintang's draft constitution is to be undertaken immediately to provide wider provincial autonomy than had originally been granted. The Military Council, which has exercised virtually independent powers, will be brought under the control of the coalition Cabinet. Other significant constitutional changes will include a Bill of Rights giving unrestricted civil liberties to the Chinese people, the establishment of a national bicameral legislature, and new, democratic election machinery. While the Kuomintang retains a small majority in the new State Council and the Cabinet, the opposition parties will have enough seats

to assure them a real voice in the transitional government. Although General Marshall took no direct part in the negotiations, his realistic handling of the situation was a vital, if not decisive factor in the final settlement. What remains is for all parties to carry out the agreement in the same spirit of conciliation that brought it into existence.

✕

THE AMERICAN LEGION PULLED A BONER IN the unwise and unwarranted assault by its national commander, John Stelle, on General Omar Bradley, chief of the Veterans' Administration. Stelle charged last week that the Veterans' Administration was suffering a "tragic breakdown" and demanded a Congressional investigation of the agency and the replacement of Bradley by a "seasoned business man" who would presumably bring order out of chaos. The attack was met by a sharp counter-attack: a cool defense of his position by the General, a speedy supporting movement by his old chief, General Eisenhower, a statement by President Truman that he didn't think Stelle represented Legion opinion, and a barrage of brickbats from new veterans' organizations which insist that the Legion is incensed because General Bradley has been taking his own line instead of following the Legion's and doling out patronage to legionnaires. These views were strengthened by General Bradley's suggestion that Stelle was piqued by the refusal of the Veterans' Administration to locate a hospital in the exact section of Decatur, Illinois, recommended by Stelle. The fact is that all the present inadequacies of the Veterans' Administration about which the Legion complains were piling up under the administration of General Hines, a strong legionnaire who played the game and was therefore never subjected to criticism by the Legion. General Bradley is doing now what should have been done a year ago, when the Legion was avowedly the watchdog of the Veterans' Administration.

✕

WHERE ARE THE FASCISTS OF YESTERYEAR? Not in Germany, certainly, where any G. I. will tell you that the hair shirt has replaced the brown shirt. And not in Spain or Argentina either, it seems. We had thought that Generalissimo Franco and Colonel Perón were fair examples of the species. But it seems we were wrong. Both statesmen gave interviews last week in which they proved themselves democrats by saying so. Franco told DeWitt Mackenzie of the Associated Press that "he never subscribed to the policies or to the political views of Hitler and Mussolini," and that he "is heading for absolute democratic rule by the people." Moreover, said the Caudillo, "Spain was with the United States all the time in the war against Japan." What must have led us astray were those occasions early in the war when Franco said that Spain was an "integral part" of Axis Europe and stood firm "against the demo-

cratic liberal alliance with Communist Russia." Then there was that message to Hitler which said, "May your arms triumph"; and that other message congratulating José Laurel on forming a Japanese puppet government in the Philippines. Colonel Perón, in a similar effort to straighten things out, summoned Frank Kluckhohn, newly arrived correspondent of the *New York Times*, and "insisted that his regime was closer to the New Deal than to Nazism and fascism." President Roosevelt's death, he said sadly, was "the greatest blow Argentina had suffered." This really confused us, because at that very moment Gerald L. K. Smith, laughingly attributing his reputation as an anti-Semite to "Jewish Gestapo" propaganda, was telling the Rankin committee that the only effective fascist agency he knew of in this country was Roosevelt's "New Deal bureaucracy." Well, we knew there were fascists somewhere.

The British Loan

IN HIS message to Congress urging approval of the British loan the President presented his case with sober logic but in too academic and unimaginative a manner. This was unfortunate, for the great debate about to begin on Capitol Hill will not turn on fine points of economic theory. The opponents of the loan can be relied upon to appeal to every prejudice, to muster every special interest. They must be answered by arguments that state the problem in plain terms of bread and butter, of war and peace. We have to make it abundantly clear that this loan is not a thoughtless hand-out but a prudent investment in the recovery of a trading partner whose sickness, if not cured, must soon infect our own welfare. More than that, it can justly be urged, the loan is an investment in peace, for unless we can re-establish a system designed to facilitate a world exchange of goods, we shall rapidly find ourselves plunged into all-out economic warfare. From that point to atomic bombardment the distance is very short.

Considerations of this kind make most of the arguments against the loan appallingly irrelevant. The crudest of those arguments, the stock in trade of the isolationist forces, start from the premise that the United States has twice been dragged into war in behalf of Britain, getting nothing out of the deal but bad debts.

Therefore, says the *New York Daily News*, instead of giving more money to be dissipated, "the sensible thing to do would be to teach England that war is a horrible and costly jag by letting England sweat out its World War II hangover unassisted."

We turn, retching, from the unctuous venom of such statements to arguments which are more dangerous because, unlike those of the *Daily News*, they are calculated to impress others than maniacs and morons.

There are, for instance, groups of people sincerely opposed to a loan on the ground that its effect will be to bolster British imperialism. Any such aid, they feel, should be strictly conditional on British agreement to clear out of Greece, or to give India its freedom, or to abrogate the Palestine White Paper. Our own views on British imperialism are a matter of record, but we do not believe that the way to combat it is to deny assistance to the British people at this time. The result would be to force them into a grim self-sufficiency: since under no circumstances can their small island supply them with even the barest means of existence, they would be impelled to organize an autarchic economy on an imperial scale. The bonds of empire would have to be tightened, not loosened; colonial production would have to be more intensively exploited to meet Britain's needs; colonial markets would have to be reserved exclusively for British products.

Forced to practice a more intensive economic imperialism than ever before, Britain would be bound to strengthen its political grip on the Empire. More than ever it would be obliged to guard its communications in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, keep Greece under its thumb, and follow whatever policy in Palestine enabled it to maintain its Asiatic bridgehead at the lowest cost.

In this country it is rather commonly believed that the Empire is already a tightly knit economic unit affording few opportunities for outside traders, but this is not in accordance with the facts. In 1938, for instance, Britain supplied only 24 per cent of the imports of the crown colonies and bought only 35 per cent of their exports. That left plenty of room for others, and the United States before the war found both its largest markets and its chief sources of raw materials within the British Empire, including the dominions. Britain itself was, indeed, the largest single foreign purchaser of American goods, taking 17 per cent of total exports. Moreover, Britain was the best customer of many of our best customers, providing the foreign exchange that enabled them to buy American automobiles and steel. Our foreign trade, therefore, was closely connected with that of Britain. In the years ahead when, once current shortages are overcome, we shall need overseas markets more than ever to absorb our industrial surpluses, the closing of the open door to the British Empire and its inclusion in an exclusive trading bloc would be a very severe blow to our economy.

Britain, we must realize, has had its margin of economic security dangerously curtailed by the war. It has lost 25 per cent of its wealth while ours has been enhanced. Its standard of living has been reduced while ours can rise 50 per cent above the pre-war level if we are intelligent enough to make use of our vast capacity for production. The loan will do little to relieve British austerity immediately; it is not large enough for that.

It will provide a breathing-spell while run-down industries are reequipped and lost markets recovered.

Britain needs aid but not so desperately as to suffer dictatorship of her foreign and imperial policies. Our economic strength has enabled us to strike a bargain obtaining in return for a loan British support for the kind of international trading system which corresponds to our economic needs. But should we attempt to introduce extraneous political objectives we should merely convince the British that our purpose is not to assist but to dominate. The upshot would surely be the sacrifice of economic objectives together with the loss of all power to influence British policies in the direction we desire.

Intervention for Democracy

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

INTERVENTION has almost as bad a name in Latin America as non-intervention in Europe. Both have come to signify, paradoxically, the same thing: big-power support of the forces of reaction. Non-intervention—or the treachery that bore that label—made possible the triumph of fascism in Spain. Intervention kept or put tyrants in power in half a dozen American republics. Known less respectfully as the policy of the Big Stick, it was symbolized by United States marines streaming ashore at Latin American ports to establish "order" in the name of Standard Oil or the National City Bank.

When the Good Neighbor era was inaugurated by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, it had many features that delighted its administrators and coordinators—good-will tours by Hollywood personalities, doctorates conferred upon unlettered dictators, cultural missions and, above all, financial benefits distributed with calculating discrimination, particularly among those countries whose friendship was least to be trusted. But in Latin America the Good Neighbor policy had only one important meaning for the ordinary man: it marked the end of gun-boat diplomacy and economic imperialism. Because the people of Latin America trusted Roosevelt, they forgave innumerable blunders and inconsistencies. It was enough, for the moment, that intervention had been repudiated as an instrument of policy. Only one fear remained, lurking in the wings. What would happen when Roosevelt's rule ended? Would his successor honor his pledge of non-intervention? Any change was certain to arouse misgiving.

It is a tragedy whose consequences are already visible that the death of Roosevelt should have coincided with the end of non-intervention as a workable policy in

Latin America. Today the peoples of the continent are faced with the necessity of adopting an attitude against which their whole experience has conditioned them; they must accept intervention as the only alternative to the rapid consolidation of fascist tyranny. So far they are not prepared to do so: the great question is whether they will be able to recognize the facts and act in time.

The question is not an abstract one. It has been posed in concrete and challenging terms by the Perón dictatorship in Argentina. The program of Perón is as familiar as "Mein Kampf" and far more coherent. It has been expressed in a series of acts and pronouncements which establish the fascist boss of Argentina as the legitimate heir of his Axis predecessors. Readers who studied the memorandum submitted by the Nation Associates to the general Assembly of the UNO and published with last week's issue of *The Nation* know how far that program has already been carried into effect. Another document, telling the story chiefly in terms of dispatches, official notes, speeches, and decrees, is "The Argentine Regime" put out by the C. I. O. Committee on Latin American Affairs, and also submitted to the Assembly. Together, these compilations present an overwhelming indictment of the government which last spring joined the United Nations under the sponsorship of the United States. The Nation Associates has demanded Argentina's suspension on the basis of its flagrant violations of its commitments under the Act of Chapultepec. So far no action has been taken at London, although it is reported that the question may be raised this week in the Economic and Social Council. But the Memorandum and the C. I. O. report have generated wide discussion in the press and exposed the full meaning of Argentine facism to non-American delegates with little access to first-hand information. Whatever is done or not done at the present meeting of the UNO, the Argentine issue is out in the open. It will not be allowed to subside.

Luis Rodriguez, Mexican ambassador to Chile, is reported to have said that if Perón becomes president, nothing can prevent a general war in Latin America by 1950. This is certainly true if the Latin republics, backed by liberal opinion in the United States, continue stubbornly to reject all forms of intervention. Times have changed. International relations are threatened by a force more ugly and dangerous than Yankee imperialism at its toughest. The old interventionism consistently supported reaction; the new interventionism must organize the popular, democratic forces against fascism. Otherwise Perón and a host of other Peróns up and down the continent will make nonsense of the Act of Chapultepec and every attempt at pan-American friendship. The issue is as clear as that. How to create general support for this position is far from clear.

Uruguay's proposal of "collective intervention" by

the American republics in countries where basic human rights are denied by dictatorial governments has aroused wide opposition; a recent Washington dispatch indicates that only six republics fully favor the plan. Nor is the opposition limited to countries with reactionary governments of their own. On the contrary, its most vehement expression has come from Mexico, and, in Mexico, from progressive persons and organizations. Anti-gringo feeling dies hard. It seems quite unlikely that the proposal in its original form can be adopted within the near future; it may not even be added to the agenda of the Rio conference.

Another plan, which would obviate many of the political and psychological difficulties inherent in the Uruguay suggestion, has come from Argentina itself. A number of prominent Argentine democrats of various parties signed a petition to the UNO asking for "multilateral intervention" to eliminate foci of Nazi-fascist infection wherever they may develop. The proposal is based upon the premise that any state which tolerates or protects the activities of foreign or domestic fascists is guilty of a threat to the peace justifying action by the Security Council. By shifting responsibility to the UNO, the signers obviously hope to eliminate the danger—and fear—of North American domination. Many Latin American republics would look with favor on a scheme which offered security not only among themselves but against the United States as well. Whether it will be equally acceptable in Washington is questionable.

To hand over even part of the task of inter-American security to the UNO involves a modification of the Monroe Doctrine which is bound to horrify many conservatives; for if Latin America is suspicious of interventionist policies sponsored by the United States, this country is even more wary of intervention originating outside the hemisphere. On the other hand, since we are at last committed to collective action on a world basis, it will be impossible in the long run to prevent cracks in the wall reared by President Monroe. The United States should in my opinion, endorse and defend the plan for multilateral sanctions against fascism—even in our own carefully guarded sphere of influence.

IMPORTANT EXPOSE

In next week's Nation

JUAN PERON: NAZI HEIR

By Stanley Ross

Argentina's fascist leader at first hand: his character, his boyhood, his training by the Nazis, his campaign tactics, and many other facts never before published in America.

Swastika Over the Senate

BY. I. F. STONE

Washington, February 1

EVER since January 18 the United States Senate presumably has been engaged in debating a motion by Senate Overton of Louisiana to incorporate in its journal the opening prayer delivered by the chaplain the day before. This parliamentary device, in Wilson's famous words, has again made it possible for "a little group of wilful men" to render "the great government of the United States helpless and contemptible." Despite a good deal of elephantine humor by some Southern Senators, there has been no attempt to hide the purpose of the maneuver. On January 17 Chavez of New Mexico took advantage of the delay in presenting the President's message and the presence of a Northern Democrat (Myers of Pennsylvania) in the chair to move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S 101. This bill, for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, has been blocked ever since it was reported to the Senate by the Committee on Education and Labor last May 24. "I ask the Senator," Chavez pleaded with Overton as the Chaplain's Prayer filibuster began, "whether he does not think that the bill should be voted down or voted up, one way or the other, after adequate and ample debate?" "The Senator might just as well ask me," Overton replied, "whether I do not think it ought to be voted up, because I think the Senator knows, as I know, that if the bill were put to a vote at the present time by the Senate it would be passed."

It is one of the minor paradoxes involved that this fight against fair treatment for minorities in the United States is being waged by a legislative minority, which boldly asserts its contempt for majority rule. "A mob," said Bilbo, who should be an authority on the subject, "is a majority. . . . Without the filibuster the minority would be at the mercy of the majority." When Taylor of Wyoming asked Tydings whether democracy was not "predicated upon the rule of the majority," the latter was derisive. "The rule of the majority," Tydings burst out. "The rule of votes. Majority to hades! The rule of petty political preference. The rule of the majority. The rule that has brought more bloodshed and turmoil and cruelty on this earth than any other thing I know of." So rapidly do recollections of the Axis dictatorships and their cost to the world vanish from the mind of a Maryland Senator.

S 101 forbids employers to deny jobs and labor unions to deny membership to any person because of his "race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry." The bill covers any employer with six or more workers who is "engaged

in interstate or foreign commerce or in operations affecting such commerce." It would not make discrimination of this kind a crime but "an unfair employment practice," and the mechanism of enforcement would be the filing of a cease and desist order by the FEPC with a United States Circuit Court of Appeals. The FEPC would be an administrative body like the National Labor Relations Board or the Federal Trade Commission, and full rights of hearing, counsel, and appeal are of course provided. No penalties for non-compliance are provided other than those which the Circuit Court of Appeals may impose for disregard of its orders. This summary is made necessary by the extraordinary descriptions of the bill in the filibuster. Russell of Georgia said the result of the bill "would be the absolute nationalization of all business, industry, and agriculture." Bankhead of Alabama declared it would give the FEPC "wide-open authority, even going to the extent of capital punishment." McClellan of Arkansas termed the bill "the most vicious and destructive assault on human liberty that ever has been made in America." Even for a Southern Senator, this was a high fever.

In this anthology of absurdity, the honors seem to be divided between Tydings and George, the former for a picturesqueness verging on blasphemy, the latter for a lack of logic bordering on a kind of Senatorial delirium tremens. "It was cloture," Tydings cried, "that crucified Christ on the cross." For a breathless moment one wondered whether he would go on to accuse Pontius Pilate of being a Republican. George's prize remark came during his peroration. "We are called upon," was his solemn summation, "to go Nazi." However inadequate as a description of the bill, the remark accurately described the frame of mind in which most of the Southern Senators waged their filibuster. If any such naked racism is displayed by a German political assembly, we shall be forced to lengthen our term of occupation. There was, of course, the familiar charge that the bill would lead to miscegenation; reactionary Southerners have a profoundly revealing way of at once leaping into bed with the Negro problem. But they made it very clear that it was not the Negro alone whom they wanted to keep in his place.

Bilbo of "Dear Dago" letter fame played his expected part in the filibuster. There were sneers by Eastland of Mississippi at Jim Dombrowski of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare for his "typically old Southern name." There was much talk of "Anglo-Saxon Americanism," and digs at Mexicans which finally brought the angry retort from Chavez, "I am an American, and I am

not begging the permission of anyone to be an American, notwithstanding my national origin." Chavez's Catholicism also figured in the debate, and even the American Indian did not escape slurs, Bankhead defended business men who do not wish to employ them. "There is something peculiar about an Indian," Bankhead advised, "which causes the white American not to want to be too closely associated with him." The filibuster was shot through with anti-Semitism. Eastland said that if the FEPC bill was constitutional and "if the Congress of the United States says that 10,000 Jewish drygoods merchants represent a discrimination against the Anglo-Saxon branch of the white race . . . then we may limit the number of Jews . . . in interstate business."

This kind of talk is dangerous business in a country which, unlike Germany, has more than one tiny minority. A country with 22,000,000 Catholics, 13,000,000 Negroes, 5,000,000 Jews, 3,000,000 persons of Spanish-speaking origin, 11,000,000 foreign born, and 23,000,000 children of foreign born is not a country in which it is safe to play with the matches of Anglo-Saxon white Protestant supremacy. The cruel and unjust treatment of the Negro, whom the South would suspend halfway between slavery and real freedom, may easily prove Amer-

ica's undoing. Even Senators like Lister Hill and Fulbright joined the filibustering pack. Pepper alone had the courage to stand aside, supporting cloture, though disclaiming an intention to vote for FEPC. "Nigger lover" is a potent political cry in the South. More disheartening than the Southerners, however, are the apathy displayed by some Northern Senators and the open support of the filibuster by Midwestern reactionaries.

Chavez has borne the brunt of the fight, with aid from Morse, Guffey, Myers, La Follette, Ball, Smith, and Aiken. The indifference of the majority has made this the easiest filibuster the Southerners ever waged; sessions end at 6 p. m. or earlier. Although Overton said frankly that the Democratic Party ought to remain "the white man's party" and that "the Negro made a very bad bargain" when he left the G. O. P. for the New Deal, Republican leadership is selling the Negro down the river in this fight despite the FEPC pledges of 1944. Vigorous action by the White House and Republican leadership could easily force cloture, but the White House is flaccid, and the Republican leader, White of Maine, said he would vote against the bill. This is the spectacle presented by the United States in the wake of a war against fascism and racism.

Of Meat and Men

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Of the staff of the Chicago Sun

Chicago, January 31

BY GOLLY, we beat the packers!" So said Herbert March, district director for the C. I. O. United Packinghouse Workers here in the nation's meat capital, to a cheering union meeting the day after the workers trooped back to their jobs.

The exuberance was a little premature. Union leaders had been assured by Secretary of Agriculture Anderson, who was operating the plants for the government, that any wage increase recommended by a Presidential fact-finding board would be put into effect. But they were not yet sure how much cash on the barrelhead the men would get from the fact-finders; they were frankly skeptical about Washington.

For twelve hours after government seizure President Lewis J. Clark refused to order his membership back to work; he and the other leaders felt the seizure order itself should have contained guaranties of wage increases. One spokesman added the safeguard, "The strike isn't over. If we don't get the raises, we will go out again." Yet, despite the uncertainty, the unionized workers in the meat industry had good reason to be proud of what they had accomplished by their eleven-day walkout.

The burden of the fight was carried by the C. I. O., which has by far the largest organization in the major packing companies. But the A. F. of L. Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen walked out at the same time; and their contribution, while relatively small in Chicago, helped the united front in other cities.

The strikers in Chicago gained a degree of community support which in the old days would have been inconceivable. Informed citizens are under no illusions about the character of one wing of Chicago's big industry. In it is found Sewell L. Avery of Montgomery, Ward, whose influence extends through United States Gypsum, Pullman-Standard, and Armour. In it also are numerous other powerful gentlemen who, in their interlocking directorates, have shown considerable reluctance to accept the spirit of the Wagner act. When, a few weeks before the packinghouse strike, Captain George Barnes of the police labor detail raided the picket lines outside some C. I. O.-struck gear plants, he was egged on by the *Chicago Tribune*, which inveighed loudly against "mobs." The union suspected that precedents were being created for the coming packinghouse and other strikes.

The anticipated police raids on packinghouse workers' picket lines did not materialize, except to a minor extent. This may have been partly due to the other newspapers, which reminded the Chicago police of their part in the massacre of Memorial Day, 1937. It was due more directly, however, to the extraordinary support mobilized for the workers by the so-called Back of the Yards Council. This curious institution is, in a way, the lengthened shadow of one Saul Alinsky, author of "Reveille for Radicals." The book has aroused a good deal of controversy, but among Chicago packinghouse workers there is complete agreement about the usefulness of the Yards Council. The stockyards community, sprawled across the southwestern part of Chicago, has been cooperating in the council for years and was organized in advance for the strike.

Three priests of the community were on the picket line the first day of the walkout, wearing large signs proclaiming themselves "On Strike!" They made it a little difficult for the police to raid the line. Corner grocers and druggists had been canvassed beforehand by the union and had agreed to grant credit to their customers. When local reporters asked business men in the area which side they favored, they replied something like this: "We sell to the workers, not the packing companies. Where do you think we stand?" An officer of the Drovers' National Bank, controlled by the packing interests, said the workers needed a raise and "knew what they were doing."

Packing is a low-wage industry, and the workers' relative position deteriorated during the war. For many years, even before unions came in, the common-labor rate in steel and packing was identical. But in October, 1945, the average straight-time hourly wage in packinghouses was only 87.6 cents, as contrasted with \$1.06 in steel, \$1.18 in automobiles, \$1.27 in shipbuilding. There are industries in which wages are lower, but none in which the work is more unpleasant, few in which it is more dangerous. Packinghouse workers had no general pay increase after Pearl Harbor, though in a two-year fight they forced some "fringe" increases through the War Labor Board. The higher scales negotiated in 1941 merely lifted their pay above the shockingly low previous average of 66.6 cents an hour—equivalent to \$26.64 a week. That was little above the factory average of twenty years earlier.

The day the strike began, Swift and Company announced that its hourly-wage employees had averaged \$48.85 a week in October—but neglected to specify that this resulted from a forty-nine-hour week, including nine hours of overtime. When President Truman appointed his fact-finding board, the packers argued that this overtime would continue; the union neither believed the claim nor wanted the overtime. The workers asserted quite frankly that the companies preferred to pay penalty

overtime now so as to check future wage demands when the labor market "loosened." They believed they deserved a living wage for a normal forty-hour week.

In the old days the packers used bloodshed to break the efforts of their workers to organize. The hog-butcher princes fought unionism in 1904 and 1921 as viciously as old George Pullman, in his "model" company town, fought the Chicago "anarchists" of the Haymarket riots. The C. I. O. Packinghouse Workers organized in the late '30's under the joint impetus of the Wagner act and the C. I. O. drive in the mass-production industries. They called a few strikes against the so-called "independent" packers, and in 1941 against the Chicago United Stockyards Transit Company, but had never before attempted a major walkout. They got their contracts with the Big Four, headed by Swift and Company, without being obliged to strike.

This does not mean that the Big Four welcomed collective bargaining. The first master contracts, covering whole companies, were signed only in 1942, through the intervention of the old National Defense Mediation Board. A brief filed with the WLB listed over 600 instances of alleged "provocation" of union members by management. The union leaders believe that the packers, like some other industrialists, had no serious objection to a strike at the present time—and hoped that public antagonism would break the union. The company negotiators, in any case, stubbornly refused to consent to an increase of more than 10 cents an hour. There was one moment when, in an exploratory way, they talked about 15 cents; but after an adjournment they went back to 10 cents.

In view of their lack of experience, the Packinghouse Workers did a remarkable strike job. The innumerable details of proper picket allocation, soup kitchens, mass-meetings on the long week-ends when worried wives might complain about the lack of pay checks were well handled. The picket lines were orderly but determined; there were few "incidents." The packers didn't operate, and didn't try to.

The union leaders, as I said above, were not very happy about government seizure and the fact-finding board. They are deeply suspicious of packer influence in the Department of Agriculture; they feared the fact-finders had 15 cents fixed in their minds as the proper figure for an increase, partly because the A. F. of L. seemed willing to accept 15 cents. The C. I. O. pointed out that with steel already ahead of the packinghouse workers and with Ford and Chrysler and the oil companies granting 18-cent increases, a 15-cent rise for them would place their industry even farther behind others.

They didn't like the prospect. But they ran their strike, ran it successfully, and got a pledge from the government before they went back to work. They have met their first big test of power without breaking. Perhaps they will "beat the packers" yet.

Haunted Housing

BY MAURICE ROSENBLATT

Former editor of the City Reporter; during the war a special agent with the Army Criminal Investigation Department

A BLIND veteran in New York writes that he cannot get an apartment for his mother and his seeing-eye dog. Another soldier returned from overseas finds the four members of his family compelled to live in four different counties. The mayor of Racine, Wisconsin, reports that "as many as sixteen to twenty persons are living in one or two rooms." In Texas a large ice-box is offered as a dwelling; in California the racing tipster has been joined by the "housing tout," a suave fellow who for \$50 will tell you where to find a home. Newspapers no longer play up stories of five-way exchanges of city apartments; the humor of the situation has worn thin. With 10,000 soldiers becoming civilians daily, the 1,200,000 million families who now live doubled up will reach 3,000,000 in 1946.

Out of the welter of statistics and estimates some basic figures emerge which tell the story of America's housing problem:

New dwellings needed in 1946	3,500,000 units
Needed in the next ten years	12,600,000 units
Required minimum yearly building	1,260,000 units
Amount built in 1925, our greatest home-building year	937,000 units

To meet this need, it is estimated that at best 460,000 units can be constructed in 1946. More significant than any estimate is the number of units now actually being built—less than 70,000 in the whole United States, or no more than enough to take care of one week's discharged service men. The figures present us with the paradox of a demand so great that it could create a six-and-a-half-billion-dollar industry employing four and a half million men for ten years—outstripping even automobiles—and a limping building industry producing but a puny trickle of new construction.

Housing has been wrongly described as a war casualty. Many other factors, some predating the war by years, have contributed to the present crisis: an acute housing shortage existed before the war; families have increased by 3,000,000 since 1940, and some 1,400,000 service men have married; while there was considerable building after 1941, it was "temporary war housing," the government guaranteeing that it should not be used as permanent dwellings.

The war did create a shortage of materials and labor. We practically closed down brickyards and ceased making bathtubs, hardware, and essential fixtures. An unknown quantity of building materials was hoarded by dealers awaiting the repeal of the excess-profits tax. But

at present the supply of materials is starting to flow, and most bottlenecks should be broken by spring.

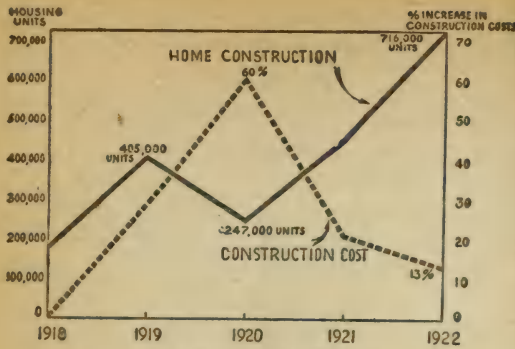
One would have expected Congress to move swiftly after V-J Day, and to have passed remedial legislation by now. But the only action it has taken is the appropriation of \$191,000,000 for dismantling 100,000 temporary units and setting them up in communities where they are needed. All other proposals, emergency or long-range, are still in the discussion stage. The most comprehensive housing program ever prepared, the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, has not yet reached the floor of the Senate; its passage there is expected, but after that it must run the gauntlet of the realty-minded members of the lower house. The bill provides for low-cost public housing, slum clearance, thirty-two-year-credit for owners of small homes, research into construction techniques and materials. It is a plan designed to insure that we shall not find ourselves in a similar housing crisis in 1956. We cannot look to it for immediate relief.

The lack of adequate housing, however, is hardly the fault of Congress or the Administration. The building and real-estate business has long been a stoutly defended citadel of private enterprise. If its speculative economics, its octopus financing, its outmoded techniques, and its creaking psychology were known to the public, the cause of the shortage would be no mystery.

The builder and real-estate operator imagine that the pressure for houses from a growing army of homeless people will send prices and rents to dizzy heights. The signs of this were clear enough during the war, when prices of old houses—on which there were no ceilings—went up 47 per cent in Chicago, 59 per cent in Los Angeles, 95 per cent in Denver. A bonanza at the end of the war seemed certain if only the government would get out of the way and let the ceilings collapse.

The OPA fears that an uncontrolled building boom will go up like a rocket and down like the stick. This happened after the last war when costs flew out of hand and buyers grew timid. The present tremendous demand for new housing comes largely from people in the middle income brackets and will evaporate if prices start rising. According to a survey conducted by the *Architectural Forum* 490,000 families are ready to buy or build homes right away, but they are thinking in terms of a median price of \$5,345; 37 per cent of these families would put off building if costs rose \$1,000.

If the building industry is to escape the disaster which followed the last war, four things must be avoided: in-



Here's What Went Wrong:

As Costs Went Up, the Volume of Building Went Down

flated building-material prices and construction costs, inflated selling prices of homes, early collapse of post-war activity, an epidemic of mortgage foreclosures. John B. Blandford, National Housing Administrator, says that the boom will be short-lived unless the new housing is within the means of the average family. To deal with the emergency the OPA favors a bill sponsored by Representative Wright Patman, which would give the federal government authority to set price ceilings on old and new dwellings and to allocate critically short materials to residential building.

After V-J Day the building industry, bent on a suicidal price binge and undisturbed either by the experience of the past or by the warnings of the OPA, set out to end all government controls. The first target was WPB Order L-41, which restricted home building to structures costing \$8,000 or less. Shortly after the end of the war a Houston realtor, Hugh Potter, became assistant to Reconversion Director John W. Snyder, who administered L-41. Potter worked fast, and on October 15 L-41 ceased to operate. Having delivered this victory to the real-estate men Potter retired from public service.

Throughout the country real-estate dealers cashed in; one Washington builder made \$50,000 overnight by raising the price on 50 houses from the \$8,000 ceiling to \$9,000. But with the lifting of regulations, priorities for home building were lost, and instead of going into the promised housing, materials went into commercial construction—gas stations and hot-dog stands. By Christmas the predictions of the OPA had become painful realities, and Mr. Snyder asked President Truman to bring back controls; this time 50 per cent of the critical materials were allocated to houses costing less than \$10,000. Three months, however, had been lost.

The real-estate lobby in Washington is careful to speak in the name of "the American home owner," but actually it represents the speculators in real estate, many of whom build nothing and merely gamble in property. To them the American dream is a never-ending land boom. The lobby enjoys the backing of mortgage compa-

nies, chambers of commerce, and numerous banks in its fight against rent control, price ceilings, and the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards, representing some thirty thousand brokers, dealers, and builders, maintains elaborate headquarters in Washington. Recently it established the National Real Estate Foundation to "supply information needed to clarify public issues which concern real property and stimulate property-owner groups to organized effort in order to protect their interests." The foundation was launched with an elaborate dinner for Congressmen. Senator McCarran proposed a bill to give it the dignity of a Congressional charter, something heretofore reserved for non-lobbying patriotic organizations. Originally the foundation sought a fund of \$500,000, but its sights were raised when it received pledges for \$125,000 and \$100,000 from two Pittsburgh builders. With that kind of money around, the trustees finally decided to aim at \$5,000,000 in the next twelve months. Contributions to the foundation are tax-exempt on the ground that its work is "educational." However, witnesses against the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill may obtain any of the foundation's "research material."

The scarcity economics and speculative attitude of the building industry are as much a result of the way we build houses as are cracks in the plaster or leaks in the roof. Embalmed in the typical American house are all the inefficient, expensive methods of an obsolescent industry. As far as construction and materials are concerned, there is no great difference between a house built today and one built in George Washington's time. A Bureau of Labor Statistics survey showed that in 1938 64 per cent of the home builders in seventy-two cities produced one house each, and only 6 per cent built as many as ten. Operating on so small a scale, a builder is unable to provide steady employment for the many skilled workmen required to build a house; frequently he distributes the various operations among subcontractors, whose respective profits are reflected in the price of the house. He cannot take advantage of the economies in either buying or production which a big output makes possible. He can only build for the well-to-do.

With home building still a handicraft industry it is no wonder that the most we can hope for is 500,000 new units in 1946 and 1,000,000 in 1947. However, not everyone is permanently wedded to the notion that we must go on building with archaic materials and techniques. Senator Kilgore wants home building to take advantage of the scientific and industrial advances made during the war. Many new materials have been developed which are suitable for mass-production of houses—new light metals, plastics, wall boards, cements, and so forth. With Senator Mitchell he is sponsoring a bill which pro-

vides that the National Housing Agency shall act as a centralized purchasing agency for local housing organizations, placing orders with private manufacturers when it has accumulated a sufficient number for low-cost volume production. These manufacturers' war plants are now standing idle. In buying houses from the National Housing Agency for resale or rent to veterans, local organizations would be aided by loans from that agency. No house would cost more than \$5,000. Hearings by the Senate Banking Committee on the Mitchell-Kilgore bill will begin shortly. If it is passed, orders can be placed at once, and homes will be available in a few months instead of years. Only a measure of this kind can meet the present emergency.

At present people think of the housing crisis as temporary. Once they realize that they have no prospect of anything better than the abandoned busses, vacant stores, and Turkish baths in which they are now living, they will lose patience. The riots in Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Harlem were largely housing riots. Today many white communities have reached the pre-war density of Negro communities, and the urban Negro population is crowded beyond all endurance. There is no organized pro-housing lobby, and if the real-estate interests' multi-million-dollar machine prevails, explosions will occur. Present policies promise that the shortage will get worse in 1947 and reach a climax by the election year of 1948.

Philippine Aftermath

BY MILDRED ADAMS

Journalist and critic with a special interest in Hispanic American affairs

III. The End of the Road

FOR forty years we have been proud of our record in the Philippines. The best work was done in the first two decades, but the momentum continued. When we bungled in Cuba, contradicted ourselves in Puerto Rico, brought the Virgin Islands to the brink of starvation, we liked to rest our mind and our conscience with visions of little brown Filipinos smiling in little red schoolhouses. Nor was self-congratulation all. Our achievement there gave us a toe-hold from which to criticize other colonial powers.

The sin of pride has at last caught up with us. Unless something unforeseen happens, we are about to put the capstone on magnanimity by giving the Filipinos the independence we withheld from them forty-eight years ago. Unhappily, it is not going to be as generous a gift as we intended. It will be wrapped up in the tissue paper of fine speeches and mutual congratulations, but the truth is that political and economic independence will create problems in the islands so far-reaching as to cast doubt on our entire record.

In order to reexamine that record it is necessary to look back for a moment at 1898. We took the Philippines from Spain in an eight months' war that started in Cuba. To most Americans they looked like a by-product, and it was a favorite joke that most of our citizenry had to hunt up school geographies in order to find out where they were. However, our government thought enough of them, with Guam and Puerto Rico, to pay Spain \$20,000,000 for them after taking them. It was a sum far larger in those days than in these.

What did we get for our money? Sovereignty over

114,400 square miles of tropical islands and seven million people—now increased to eighteen million—of assorted Oriental races, some fine harbors, and good rock for a military outpost. The Filipinos were not pleased. While we were dickering with Spain, by force and otherwise, they were setting themselves up as a republic, establishing a capital, choosing an assembly, making a constitution. Two days after they proclaimed their constitution we ratified a treaty with Spain. It took us three years of jungle fighting to prove to the Filipinos that our treaty had more power than their constitution.

Meanwhile debates were raging at home. Americans were not united on this new policy of conquest. It seemed to many no part of the role of a freedom-loving nation to take other peoples into subjection. The Taft Commission, appointed by President McKinley in 1900 to go out and construct a civil government for the islands, was told to bear in mind that "the government which they are establishing is designed, not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands."

So we entered on our new role with a divided mind. One day we were a nation of liberators rescuing people from the feudal tyranny of Spain; the next we were budding imperialists. The net result was an attack of conscience that showed itself in programs of education, sanitation, road-building which were gradually welded into what we liked to call an American colonial policy. That policy was founded on the belief that the American pattern of self-government was the best in the world for any people, no matter what their background, that democracy and self-support were synony-

mous, and that the highroad to both led through the American schoolhouse.

The population of the islands was made up of forty-three separate ethnic groups, mutually distrustful, speaking no common language, having no common religion. Only 18 per cent of the people had been taught to read and write Spanish by the religious orders that controlled education. Land was held, agriculture managed, trade carried on by perhaps 250,000 of the seven million people living there. Government was in the hands of Spanish officials and persons of pure or mixed Spanish blood who had made money and acquired position. The social structure was the squat pyramid familiar in Europe and Asia, with a huge peasant class at the bottom and a small élite on top. The efforts of the United States since 1898 have been directed toward narrowing that pyramid at the base and widening it at the center by encouraging the growth of a middle class.

To what extent those and other of our efforts have succeeded is told succinctly in the report made for the year ending June 20, 1941, by Francis Sayre, then High Commissioner for the Philippines.

From the beginning of American occupation of the islands to the present time efforts have been concentrated [he said] on advancement of education, public health, self-government, and an increasing national income, apparently with confidence that success in these fields would automatically bring about an improved social organization. That substantial success was achieved in these aims is incontestable. Literacy rose from 18 per cent in 1903 to over 48 per cent in 1939. All serious tropical epidemics have been either practically eliminated or brought under definite control, with a surprising decrease in infant mortality and a marked increase in longevity. Self-government has reached its maximum short of sovereign independence. . . . The national income as measured by overseas and domestic trade values has increased fivefold. And yet . . . neither a sizable independent middle class nor an influential public opinion has developed. The bulk of the newly created income has gone to the government, to landlords, and to urban areas, and has served but little to ameliorate living conditions among the almost feudal peasantry. . . . Maldistribution of population, of land, and of wealth in many forms continues . . . and social unrest has reached serious proportions.

That was the state of affairs six months before the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor and the Philippines. Economic problems were bulking even larger than social problems. Nor had the dream of democracy—a dream obviously hard to put into practice among a people half of whom were illiterate—been strong enough to bar out the competing voices. José Laurel, then justice of the Supreme Court, told law students at the University of the Philippines in 1941 that he would accept "a benevolent dictatorship," and cited Japan as "an ex-

cellent example" of such a dictatorship. Pedro Abad Santos, an agrarian Socialist deputy, declared that "our country is dominated economically and politically by Spanish and Japanese fascists, through Filipino dummies, saboteurs, and traitorous public officials."

There were other disquieting straws. Licensed gambling was increasing. The Philippine government cut elementary-school education from seven to six years and abolished compulsory learning of English. It declared a modified Tagalog to be the national language, but only a portion of the population could speak or understand it. In spite of the imminence of freedom, the national economy was still tied tight to the United States; 80 per cent of the islands' commerce was with us, and dependent on a continuance of free trade. It was not a hopeful picture, and the war made it infinitely worse by adding enormous physical destruction to existing difficulties.

How far are we responsible for the present unhappy situation, and what can we do about it? To an industrial nation accustomed to performing feats of rapid large-scale construction the physical damage resulting from the war is perhaps less daunting than it looks to the Filipinos. The army has both equipment and material in the Pacific for a vast amount of building. The most cautious estimates of war damage run around \$250,000,000. That is more than ten times the sum we paid for all the islands, but values have changed in forty-eight years. The physical destruction could be repaired were we minded to do it.

Far more serious are the ills for which we are more directly responsible—the political cynicism and irresponsibility of political leaders who found Japanese totalitarianism a tenable ideal, economic methods which though obsolete are deeply rooted and strongly defended, the half-completed program of national education which seems now to be going backward, the social maladjustments, the widening gulf between leaders and people. Half a century was too short a time in which to do as big a job as we undertook.

Hardly less important than the time element is the wavering course we have pursued. When we took the Philippines from Spain, the Republican Party with its emphasis on centralized power was in control, and it stayed in control until 1912. Educators, road builders, sanitation experts, governors were sent out to do the kind of job that would bind the Philippines closer to the United States. With the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, an entirely different set of men and theories took command. Where the Filipinos had been treated with kindly paternalism they were now encouraged, at least in theory, to act as equals. Francis Burton Harrison, sent out as the new Democratic Governor General, brought them a message from President Wilson explaining that "every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a

preparation for that independence." In 1916 the Jones bill—which Filipinos called, in good Spanish, the "bill Jones"—was passed to start them on the road to independence.

Then the pendulum swung the other way. President Harding, elected in 1920, sent out the Wood-Forbes Mission to survey conditions, and the report it brought back was that independence at that time would be premature. Governor Harrison was replaced by General Wood, and then by Henry Stimson. In 1932 the Democrats were back in power. That meant a better chance for early independence. The Filipinos strengthened their mission in Washington, and by January, 1933, an independence bill had been passed in Congress and vetoed by Hoover, still in office. They had found friends among American sugar and dairy men who wanted nothing better than to be free of the competition offered by the Philippine products. Under the guise of sentimental interest in Filipino aspirations the Tydings-MacDuffie act was framed and passed in 1934. The Filipinos were to set up their own Commonwealth in 1935 and to be free of all allegiance to the United States in 1946.

During these years, in spite of the change of Administrations, there was a measurable progress toward island self-government. High Commissioner Paul McNutt, in his famous report for 1938, charged that in economic matters just exactly the opposite had been happening.

Since 1913 American trade policy has forced the Philippine economic establishment into a position of complete dependence on the United States, until today it is doubtful whether any other sizable colony is as economically dependent on its metropolis. . . . In economic policy America has bound the Philippines to her, while at the same time in political policy America has presumed to sever the Philippines from her.

The Tydings-MacDuffie act, which will cut the final cord in 1946, was, in Mr. McNutt's opinion, the result of "a clever but dangerous trade-off."

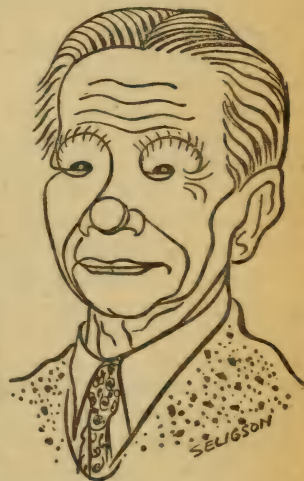
On one side the representatives of American groups, smarting under the competition, whether real or assumed, of Philippine exports, would have been content with correction of the economic policy without reference to the political. On the other side, Philippine political entities, fretting under what little remained of colonialism, wished fulfilment of the political policy without change of the economic. Each made use of the other: the former conceded political points; the latter conceded economic points. In this bargain the American group shunned responsibility for their country's fair acquittal of colonial obligation, and the Philippine elements abandoned consideration of the material welfare of the fifteen million people.

The charge was serious enough seven years ago. But there was still time, then, to do something about it, and as a matter of fact the act was somewhat modified.

The independence date, however, was not changed, and today it is only five months off.

Rightly or wrongly we assumed certain obligations in the Philippines in 1898, and no fair-minded person can assert that we shall have adequately discharged them by dropping the islands into depression and chaos under the pretense of handing them the gift of independence. Freedom to starve is not what we promised. There seems little hope that they will get much more than that. We cannot withdraw our promise to grant them independence on July 4 without creating grave international difficulties. Philippine politicians cannot ask us to postpone the gift without "losing face" at home and abroad.

All that can be expected is an effort to mitigate the situation, and High Commissioner McNutt will presumably make it. The Filipinos elect a new government in April, and incoming officials will have two



President Osmeña

months in which to make their proposals to Washington. There is still a rumor that Roxas, if elected, will consider asking that after independence becomes a fact we invite the islands back into a kind of dominion status. Meanwhile the Bell bill before the House would extend virtual free trade to the Philippines for the first eight years, followed by a twenty-five-year period in which tariffs on Philippine imports would gradually reach the level of duties on goods from other countries. One of the four Tydings bills before the Senate would hand them a kind of going-away present of \$100,000,000 with which to repair the physical damage wrought by the war. And plans for American military and naval outposts there, whatever evils they may bring, would at least assure the continued circulation of dollars.

With all these factors in mind, the realist's guess as to the future is a kind of pseudo-independence in which the Philippines will be nominally free but actually under an undefined protection exercised by the United States for its own purposes with little consideration of its effect on the Filipinos. Perhaps the islands will become the Cuba of the Pacific, but too far away to reap the financial advantages of a prosperous tourist trade. Any Cuban will tell them it is not a happy fate.

[This is the last of a series of articles by Miss Adams on the Philippine problem.]

Adventures in Medicine

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

IN NO other field, not even in politics, is the gap between knowledge and action of such immediate and catastrophic consequence as in the field of medicine. Thousands of lives are sacrificed every year because available knowledge cannot be adequately applied or has not been intensely enough developed. Our state of health mirrors a combination of miraculous accomplishment and utter confusion, of daring advance and shabby stinginess. If science is to make our lives healthier and happier, there must be concerted action by both progressive physicians and progressive patients, citizens all. These articles will try to spread knowledge of medical facts so that the decisive battle for public health can be fought more efficiently and with greater hope of victory.

Despite its constant need of money, medical research is the cheapest buy in human happiness. The tremendous achievements of medical research in war time, saving uncounted lives, were performed on a total budget of fifteen million dollars, less than the cost of a single day of destructive warfare. One of the most important research projects I know about is being carried on as a result of a private grant of \$15,000 made to an outstanding scientist by the parents of a boy who died of an "incurable" disease. What can be done in a short space of time with \$1,100,000 provides another striking example. Many decades ago, Dr. Simon Baruch impressed his son Bernard with the possibilities of physical therapy. In October, 1943, Bernard M. Baruch invited a committee of forty scientists to draw up a program for the development of physical medicine in the United States and six months later gave the generous sum of \$1,100,000 to activate the recommended program.

When he did this, not quite two years ago, physical medicine in this country was one of the least respected of medical specialties. According to a recent definition of the American Medical Association, physical medicine is "the employment of the physical and other effective properties of light, heat, cold, water, electricity, massage, manipulation, exercise, and mechanical devices for physical and occupational therapy in the treatment and diagnosis of disease." Today, largely as a result of Mr. Baruch's efforts, medical science has discovered the immense possibilities in this relatively new field. A fact-finding survey conducted by Dr. F. H. Krusen, the director of the Baruch committee, has just published its report in the *Proceedings of the Staff Meetings of the Mayo Clinic* (December 26, 1945). It reads like a "physician in Wonderland," but gives a mere glimpse of the future of physical medicine.

On one of his visits to college and industrial research laboratories, Dr. Krusen saw a one-million-volt electron accelerator which by providing radiation right up to the edge of the cosmic rays opened a whole new field for investigation in the realm of physical medicine. He saw electronic tubes which can direct microwaves of high-frequency energy along a beam toward a certain part of the body and focus on a spot five centimeters in diameter—a most important device for the study of the effect of microwaves on human tissues.

Dr. Krusen reported that it will soon be possible to make binaural hearing aids enabling the deaf to tell from what direction a sound comes. There will also be hearing devices operated with the electric current from a household light socket which will be far superior to our present portable devices.

A new photo-electric spectrophotometer has been perfected which will be helpful in dealing with nearly all color problems. A new exposure meter measuring time against intensity of radiation will make dosage in radiation therapy much more accurate. New types of cathode-ray oscillographs can be applied to the medical study of electrical circuits—as in the electro-cardiograph.

Dr. Hillyer of the University of Toronto has developed a table model of an electron microscope which gives a clear picture of an object magnified one hundred thousand times. "The medical possibilities are almost beyond imagination." An electron analyzer can dissect microscopic substances far smaller than have even been examined in the past, opening new fields of medical physics. Dr. Hillyer said only half jokingly that by a process called electronprobe it would be perfectly possible to write one's name on a bacterium. Dr. Engstrom, a leading radio engineer, said, "The main thing lacking is proper liaison between radio engineers and physicians." The tools for many still unforeseen achievements are ready and waiting for medical science to take up.

The new concept of "physical medicine" has already tremendously improved the traditional stagnant methods of "physical therapy" in the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers. As Major Henry B. Gwynn of the Reconditioning Consultants' Division of the army recently wrote, "No more will we hear patients told, 'Your stitches are out now, you can go home tomorrow. When you get home, take it easy for a while, and when you feel strong enough, go back to work.'" The convalescent routines applied to the sick and disabled have been completely revolutionized. Dr. George Deaver of the Institute for the Crippled and Disabled in New York has analyzed

thirty-seven basic skills which each disabled person must strive to acquire in order to become self-reliant. These include opening and closing a door, crossing a street from curb to curb while a green light is on, climbing bus steps, holding on to an overhead strap in a bus, dressing and undressing, rising from a chair, feeding oneself, using a telephone, opening and sealing letters, writing. Dr. Gwynn foresees that public opinion will force the development of reconditioning projects for civilians also. "However," he says, "to be successful such a program must also have the enthusiastic support of the medical profession. This will only be obtained when sufficient scientific data are assembled to change ideas which have been in vogue for hundreds of years."

Progress in collecting these data will be largely due to Baruch's humanitarian effort to revive research in physical medicine and improve its practice. Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons has received \$400,000 to organize a model center for such research; the Harvard Medical School, \$30,000 for fellowships; the University of Minnesota Medical School, \$40,000 to promote the teaching of physical medicine;

the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, \$50,000 for research in biophysics, electronics, and instrumentation; the University of Southern California, \$30,000 for teaching and research; the Medical College of Virginia, \$250,000 to inaugurate a center for hydrology; New York University's College of Medicine, \$250,000 to establish a center devoting special attention to structural mechanics; \$200,000 has been set aside for fellowships and minor projects in the field.

What has been done for physical medicine by Baruch can be done for other neglected areas of medical research—for the study of vascular diseases and of arthritic conditions, to name only two of the most urgent tasks. But we cannot afford to wait for the generous impulse of rich humanitarians. The community itself must raise and spend the money needed for scientific research. Compared with what is wasted every year by our local and federal governments on all kinds of unnecessary projects, the amount required is negligible.

[Dr. Gumpert, a New York physician, will contribute regular discussions of new developments in medicine and related fields.]



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

The Unsettled Air

IN THE relaxed atmosphere of Bermuda an Anglo-American conference has been seeking to complete the Temple of Freedom of the Air which was left in a sadly unfinished state at Chicago in 1944. At that earlier conference, in which fifty-two nations participated, the United States and Britain emerged as the protagonists of two very different theories. The United States argued for maximum freedom of the international air on a purely competitive basis. Britain protested that there must be provision for orderly regulation of air traffic lest freedom breed license.

Although self-interest was the instructor of each country's attitude, both could make out a respectable case on general principles. Maximum freedom undoubtedly offered the United States maximum opportunity to win a major share of the world's air traffic. It had made great strides in the design of civil aircraft during the war and built up an unequaled experience of inter-continental flying. It had the men, the machines, the "know-how," and was all set to go while the other principal air powers were slowly disentangling themselves from their war wreckage. Yet American spokesmen could claim reasonably enough that rapid development of air communications would benefit the world at large. Progress, they said, should not be stifled because of temporary American ascendancy; air travel should not be established as a costly luxury by freezing fares at levels protecting the least efficient operators.

Before the war American international air business had been conducted by a monopoly concern largely along non-competitive routes. Britain, on the other hand, had had plenty of experience of competition and had found its fruits bitter. Since considerations both of national prestige and national defense were involved, air transport was promoted by many countries without regard to economics, and competition, being subsidized, lost all meaning as a stimulant to efficiency. The British observed that development of air transport had proceeded swiftly inside the United States under conditions of regulated competition and urged an international authority to control international air routes as the Civil Aeronautics Board controls American domestic air routes. This sounds fair enough, but such an authority, made up of national representatives, could not be a judicial body; it could merely furnish a forum for the compromise of conflicting national claims. No doubt it would provide a breathing-spell for countries like Britain, but its effect on American aviation would be stifling.

Weeks of effort at Chicago produced no reconciliation between these two points of view. Britain, with most other countries, was willing enough to sign a "two-freedoms" convention providing for rights of passage through the air of other nations and of landing for technical reasons, but only a minority of the delegates joined the United States in approving the full "five-freedoms" convention, which supple-

mented privileges of flight with privileges of trade. The third and fourth freedoms embody the right to discharge traffic carried between the country of origin of an air transport and the country of its landing and to pick up traffic for the return journey; the fifth confers on an air carrier whose route crosses several countries the privilege of picking up and putting down traffic along the way, provided a frontier intervenes between embarkation and discharge.

At Chicago the fifth freedom aroused the most controversy, and it is still causing trouble in Bermuda. From the American point of view it is essential for the profitable development of long-distance routes. Without it an air line flying from New York to Istanbul would cross Europe with a diminishing number of seats occupied, as its original passengers reached their various destinations. However, it can readily be seen that for countries on the western rim of Europe the grant of this freedom means increased competition for local traffic. Moreover, it is not so valuable a privilege for European air lines entering the United States. True, on reaching New York they can take on passengers for Mexico or the Orient. But under the principle of "cabotage" domestic traffic is reserved for domestic concerns; so that a foreign plane en route to Australia cannot accept traffic from New York to San Francisco even though it is half-empty. Thus European air lines are likely to stop at America's Atlantic seaboard, while their American competitors flying east, once assured of the fifth freedom, can profitably hedge-hop across Europe's numerous frontiers.

To safeguard their position the British feel that the fifth freedom should be limited, if granted at all, or that some method of preventing a cutthroat fight for traffic should be devised. A few months ago the International Air Transport Association, to which fifty-seven air lines of various nationalities belong, decided to set up a number of regional "conferences" covering all international routes. Modeled on the conferences which have regulated international shipping for many years, these bodies were to deal with tariffs, rates, schedules, and other matters of common interest. The British appear to be willing to accept this method of curbing competition as a substitute for an official controlling body; in the recent row over Pan-American's rate-slashing they professed their readiness to accept any transatlantic fares indorsed by the I. A. T. A. The Civil Aeronautics Board, on the other hand, has been hesitant about giving its blessing, fearing that participation by American companies in the conferences would violate the anti-trust laws. However, reports from Bermuda suggest that the board may be modifying its stand, since by its power to approve or disapprove specific agreements reached through the I. A. T. A. machinery it would retain some control over foreign air rates.

If these and other outstanding issues can be satisfactorily cleared up at Bermuda, there should be good hopes of an early expansion of international traffic, particularly on the North Atlantic route. At present about fifteen round trips are being flown weekly between the United States and Europe; soon, it is expected, there will be six trips daily. Over a period there ought to be a steady fall in fares and, as a result of the immense saving in time, an exchange of travelers between America and Europe on a scale vastly greater than ever before.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

DURING the recent French crisis the Yankee dollar presided majestically over the discussions. The Socialists and Communists together might have formed a Cabinet, but they were paralyzed by the fear that a left coalition would get no financial aid from the United States. It was the dollar that finally decided the moderate M. R. P. to join a three-party government without De Gaulle. "If we had said no," explained General Secretary Maurice Schumann, "the irreparable schism would have precipitated the financial stampede which already threatens us. France would have lost any hope of support from the other side of the Atlantic for her currency."

The example of the British loan is present in every French mind; though the Labor government retained the conservative Viscount Halifax as its ambassador and sent as principal financial negotiator a non-Labor economist, Lord Keynes, the fact that Labor is in power has increased Britain's difficulties. The campaign against "propping up socialism and communism with U. S. money" is not confined this time to the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Daily News*. Bernard Baruch himself has expressed the view that America should not make loans to countries whose post-war economic policy is geared to nationalization of industry. Even the gospel of liberalism is not quite broad enough to include dollar credits for nations which stray too far from economic orthodoxy.

In Poland, where the government has decided to nationalize basic industries, pre-war American investments are a stumbling-block. The American ambassador, Arthur Bliss Lane, recently indicated that he would not, under present circumstances, advise the United States to lend funds to Poland for rehabilitation purposes, charging that the government's economic policy violates the 1931 treaty of commerce and friendship.

Even when it is not planning an early visit abroad, the dollar exerts tremendous influence. Two years ago no one in Italy was thinking in terms of an immediate loan from the United States; American aid was a dream for some distant day in the future. But that day, nevertheless, weighed heavily on Italian political developments. The magnificent spirit of revolt that animated the underground of the north was soon dampened by the realization that partisans and maquisards were not popular in Wall Street. The fear of alienating American capital became an obsession and provided one of the weapons used by the House of Savoy and the Vatican in their fight against the left. The new Holy Alliance, directed today as in the time of Metternich against the revolution, has found in the dollar its twentieth-century emblem.

Homesickness may hasten the return of the armies of occupation, but the dollar never gets homesick. It can be kept in Europe indefinitely, maintaining America's position in world economic affairs. Today this country is about to enter a period of unparalleled industrial and commercial prosperity; its financial power, by absolute standards enormous, is still

greater in a world of devastation. In the course of one man's lifetime the relationship of the United States to Europe has undergone a profound change. Before 1914 the three leading industrial countries of Europe—England, France, and Germany—were all creditor nations with capital investments throughout the world. The United States was a debtor nation. After World War I Germany disappeared as a creditor country. France began to go downhill, and World War II finally pushed it into the queue of borrowers.

There remained only Britain with its empire. Today it is anxiously hoping that the United States Congress will approve the loan just negotiated here. With the exception of Sweden and Switzerland, two little countries, Europe has become a continent of debtors, while the United States has emerged as the one great creditor nation of the world. Europe lacks food, machinery, transport; left and right are engaged in a bitter struggle for power. This is the moment, American reactionaries believe, to drive the old Continent along the path they think it should take. In five years perhaps the European nations will have found a way out. Until then, the dollar can make the rules.

It can make them just as long as the left in Europe clings to the policy of gradual change. But if it is driven by despair, by misery, by the pressure of reaction at home or abroad to take the hard road of revolution, then it will sweep over all obstacles; hardships will not count. In October, 1917, Kerensky said, "I should like to see who is fool enough to take over the government in the present disastrous situation." Lenin answered, "Here we are." And until 1927, when it got a loan of three hundred million marks from Germany, the Soviet Union fought and won its struggle for existence without a cent from abroad. As a delegate of the Nansen Committee of the League of Nations, I visited one of the worst famine areas of the Ukraine in 1922. I still remember as a nightmare the suffering I saw there. But when I reached Moscow, the Russian leaders were talking not of loans but of expelling foreign relief agencies that were trying to buy off the revolution with bread and money.

Europe has not gone that far. There is still a possibility of peaceful, democratic change, provided the dollar's role is restricted to normal financial operations. The rebuilding and restocking of the old Continent offers enough opportunities for profit at a legitimate rate, no matter what its social system. It is not necessary to fabricate an inevitable clash between free-enterprise nations and nations with a controlled economy. But if American capitalism tries to use its power as a political instrument, instead of preventing, it will only precipitate, revolution. Leaving aside moral considerations, the attempt to manipulate Europe's future would make sense only if the leftward trend were transitory. But Europe's swing toward socialism is part of the historical process, and while it may be delayed or distorted, it cannot be stopped.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

TOCQUEVILLE'S prognosis, in "Democracy in America," of the possible effects of the spread of democracy on the practice and appreciation of the arts makes fascinating reading more than a century after it was set down. Even a less perspicacious man than Tocqueville could have foreseen that a social development which brought to millions of people their first heady and releasing experience of adequate food and shelter, personal liberty, and literacy would be accompanied by a reaction against everything associated with aristocratic society—the intellectual and aesthetic values it had forged as well as the social, political, and economic vices it had perpetuated. Nevertheless, it is interesting to set his picture of "literature in democratic ages" beside the reality, particularly in America in 1946.

Taken as a whole, [it] can never present, as it does in the periods of aristocracy, an aspect of order, regularity, science, and art; its form, on the contrary, will ordinarily be slighted, sometimes despised. Style will frequently be fantastic, incorrect, overburdened, and loose, almost always vehement and bold . . . there will be more wit than erudition, more imagination than profundity, and literary performances will bear marks of an untutored and rude vigor of thought, frequently of great variety and singular fecundity.

Democratic nations will cultivate the arts that serve to render life easy in preference to those whose object is to adorn it. They will . . . prefer the useful to the beautiful, and they will require that the beautiful should be useful.

If it should happen that the men of some one period were agreed upon . . . rules, that would prove nothing for the following period; for among democratic nations each new generation is a new people.

They prefer books which may be easily procured, quickly read, and which require no learned researches to be understood.

Democracy not only infuses a taste for letters among the trading classes but introduces a trading spirit into literature.

The ever-increasing crowd of readers and their continual craving for something new insure the sale of books that nobody much esteems.

Democratic literature is always infested with a tribe of writers who look upon letters as a mere trade; and for some few great authors who adorn it, you may reckon thousands of idea-mongers.

The warnings of a thousand Tocquevilles could not have prevented the dilution and decline of taste in its pre-democratic manifestations, the scorn of conventions of style and form, the distaste for tradition or "what is ancient." And all these tendencies have had, of course, some wonderful as well as some unfortunate results. The spread of democracy brought, and will continue to bring, into potential play a truly limitless reservoir of human talent and vitality. It was

—and I persist in thinking it still is—logical to assume that the cultural achievements of a democratic society may outstrip those of the past. Yet in America today the practice and appreciation of the arts are for the most part carried on at a level which must be the despair of people like myself who feel that man cannot live by technology alone, and that the arts are one great means both of expressing and of satisfying man's deepest needs and aspirations.

One measure of what seems to me nothing less serious than a crisis of culture in this country is the very fact that culture is still regarded not only as something extraneous to life but also as a refinement, a decoration, which he-men and true democrats can very well do without. (This attitude took a new lease on life during the war when the arts were looked upon, even by some "enlightened" liberals, as a branch of human endeavor which might be forgone until after the slaughter had ended.) The civilized world was shocked at the notorious Nazi statement: "When I hear the word culture I reach for my revolver." Here, too many people when they hear the word culture are likely to reach for a guffaw if not for a revolver, and culture is a word that one hesitates to use seriously for fear of being dismissed as a snob. As a people we have still to learn that culture is not an outmoded aristocratic pastime but a life-giving, life-renewing force as essential to the welfare of the race as reproduction is to its continuation.

Yet though the word culture is scorned, the substance of it is still demanded, for the simple reason that it fills an elementary human need. The tragedy is that a substitute has been offered and widely accepted which not only fails to fill the need but which seems to me to threaten the very production as well as the appreciation of the real thing.

The substitute is a commercial commodity known as entertainment. It is what one gets at movies, over the radio, and in a large proportion of books, especially books of fiction. This entertainment is in all basic ways the antithesis of genuine art. Being mass-produced, it is aimed at what is called the average but is actually the sub-adult if not sub-normal intelligence; it is not rooted in the real world; and its function is the very opposite of catharsis. Tocqueville predicted that men in democratic societies would be susceptible to an inordinate love of physical gratification. He could not foresee that even the arts, in the hands of exploiters of the ordinary man's non-material needs, would one day be converted into merely another form of "virtuous materialism," a gratification comparable to an easy chair or a warm bath. For what else is the average movie, the average radio program, the average best-seller?

The passivity of the American movie audience has often been noted. How could it be otherwise when we consider that the movies are forced in dealing with sex to adhere to a set of hypocritical and outmoded attitudes, that they invoke religious assumptions which no longer regulate behavior, that no political question can be explored, that an honest film about American life is as rare as hen's teeth, and that the pro-

ductions of Hollywood are largely enervating daydreams wrapped in cellophane. How could it be otherwise, in a word, when every human emotion, every political impulse, every aesthetic drive is passed through a mill where it is sterilized and molded into pink pills of "harmless" entertainment. And the American people have been so thoroughly conditioned to this fare that even a serious film must be presented as only another pink pill.

The other evening in a movie theater I saw a preview of "The Last Chance," a film depicting the desperate struggle of a group of refugees to escape from German-occupied territory. At the end the following "promotion" line was thrown on the screen: "The Last Chance! The Last Word in Entertainment." That line seems to me to epitomize the vicious elements in mass-production entertainment—its commercialism, the deep contempt for human beings which underlies it, and finally what can only be called its brutalizing effect. "Enervating," "brutalizing," "vicious" are strong words. They are not too strong to apply to entertainment which titillates but does not satisfy, and which exploits and perpetuates not the adult but the adolescent desires of millions of people.

The stock defense of the masters of the entertainment industry is that they give the people "what they want." This is to my mind one of the most cynical half-truths ever invented to salve a guilty conscience. I know that most people devour what they get and crave more. But we all know that "what the people want" is largely what they have been led to think they want—and my own theory is that they ask for more of what they get not because it satisfies them but precisely because it does *not* satisfy but only exacerbates their hunger.

Even so, I am convinced that people don't even think they want many of the idiocies perpetrated on the screen; and if all the radio listeners who hate and scoff at commercials or at the latest regurgitations of dead jokes or at the painful frenzy of the gag writers could be organized for a march on Radio City, the earth of Manhattan would tremble and the towers fall. The marchers would probably be joined by many of the gag writers and by the otherwise harmless people whose rich, deep commercial reiterations are so offensive.

But the cultural revolution I dream about is, I'm afraid, not imminent. For one thing, mass-production entertainment induces apathy. For another, the very element of mass-production raises a formidable barrier to effective resistance. The man who sits before a screen or a radio, even though he may be outraged, also feels helpless.

What remedies then? I can think of two remedies, but neither, alas, seems very probable. One would be an organized movement to abolish the Hays code of censorship, of which the influence is not confined to films and which in its attempt to keep public entertainment from being "offensive" has made it genuinely offensive, morally, intellectually, and politically. The other is a concerted, widespread, and continuing attack by a corps of honest and intelligent critics. It seems little enough to ask or expect, but at least in the literary field, which is the one I know best, the prospects of such a development are very slim. On the contrary, the so-called critics, it seems to me, are going over to the

**MICHAEL SAYERS
and ALBERT E. KAHN**

authors of
SABOTAGE and THE PLOT AGAINST THE PEACE

The Great Conspiracy

THE SECRET WAR AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA

This book about Russia, which sets the record straight after 25 years of misrepresentation, is an absorbing narrative about the actual personalities who fomented treason and terror within and the international plots without, which almost separated the democracies from their natural ally, the Soviet Union.

Frederick L. Schuman, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College, says: "Documented and indisputable even in its most startling episodes... the book is an unanswerable challenge to the new war-mongers of today."



At all bookstores • \$3.50

LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY

+ MIDWINTER + BOOK NUMBER

Reviews of the more important books of the season will be featured by THE NATION in its regular Midwinter Book Number to appear on February 23.

Publishers wishing to utilize the special advantages offered by this feature issue for advertising of better books are urged to make space reservations as soon as possible. Deadlines: for space reservations, February 8; for final OK's or complete plates, February 14. Publisher's advertising rate, \$200 per page. For information, phone BAR-clay 7-1066 or write.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

THE Nation

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Flash! Book Values: World of Washington Irving, Van Wyck Brooks, \$1.50; Seas of God, ed. Whit Burnett, \$1.50; Cross and the Arrow, A. Maltz, \$1.00; Leaf in the Storm, L. Yutang, \$1.00; Vigil of a Nation, L. Yutang, \$1.00; China To Me, Emily Hahn, \$1.50; Cuckoo Time, R. Temple, \$1.25; Gravediggers of France, Pertinax, \$1.50; Ann and the King of Siam, London, \$1.50; The Last Frontier, H. Fast, \$5.00... Downtown Book Bazaar, 212 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

enemy in an accelerating rush of abdication and collusion. It is bad enough for purveyors of trash to claim that they are giving people what they want. It is unspeakably worse when those who bear the name of critic proclaim it good—and that tendency is growing rather than diminishing. It is partly a case of the blind leading the blind. It is partly the result of pressures, direct and indirect. There is the obvious pressure of advertising; there is the much more subtle pressure to affirm that what is, is good. When shall we learn that to be a good democrat it is not absolutely necessary to be optimistic?

I have painted a dark picture, perhaps out of my own feeling of helplessness in the face of the mass-production and consumption of inanity which must "enervate the soul, and noiselessly unbend its springs of action," the collusion of the critics, and the complacency of a great many people who should know better. Still I, too, find myself offering a minor note of hope.

A few weeks ago I talked to the librarian in a small village in Virginia. She was lamenting the fact that so few of the excellent volumes on her well-stocked shelves ever moved from their places, while the demand for "Forever Amber" was such that she would be justified, as she put it, in buying more copies. (She hadn't done so, bless her heart, and vowed she wouldn't.) But what interested me particularly was her further remark that most of the people in the village who had insisted on reading the book, if it can be called a book, were disappointed or bored or disgusted.

Here is at least one small answer to the exploiters of man's

cultural needs, a breed of men quite as ruthless and greedy as the exploiters of his physical needs, who on the one hand do their utmost to debauch the public taste and on the other excuse their highly profitable enterprises by affirming that the public taste is low.

Never-Never Land

FOREVER CHINA. By Robert Payne. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$3.50.

TWO hundred years ago the French philosophers, who knew a great deal about contemporary Europe and very little about contemporary China, used a rococo version of the wisdom of China's ancients to set off the facts of Europe's feudal decadence, of which they could not complain too openly for fear of losing their heads.

The fashion they set has persisted, in different times and under different conditions. During the ill-fated London Conference of Foreign Ministers, a liberal radio commentator mused aloud that while Molotov, Byrnes, and Bevin wrangled, the thoughts of China's Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, representative of a culture that had antedated and would survive that of the West, must have been "long, long thoughts." Dr. Wang's thoughts may have been long ones, since he had little to say, but they were not couched in terms of the ages. That mild little university professor most probably thought of his own nagging dyspepsia and the ironic contrast between China's nominal position as one of the Big Four and the sad state to which the misrule of the men and forces that he represented had actually reduced her.

Robert Payne is the latest recruit to the ranks of writers who set up a mythical Orient as a backdrop to their reflections on life in general. These ranks include Voltaire at one end and Sax Rohmer at the other. There was of course more excuse for Voltaire than for Sax Rohmer. There is, to my mind, no excuse at all for Robert Payne, who knows the Orient and who has a mastery of phrase and imagery that could be applied far differently, and to much better purpose.

Mr. Payne is at his best in his word pictures of the shapes and colors of Chungking and Kunning. He is at his vicious worst when he writes of a China that is composed of virtuous sages—among whom he includes Chen Li-fu, torturer of Chinese students and head of the CC clique—vital peasants, soulful young intellectuals, and "beautiful" corpses of teen-age soldiers, Chinese and Japanese, on war-time battlefields (necrophilia is one of his main characteristics). I say vicious, because he knows the university campuses of Kuomintang China, knows the struggle that goes on there, and prefers to forget it.

Instead, he mystically contemplates and reads hidden noble meanings into such modern Chinese phrases as "New People" (*Hsin Min*), neglecting to tell us that this was the label slapped by the puppet Peking regime in North China on the "mass organization" by which they impressed the population into the service of Japan. He writes rather beautiful English poetry suggested by Chinese originals which he pretends to translate and sometimes assigns, obviously because it makes no difference in his dream world, to the

WHY has the Catholic Church

Supported

{ Mussolini
Hitler
Tiso
Franco
Salazar
Peron

?

Why did the Catholic church support Roosevelt's domestic policies and oppose his foreign policy?

Why is the Catholic church anti-Capitalist as well as anti-Communist?

What kind of a political, social and economic system is the Catholic church attempting to bring about?

How has this affected your life and how may it affect the lives of your children?

READ:

"The True Nature of Roman Catholicism"
by L. H. Lehmann

An important series of articles describing aspects of the Catholic church never before revealed.

Beginning in the January issue of
THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC MAGAZINE

Edited by former Catholic priests

Subscription only \$1.00 a year (10 issues)

Sample copy 15¢

A limited number of January copies are being reserved for readers of The Nation. To make sure of getting your January copy include Dept. number in the address as follows, or return this ad.

Agora Publishing Company, Dept. S-251

229 WEST 40th STREET

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

wrong poet. He almost justifies the rape of Nanking by picturing the Japanese killers as hag-ridden creatures assuaging their own unbearable sense of guilt in blood. He makes real characters who have much to say, like Rewi Alley, utter his thoughts instead of their own. To judge from his book, the Chinese Communists do not even exist; yet the book pretends to be a report.

There is no doubt that Mr. Payne loves China, but even this love is necrophiliac because he broods on a revised past and refuses to see the living China except in terms of the eternal vigorous maleness of its young men, which of course does not prevent these same young men from dying of famine or being killed in civil wars. His "Forever China" is composed of a half-understood ragbag of quotations from the ancient books, the unchanging landscape, and the physical continuity of the race. The complex reality passes him by, as indeed it must because it is not this he seeks but an anodyne for his own *Weltschmerz*, which could be called China or anything else. One wonders how Mr. Payne, who knew Spain in its heroic agony and writes of it, in retrospect, with appreciation and understanding, can avoid mentioning the Chinese analogies to Spain's travail, which have hit everyone else in the face within a week of arrival in the country.

Orville Prescott recommended this book as the greatest of current works about this much written-about, brave, and suffering country. It is no wonder, for Mr. Payne takes the reader away from the real and urgent problems of today into a never-never land that is opium to jaded nerves and leaves him with a feeling that everything is beautiful, though sad, cannot possibly be understood, and does not matter much anyway.

If Mr. Payne had called the fictitious land he creates by a fictitious name, this would not matter. But his book is skillfully set in the physical background of China, uses real people as its puppets, purports to tell us about a crucial world area peopled by 450,000,000 human beings, and is recklessly and completely misleading about China's past, present, and future. A writer who could have brought China closer has removed it to the realm of fantasy.

ISRAEL EPSTEIN

Music and Musicology

CHALLENGE TO MUSICAL TRADITION. By Adele T. Katz. Alfred A. Knopf. \$7.50.

THE NATION is not the place to dissect Heinrich Schenker's system of tonality analysis, which is presented in this book. Suffice it to say that if it is correct, everything Tovey believed and taught about the relation of classical tonality to classical forms is desperately wrong, for here are two mutually irreconcilable systems of analysis to explain one phenomenon.

Tovey's method is, as he says, "rigidly confined to generalizations from the behavior of musical compositions." Schenker begins with a prior conclusion based not on what he observes but on what he wants to prove. Possessed by the great Germanic will to order and authority, he constructs on his conclusion a typical cellular, pyramidal, totalitarian



*"As absorbing as
any novel of Chinese life."
—Saturday Review*

A Chinese Village By MARTIN C. YANG

This engaging study of a typical agricultural village by a distinguished sociologist is "...probably one of the most interesting publications of the decade... To read it thoroughly is to know China better than any American has ever yet learned to know it through the printed page."—*Saturday Review*

At all bookstores • \$3.00

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS, NEW YORK 27

You may again buy BOOKS through *The Nation*

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D.

Please address your orders to
**The Readers' Service Division
THE NATION**

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

system, in structure amazingly like the one shown in the organization handbook of the Nazi Party, into which he forces as much of the behavior of musical compositions as he can. It only remains to create a mystical derivation from nature to justify the system:

[Because the first four overtones] in their relation to the fundamental and to each other represent the simplest mathematical ratio that exists among any group of tones, they manifest a nature-given principle of unity that has made the triad the dominating factor in the development of man's harmonic resources.

But as Tovey points out, "harmony has not yet found a place for so simple a natural phenomenon as the seventh note of the harmonic series," and while "many a 'clang' contains . . . in appreciable strength" the first sixteen notes, no fewer than four are outside our system. Furthermore:

The theory of "added thirds" was no more scientific than a classification of birds by the color of their feathers. But birds do have feathers of various colors, and classical music does build up chords by sequences of thirds.

When a system is derived backward from the conclusion to the data, a fact which cannot be tortured to fit the conclusion *must* be explained away. Thus when K. P. E. Bach makes an abrupt transition to the tonic which does not follow the laws of Schenker, and this cannot be explained by Bach's "inexperience in dealing with the structural problems of the form" because he continued the practice in mature works, the analysis must be: "We can only assume that this specific treatment was motivated either by a desire for a startling effect or by a technical idiosyncrasy."

Schenker is bad enough; but Mrs. Katz is one of the most confused writers I have ever encountered. I shall not waste space on the confusion in her own statement of her argument that just as elementary grammar is not enough for understanding Shakespeare but is only a preparation for the advanced work in oral and written English, so elementary harmony is not enough for understanding a Mozart sonata but is only preparation for the advanced harmonic analysis—presumably Schenker's—which does lead to the understanding of it. It is necessary, however, to point out that the argument is incorrect; that the author confuses applied work with understanding in literature and music, because she fails to understand the real basis of understanding of art. The ability to understand—let us call it sensitiveness—is an inherent capacity; when it exists one learns to understand poetry by reading poetry which awakens and develops one's sensitiveness to it, and the understanding of music is achieved in the same way. When one understands music this way, technical information will be of value, but only "knowledge that is relevant to the understanding of works of art," not "knowledge which is relevant only to the discipline of an artist's training"—which is a distinction Tovey is careful to make. Tovey's system imparts this first kind of knowledge; Schenker's imparts neither kind, but only false knowledge.

Moreover, understanding not born of sensitiveness and experience will not be acquired through technical knowledge. We have the conspicuous example of Dr. Einstein to prove that vast learning about a thing can be coupled with

failure to comprehend the thing itself—in this case, the music of Mozart. Given knowledge and no sensitiveness, the second-act finale of "Figaro" may seem an interesting and even exciting derivation from the formulas of Paisiello, Martin, and others, but its great psychological truths and unique musical justness will never even be imagined.

CHARLES B. FARRELL

BRIEFER COMMENT

Great Episode

"ARNHEM LIFT, THE DIARY OF A GLIDER PILOT," by Louis E. Hagen (Rinehart and Company, \$1.50), is another good and brief war book which will certainly give pleasure to *Nation* readers, and for three reasons. In the first place it is good to read because it proves a major point in the liberal conception of the war. Louis Hagen is a German who in 1933 was confined in a concentration camp for anti-Nazi utterances. Released because of his youth he was sent to England by his parents. Upon the outbreak of war he volunteered for service in the British army, became a glider pilot, and was decorated for bravery in action. The second distinction of this book lies in the magnificent episode it describes. Sergeant Hagen's first mission was that extraordinary attempt by British and Polish parachutists to secure the crossing of the lower Rhine. It was as daring and imaginative and tragic an action as the war histories will contain. (It was betrayed by a Dutch Nazi working in the British and Dutch Intelligence Service.) The third feature of the book is its style, which is clearly a reflection of Sergeant Hagen's character. "Arnhem Lift" is as precise a distillation of experience as I have read in a long while. In its choice of exact imagery, its absence of undue emotional stress, its candor and calm gravity it is a model to be followed by other writers about war. RALPH BATES

James Monroe

AT TWENTY-TWO JAMES MONROE began the study of law under Thomas Jefferson. He went to school to him for the rest of his life. Monroe was an industrious and conscientious student, and if he was possessed of no brilliant original genius, he had the good sense to seek out and accept able counsel. His "nature demanded a confidant and adviser," writes Arthur Styron in "The Last of the Cockeyed Hats: James Monroe and the Virginia Dynasty" (University of Oklahoma Press, \$3.50), and he was fortunate that Jefferson and Madison were usually close at hand.

Monroe, who had served as Madison's Secretary of State, was his logical successor in the Presidency in 1816. He was reelected in 1820, when he received every electoral vote but one; the "era of good feeling" was at hand. The election to the Presidency capped more than thirty years of public life. Monroe served through the Revolutionary War as an officer while still in his teens, was elected to the Virginia Assembly and to the Continental Congress, was a Virginia governor and senator, a minister to England, France, and Spain, Secretary of State, and Secretary of War.

There was little in his long career, however, to capture

the imagination. "He was no meteor," writes his present biographer, "to dartle brightly for a moment and then fall into obscurity; no tragic hero to furnish blood to agitate the mind and events to compel the tears; not even a great leader with a grasp of means to attain ends beyond the common mind." To sustain his 480-page biography, then, Styron has written a long disquisition on the times, and has focused attention on Monroe only at intervals. The material which he presents specifically on Monroe's career could probably be included in a hundred pages: for long periods Monroe is lost in the background. The volume is particularly slow in getting under way, with a detailed discussion of the Birth of an Era, the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Styron, who seems to be something of a Southern agrarian on the defensive, obtrudes himself throughout the volume in these long asides. The narrative is further interrupted by hundreds of footnotes rarely containing anything which, given the author's discursive method, could not be better included in the text. Much of the volume is needlessly complex and drearily written, but it is dotted with brilliant vignettes of lucid prose. Styron's six-page estimate of Hamilton is an example, and his portrait of John Randolph is another. "The Last of the Cocked Hats" would be far the better for a comprehensive and astringent job of editing.

COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents


MAURICE EVANS

In His New Production of Shakespeare's

HAMLET

Columbus Circle Thea. 8'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Eves. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30

UP IN CENTRAL PARK

Book by HERBERT Lyrics by Music by
DOROTHY FIELDS DOROTHY FIELDS SIGMUND ROMBERG
BROADWAY THEATRE 8'way at 53rd St. Mat. & Sat. 2:30 & 8:30

Kermit Bloomgarden & George Meller present
DEEP ARE THE ROOTS

A New Play by ARNAUD d'USSEAU and JAMES GOW

Staged by ELIA KAZAN

FULTON THEATRE Forty-sixth Street West of
Broadway. Circle 6-6380.
Evenings: 8:40, \$4.20, \$3.60, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Matinees
Wednesday and Saturday, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20. Tax inclusive.

"A PHENOMENAL SUCCESS!"—Morehouse, Sun
KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Music by JEROME KERN • Book and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT

ZIEGFELD THEA. 64th Street and Sixth Avenue. CI 5-5200
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

"A DELIGHTFUL PLAY!"—Coleman, Mirror

Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA

In JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"

with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 49th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4636.
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mat. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

MOTION PICTURE

Manhattan

ALHAMBRA

COLISEUM

4th ST.

86th ST.

NEW LEX.

HAMILTON

125th ST.

RECENT

RIVERSIDE

21th ST.

Bronx

CASTLE HILL

CHESTER

FORDHAM

FRANKLIN

MARBLE

HILL

PELHAM

ROYAL

Westchester

MT. VERNON

NEW ROCH.

WH. PLAINS

YONKERS

RIKO NOW

"A TIMELY DRAMA"—N. Y. Sun
JOAN ROBERT

LESLIE HUTTON
**'TOO YOUNG
TO KNOW'**

Adapted from HARLAN WARE'S story

— And —

'THE DALTONS RIDE AGAIN'

Brooklyn

BUSHWICK

DYKER

GREENPOINT

KENMORE

MADISON

ORPHEUM

PROSPECT

REPUBLIC

TILYU

Coney Island

Queens

Kath's

FLUSHING

Kath's

RICH. HILL

STRAND

Far Rockaway

Manhattan

COLONIAL

"Engrossing Melodrama" • "Highly Recommended"
—N. Y. Times —N. Y. Herald Tribune

CHARLES

LAUREN

BOYER - BACALL

— Is —

'CONFIDENTIAL AGENT'

— With —

KATINA PAXINOU • PETER LORRE

Adapted from GRAHAM GREENE'S novel

— And —

'LOVE, HONOR and GOODBYE'

VIRGINIA BRUCE • EDWARD ASHLEY

PARAMOUNT presents
VERONICA LAKE SONNY TUFTS

JOAN

CAULFIELD

**"MISS SUSIE
SLAGLE'S"**

— with —
BILLY DEWOLFE • RENNY McEVY

— and —
LILLIAN GISH

A Paramount Picture

— In Person —
**DANNY
KAYE**

MISS

Georgia Gibbs

Tip, Tap & Toe

Bob Chester

AND HIS ORCHESTRA

— Featuring —

Larry Butler

NOW **PARAMOUNT** TIMES SQUARE

"Even when she's in his arms . . . there's
part of him that'll be mine forever!"

ALICE DANA LINDA
FAYE ANDREWS DARNELL
FALLEN ANGEL

Produced and directed by OTTO PREMINGER

A 20th CENTURY-FOX PICTURE

Now
Playing

ROXY

7th Ave.
at 50th St.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

SHAKESPEARE'S "The Winter's Tale" and Shaw's "Pygmalion" are not, to put it mildly, in all respects very much alike. The second makes, for instance, a great show of logic, while the first throws logic to the winds. Yet one may, for all that, propose a very pretty question by asking whether "Pygmalion" is, after all, any more true to life in the most literal sense of that term. Shakespeare knows, and by the very cavalierness of his presentation admits, that Hermiones do not really disappear for sixteen years and then reappear as statues turning to life; Shaw pretends to convince himself and us that philologists can make flower girls into duchesses in a mere six months. Thus the one author flies aloft on the wings of poetry; the other mounts dizzily a teetering stack of dubious premises and questionable deductions that only an acrobat could maintain in its unstable equilibrium. But both abandon probability as well as common sense far below, and it would be hard to demonstrate that Hermione is a more fabulous creature than Eliza Doolittle or that Leontes is any more a fantasy on the theme of jealousy than Professor Higgins is a fantasy on the theme of scientific detachment. And, parenthetically I might add, it would be equally hard to demonstrate that fabulous creatures of one sort or another do not make the most effective dramatis personae. What changes from age to age and society to society is merely the kind of monster we most readily find the meaning of. Something about human nature may be learned from both Leontes and Professor Higgins, but it is not because either is believable as a person.

In recent years revivals of twentieth-century plays have not often proved very successful, but the new production of "Pygmalion" at the Ethel Barrymore

Theater is an S. R. O. hit, and that augurs well for the future of its sponsors, Theater Incorporated, a non-profit organization which has, we are told, "extensive plans for limited runs of old and new plays." One reason for the small success usually enjoyed by revivals from the recent past may be simply that most such plays are in that uncomfortable state from which the plays of Shaw are just emerging—the state, that is to say, in which they seem old-fashioned without having yet become classics. Another fact which accounts for the triumph of the present "Pygmalion" undoubtedly is that instead of the all too visible economy and makeshift usually associated with such enterprises we have here an absolutely top-notch production performed by players of first-rate reputation and genuine popularity, who contribute that "glamour" which, unfortunately or not, New York audiences do not easily forgive the absence of. Gertrude Lawrence, who can make the shift from guttersnipe to brittle lady of fashion as few other actresses could, is probably the best possible person for the role of Eliza, and the support is excellent, though Raymond Massey, the co-star, is, for all his usual attractiveness, perhaps just a shade too amiable a Professor Higgins to go with his lines or his actions. Most spectators fortunate enough to see the production will probably realize that what the theater needs most of all at the present moment is a few playwrights with brains and talent. A little perspective makes it abundantly clear that whatever the virtues or the faults of Shaw may be he is simply outside the class of any American or English playwright who has produced anything during the last few years.

Returning for a moment to the comparison between his works and those of Shakespeare, I hope that the Old Gentleman—who is now almost twice the age at which Shakespeare died—will not be too offended if I point out at least one additional way in which his work resembles that of the Bard even when the latter was, if we believe Shaw, scornfully according the stupid public what it wanted. Despite fantastic plots, both "Pygmalion" and "The Winter's Tale" manage to bring in incidentally a good deal of wit, and, what is much more remarkable, the satiric elements in the two tend to converge. Take, for instance, the moment when one of the ballad-monger's patrons remarks how gratifying it is to get things in print so that one will know they are true. That remark, without the change of a

word, might be put into the mouth of any one of half a dozen Shavian embodiments of conventional fatuity and might be put there, not so that it wouldn't be noticed, but so that it would be singled out by unwary readers and marked in the margin, "How characteristic!" Or consider, for that matter, the whole character of Autolycus, who is a blood brother of Mr. Doolittle. Both are impossibly articulate and persuasive members of the Undeserving Poor. Both win our hearts and both are monsters, because though we love each as a fantasy we would not tolerate for a minute the only people in real life whom they remotely resemble.

Readers of "Pygmalion" may remember that the author adds a postscript in which he traces the subsequent careers of his characters. Clara Bynsford-Hill, the proper young lady who decides that "bloody" is part of the new smart vocabulary, later, we are told, was converted to socialism by H. G. Wells; and Eliza married, not Professor Higgins, but the young clotheshorse, Freddy. I should advise spectators not to pay any attention to all this. In the first place, none of the characters of the play has any life of that kind after the curtain descends. They are all alive only within the framework of the play's fanciful logic. In the second place, if Eliza didn't marry Professor Higgins, then the name of the piece is meaningless. Pygmalion was a man who married his own artistic creation, and it was not Freddy who made a lady out of a flower girl.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE sculpture in plaster, concrete, and other materials of David Hare, whose second one-man show is now being held at Art of This Century (through February 9), is another instance—a rich, full-blown, open instance—of the contemporary baroque. Hare stands second to no sculptor of his generation, unless it be David Smith, in potential talent. But like Smith in his latest phase and like all those who practice the baroque seriously at this moment, he is overwhelmed by the challenge of what is thought to be the contemporary mood.

Hare's is the most intensely surrealistic art I have ever seen—in the sense that it goes all the way in the direction of surrealism and then beyond, developing surrealism's premises with a con-

LANGUAGE
IS POWER

... Forge ahead, win special assignments, promotion, better job in global peace time opportunities through ability to speak a foreign language.

MASTER A NEW LANGUAGE quickly, easily, correctly by LINGUAPHONE

The world-famous Linguaphone Conversational Method brings voices of native teachers INTO YOUR OWN HOME. You learn the new language by LISTENING. It's amazingly simple; thousands have succeeded. ♦ ♦ 29 LANGUAGES

Send for Free book. Call for Free demonstration

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE

91 RCA Bldg., New York 20 • Circle 7-0830

agency and boldness the surrealist discovers themselves have hardly changed. The influence of Giacometti, related directly as well as through Matta's painting, operates here.

Now Giacometti himself in his best phase had near him the late presence of cubism to give some shape and form a direction to his literary adventures; in spite of himself, he absorbed a sense of style from his surroundings and his period which served to concentrate his energy. Surrealism of itself could not do this, because it never has a style of its own—that is, not in formal or plastic sense—and without the infusion of cubism could offer no more than period-revival academicism. Thus it is not surprising that when cubism began to lose its prestige in the plastic art world of the late thirties, Giacometti, never a very serious or resolute artist, relapsed into the most abysmal academicism.

Hare preserves Giacometti's demerit: his ambition to create in each work of art a non-aesthetic personality, a new element of "absolute" experience, but he has failed to possess himself as yet of a sense of style comparable to Giacometti's at his best. And he is not concerned enough with the necessity of being sure that the work of art be at least art before becoming a personality. The art are, of course, extenuating circumstances in Hare's case. While Giacometti could raise his monsters by hand in a hothouse, Hare has to meet the rush of a horde of late, hot, field-grown monsters coming from every direction of present-day history. They are not as easy to control as Giacometti's horrors.

Hare's art as a whole suffers from its diversity, its lack of a unifying formal principle, of a consistent plastic bias. Its twenty-three "personalities" on exhibition belong to at least seven different periods of geology. Their variety is upsetting instead of stimulating, because it is the result of the absence of style and the presence of elaborations and complications too often motivated by nothing more than exuberance or mechanical facility. Nor does the individual excellence of so many of the pieces—some are superb—remedy their failure to relate to one another.

As I have said, Hare has a prodigious amount of talent. The linear inventiveness of his sculpture cannot be denied; it's almost possible, in fact, to argue that he is a great draftsman—which is, perhaps, why he is not a successful sculptor in any final way. He still de-

rives too closely from painting and fails to distinguish between the different orders of feeling proper to it and to sculpture. And in this respect, particularly, gothic surrealism, with its deliberate obliteration of such distinctions, is a handicap. (Perhaps it is necessary to remind the reader that the surrealism of Picasso, Miro, and Masson is not gothic.) Only when Hare comes to include his surrealism in something larger and outwardly more impassive and controlled, something that scorns to compete with nature in procreation, will he realize the fulness of his unquestionable talent.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

AT LAST we are getting recordings of Toscanini's performances in frequent succession; and they are continuing to provide the outstanding releases of Victor's lists. On the February list are his performances with the N. B. C. Symphony of two great pieces of dramatic music: Verdi's Overture to "La Forza del Destino" (11-9010; \$1), and Beethoven's "Leonore" Overture No. 3 (Set SP-2; \$2.25). They are superbly effective statements of the works; but the performance of the "Prometheus" Overture on the fourth side of the Beethoven set turns out to be an example of what happens when internal and external conditions of the moment cause the Toscanini powers to operate at incandescence: the result is an intensification of the characteristic qualities and quantities of his style, a heightening of its effect, to the point where it is hair-raising.

Moreover those tremendous opening chords come off the record with a depth and solidity and roundness of sound cleanly defined in quiet that one is not prepared for by the thinner, harder, and reverberantly coarser fortissimos of the "Forza" and "Leonore" performances or the recent Haydn No. 98; and the sound of the softer passages of "Prometheus" is also astonishingly beautiful. The difference is partly in the increased amount of bass that produces the depth and solidity, but also in the particular adjustment of recording equipment to acoustic conditions that produces the clean definition in quiet. And I must wonder that Victor's engineers, whose competence is evident in the beauty of some of their recordings of the St. Louis and Boston orchestras,

CHARLES A. BEARD

calls it:—

"An informing document for all civilized persons now interested, of necessity, in what is called the Jewish problem."

Here are 576 pages of thoughtful, scintillating writing by the elite of the World of Letters.



THE JEWISH FRONTIER ANTHOLOGY

The selected gems of a great journal of thought. Articles by:—

Norman Angell
Dorothy Thompson
Leon Blum Carl J. Friedrich
David Ben Gurion
Justice Robert H. Jackson
Sholom Asch Hayim Greenberg
Jacob J. Weinstein
and many others

"The very highest standard in modern journalism...must appeal to Gentile no less than Jew."

Lewis Mumford
"A bright mirror reflecting the life of a decade." Marvin Lowenthal

On sale only by the publisher

Cloth bound, 576 pages
Price—\$2.50, postage prepaid

Send check or money order to
Jewish Frontier, Dept. 1 N
45 E. 17 St., New York 3, N. Y.

JEWISH FRONTIER

Dept. 1-N
45 East 17th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Kindly send me, POSTAGE PREPAID, _____ copies of THE JEWISH FRONTIER ANTHOLOGY. Enclosed is my check for \$_____ (at \$2.50 a copy).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Postal Zone _____ State _____

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of
The Nation's
Special Class Room Rate - -

25¢
Monthly per Student

for orders of ten or more
copies to be sent to one
address—Desk copy is
supplied free.

Address your order to

THE NATION
20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

62c a line (six words)

Minimum 3 lines

\$6.16 per inch

Attractive discounts for
multiple insertions

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.
BARclay 7-1066

have not achieved a standardization of practice for each orchestra and auditorium that would prevent the differences in sound between the Boston performances of Berlioz's "Harold in Italy" and Brahms's Third, the St. Louis performances of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony and the Couperin-Milhaud "La Sultane," the N. B. C. Symphony performances of the Overture to "La Forza del Destino" and "Prometheus," and worse still—as in the case of Haydn's No. 98—the difference between one side and the rest of a single performance. I must also wonder at the lack of care in processing and manufacture that gives us these examples of Toscanini's perfection in performance marred by noisy blemishes in the records.

Victor's new set (1028; \$5.75) of "Swan Lake," like Columbia's older one, offers not the music you may have heard at performances of "Swan Lake" in this country, but a collection of excerpts from Tchaikovsky's music for the several acts of the original ballet—a collection which includes some but not all of the music used in the one-act "Swan Lake" performed in this country, some but not all of the music used in the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe "Magic Swan" a few years ago, and possibly some music not used in either of these two. You can take it simply as enjoyable music, well-performed by Golschmann with the St. Louis Symphony (his tempo for the music on side 8 is much faster than what you have heard, but may be the correct one), and well-recorded. And that is what you had better do, ignoring the correlation of music and story which the notes in the album provide for each record-side; for it is filled with gush, confusion, and inaccuracy.

On a single (10-1200; \$.75) is *Questa o quella* from "Rigoletto," sung by Björling with the splendor and ease that his voice has on other records of several years ago, and the style that his singing still has. On the reverse side is *Nessun dorma* from "Turandot." Good orchestral accompaniments are provided by Grevillius; and the performances are well-recorded.

By now I am no longer surprised by a letter which begins by telling me that the writer is a constant reader of my column, and ends by asking a question about something I discussed a couple of weeks earlier. Invariably this has happened after one of my periodic discussions of needles: I have repeated my advice against sapphires, against any

other long-playing needle other than chromium, against cactus or thorn needles; and shortly afterward I have been asked my views on needles, and in particular on sapphires or cactus. And after writing a few weeks ago that I still had no information about new phonographs, but that as soon as I had any I would publish it, I am receiving letters from constant and appreciative readers asking me for information about new phonographs.

Since I have referred to cactus needles I might amplify what I have said about them. The first playing and repointing removes the outer surface that has been hardened by the chemical; and this, as I have said, means that the point now wears down very quickly and in so doing develops "shoulders" like those of a worn steel needle and as harmful to records. In addition the softness of the repointed cactus makes it possible for particles of the abrasive shellac-mix of the record to become embedded in the needle and then to begin to exercise their abrasive effect on the record. A friend to whom I mentioned this told me of some records which he had played several years ago only with cactus needles and then stopped playing, and which he discovered recently sounded much more badly worn than his other records that he had not played with cactus needles. And the new plastic records of vinylite should be damaged even more than are shellac records.

CONTRIBUTORS

ISRAEL EPSTEIN lived for many years in China. He covered various phases of the Sino-Japanese war for the United Press, the New York Times, Time, and the Allied Labor News.

CHARLES B. FARRELL, who contributes his first signed review to this issue, has figured several times as the anonymous correspondent in Mr. Haggin's column.

RALPH BATES, the distinguished novelist, fought with the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War.

COLEMAN ROSENBERGER is the author of the article "Freedom Road" True? which appeared in *The Nation* last July.

Letters to the Editors

The Big Three

Dear Sirs: As a faithful "Nation Associate," permit me to protest against Freda Kirchwey's statement in her editorial of January 5: "The fact is, every nation might as well accept Big Three dominance as the basis of post-war relations." I object to such "realism" on three counts: (a) Power politics is war. It means: "You may be right, but I can knock you down. Want to argue?" (b) To talk of "a democratic structure" while accepting the heavenly right of sheer force is hypocrisy, and hypocrisy is always dangerous. You cannot reconcile the principles proclaimed at San Francisco with the deals secretly agreed to at Yalta or Potsdam. (c) There can be no durable understanding among the major nations on the basis of power politics. The Big Fellows invariably come to blows, because they live in constant fear that one of them may become a Bigger Fellow. Just because I want and have always advocated peace and amity with Russia, I want them not on a precarious Bismarck-Hitler basis but on the sure foundation of permanent common interests, frankly and openly discussed, without fear or favor.

There is an objectionable term for "permanent general interests" and that is "principles." Of course, *The Nation* will never stand for such starry-eyed liberal nonsense. Let us be tough and realistic, and prepare for the next round.

ALBERT GUÉRARD, SR.

Stanford University, Cal., January 18

Two Corrections

Dear Sirs: In connection with the really excellent article by Mr. D. M. Lebourdais on The Far North: International Frontier, which appeared in the January 12 issue of *The Nation*, two corrections should be made with reference to Alaska.

First, the statement is made that gold is not so important to the Alaska economy as fish or timber. The fact is that gold mining, in peace time, is second only to fishing and produces much more than the forest lands, which contain enormous stands of timber but have not yet been developed.

Second, the sentence reading, "A tract of 30,000 square miles has been set aside in Alaska for the exclusive use

of the United States navy, but so far nothing has been done to develop it," should have read, "nothing was done to develop it until the spring of 1944." Then a detachment of Seabees was sent to Point Barrow, and extensive work has been carried on ever since, including a preliminary pipe-line survey. This spring the work will be turned over to civilian contractors. Qualified oil geologists believe the Barrow reserve, or Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4, may prove to be one of the great oil fields of the world.

E. L. BARTLETT,

Delegate from Alaska

Washington, January 15

More About Straus

Dear Sirs: Mr. Straus (*The Nation*, January 5) expresses the point of view of a metropolitan observer. The effect of the opposition of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Home Builders' Association, the United States Savings and Loan League, etc., in small manufacturing towns such as these in Beaver County is more pronounced, probably, than in metropolitan areas. More people, even those who would be benefited by liberal policies, are led to subscribe to the propaganda of those organizations.

This county contains over 2,000 public-housing dwelling units, of which over 400 were built as "subsidized" or "low-rent" projects. There was an enormous influx of war workers which created a serious housing shortage. It was hoped the immigrants would depart after V-J Day, but only 83 families have moved out of the public-housing units since then. In the meantime, thousands of service people have returned, and the Housing Authority now has an application list of 1,200, of whom 700 are veterans.

Several days ago I recited these facts to a county poor supervisor and proposed more public housing as a means of partial relief. "Public housing," he said, "has been one of the biggest failures and mistakes of this county." How could he, who sees so much distress, say that? Like so many others, he expresses the preaching of reactionary politicians, builders, realtors, and their kind.

I am in agreement with giving wider priorities to housing—not only priorities however. There must be an alloca-

tion of materials and men also, if anything is to be accomplished. Private housing should not be discouraged. Not all veterans—in some localities no veterans—need subsidized rent.

It seems to me that the greatest contribution to housing the veteran will be made when this country combines its resources of labor and capital in an effort of production. We did it for war; we should be able to do it for peaceful pursuits.

ARTHUR L. MARTSOLF,

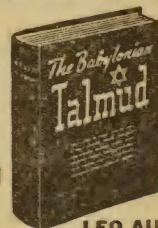
People's Housing Council

New Brighton, Pa., January 11

Segregation, Navy Style

Dear Sirs: In reference to your item of several issues ago about discrimination on the troopship "Old Crow," this is not a universal navy practice. We returned on the navy ship General Anderson, which carried both white and colored troops, and there were no lines of demarcation. We slept in the same holds, ate together, washed together, gambled together, and there was no

The Babylonian TALMUD



Edited
and
Translated
from the
original
Hebrew
by

LEO AUERBACH

\$3.00

Betrothals • Leavings for the Poor
Levirate Marriage • Criminal Law
Festivals • Penalties
Wisdom of the Sages

"This TALMUD . . . is certainly worthwhile to anyone who desires to taste of the sea of Talmudic knowledge, without having recourse to the original sources." —Rabbi Samuel K. Mirsky, Prof. Yeshiva College, N. Y.

NOW for the first time there is available in English a large representative cross-section of The Original TALMUD.

LIMITED EDITION.

ORDER NOW!

Philosophical Library, Inc., Dept. N,
15 E. 40th St., N. Y. 16, N. Y.

Please send me copies of THE
BABYLONIAN TALMUD, at \$3.00 each.

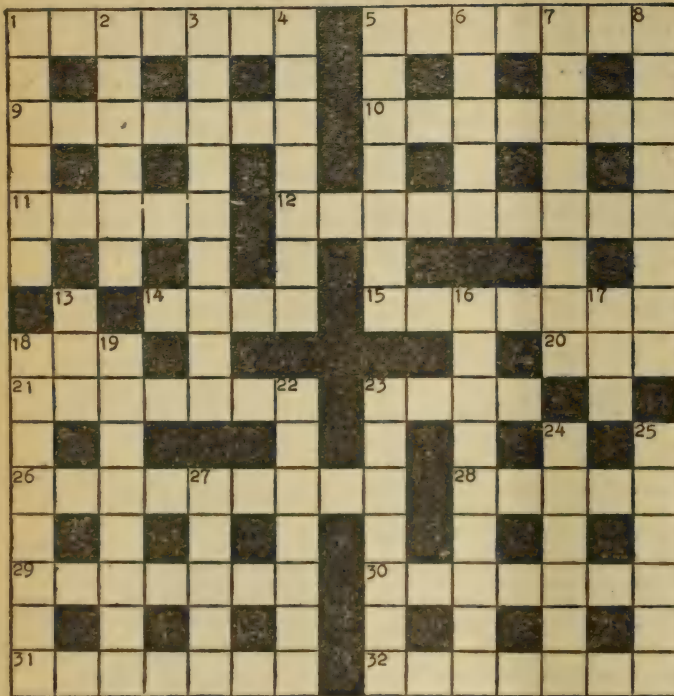
Enclosed are \$.....

Name

Address

Crossword Puzzle No. 147

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Might make a lad crib
- 5 Trivial perhaps, but amusing
- 9 It's an ill wind
- 10 "But when he once ----- the upmost round, He then unto the ladder turns his back"
- 11 Jumped out of the plate
- 12 "Concentrated energy in a small space which, given certain conditions, will release itself"
- 14 Two of Henry VIII's consorts were so named
- 15 Where E. Carter lives
- 18 How you prefer your wines, maybe
- 20 Word already mentioned once in these clues
- 21 "But that --- -----ed engine at the door Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more" (hyphen, 3-4)
- 23 Dog food
- 26 Bill in Dee (anag.) won't come out!
- 28 40? Do better than that
- 29 Deceives
- 30 Provides a little nonsense at the end of the pier
- 31 Cautious
- 32 Not in a mood to be made much of

DOWN

- 1 Dickens' character who decided that "the Law is a hass"
- 2 If you give the foreign seaman tea, you'll be able to get the last car
- 3 Of which Rudolph the Fifth was crowned king
- 4 The entire university in America; only part of it in England

- 5 Descendants of mine are found here
- 6 "We do the difficult immediately; the impossible takes a little longer" —isn't a bad one
- 7 He retires from court to a small and simple apartment
- 8 Diminished—owing, presumably, to there being less need
- 13 "It had to be ---," as the bowman sang of his bow
- 16 Lo, to serve (anag.)
- 17 "A nightcap decked his brows instead of bay; A --- by night, a stocking all the day"
- 18 Time to be downing tools, says the clock
- 19 The only one of Lear's daughters who really loved him
- 22 Degraded
- 23 Mount slowly (two words, 5 & 2)
- 24 Corot, I? No, a tax
- 25 Side of bacon
- 27 Plimsoll saw to it that ships should not be to excess

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 146

ACROSS:—1 TICKLERS; 5 SCOTCH; 10 RAPALLO; 11 CROAKER; 12 FELLAH; 13 UNCTUOUS; 16 RINNELS; 17 STUDS; 18 STYE; 20 STIRRUP; 22 OUCH; 24 DEUCE; 26 DESPAIR; 29 CAROONLE; 30 AVERSE; 32 TOLLBAR; 33 PARSNIP; 34 OBOIST; 35 ETHELRED.

DOWN:—1 THRIFT; 2 CAPULET; 3 LOL-LARDS; 4 RIOT; 6 CROATS; 7 TAKE OUT; 8 HARASSES; 9 SCONE; 13 HUSTLED; 14 UNDRAGE; 15 CLAUDIA; 19 CONCERTO; 21 PERVERSE; 23 CABALLO; 25 CORNER; 26 DOUBTS; 27 SLUES; 28 HEAPED; 31 SPOT.

sign of friction, in spite of the very crowded conditions.

On this ship, at any rate, the navy showed its own type of discrimination. The enlisted men were confined to two sections of deck, one forward and the other aft. In good weather you had to elbow your way through the packed masses to find even standing room. The decks reserved for commissioned personnel always had plenty of room, but M. P.'s were assigned to keep enlisted men out of these sections. This situation prevailed the entire trip, in spite of the protests of both men and officers. We were told that deck-space assignment was a navy function, and that the navy regulations could not be changed.

We entered Boston Harbor at dawn, and at 6 a. m. a new space assignment was announced, by which the space allotted to enlisted men was almost tripled. So as we sailed triumphantly into dock, with flags flying and whistles tooting, the general public was treated to a view of the ship almost completely covered with plain ordinary soldiers. I guess it wouldn't do to show people how the ship looked in mid-ocean, crammed with soldiers forward and aft, and almost empty amidships.

ROBERT B. KONIKOW

Washington, D. C., January 12

RESORTS

MAMANASCO

Lake Lodge

A Resort Estate of unmatched beauty. Ideal for winter rest and recreation. Write or phone Ridgefield, Conn. 820.

HATHAWAY SKI LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 500-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces and private porches. Winding Mountain Trails, Ski Tow, 700-foot Ski Slope. Delicious food. Easy transportation.

Attractive Winter Rates

For reservations or further information write or call HATHAWAY LODGE, Kaines Falls, N. Y. Telephone, Tannersville 299

The Fieldstone

On Round Island Lake

A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York.

ALL SPORTS — OPEN ALL YEAR

MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7963

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR Newburgh 4477
 Delightful...skating on private lake. Open fireplaces.
 Different...the colonial atmosphere.
 Delicious...our unexcelled cuisine.
 Dazzling...recording for listening & dancing.
 All this only 53 miles from New York City
 A Resort for Adults Only

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 16, 1946

NUMBER 7

The Shape of Things

AMERICA TODAY IS AN OASIS OF PLENTY in a hungry world, and yet there are some Americans—we hope a tiny minority—who are unwilling to do anything to alleviate foreign distress that involves the slightest inconvenience or sacrifice on their part. No sooner had the President announced his bread-for-Europe plans than Representative Edwin Arthur Hall, New York Republican, introduced a resolution in Congress calling for a ban on grain and flour exports until the Secretary of Agriculture found that shortages of animal feed in certain areas had been made good, and that enough flour was available to "assure the American people the present amount of white bread." On another page Keith Hutchison reviews the world food front, showing how war and widespread crop failures have created a truly desperate situation throughout Europe and Asia. Although it is now too late to prevent terrible distress in many countries, by fulfilling our export pledges we may help to keep millions alive who will otherwise die before the next harvest. But Mr. Hall wants his white bread and doesn't care if it's seasoned with human blood. The vast majority of Americans, however, will surely repudiate this monstrous selfishness and will insist, once they understand what is at stake, that our commitments be fulfilled to the letter even if it means a decline in our present super-sufficient diet averaging 3,300 calories daily.

★

WHILE MR. HALL'S REACTION TO THE FOOD crisis is by all odds the meanest, that of Alf M. Landon deserves mention as the stupidest. Criticizing the President's program, the forgotten Republican candidate of 1936 declared: "We are reaping the results of the iniquitous Morgenthau plan for defeated Germany." How on earth a policy of de-industrializing Germany, which in fact has not been adopted, could be responsible for harvest failures throughout the world Mr. Landon does not vouchsafe to explain. It could not even affect the situation in Germany itself, since the last season's crop there was in the ground before the Allies crossed the Rhine. Of course it might be argued by Mr. Landon that we ought to have postponed our offensive until the Germans had gathered in their harvest. But if haste to end

the war was a mistake, surely it is General Eisenhower rather than Mr. Morgenthau who was at fault. If Mr. Landon wants to criticize the Administration for its share in the present situation, there are more rational grounds on which he can do so. President Truman and his advisers cannot escape blame for shortsightedness. As early as V-J Day there was clear evidence of a dangerous food shortage in Europe this winter. Nevertheless, rationing of everything except sugar was ended in this country with indecent haste, and no steps were taken to insure that wheat needed for food would not be diverted to less essential uses. That was a culpable error, but if Mr. Landon lifted his voice in protest at the time, the squeak escaped us.

★

OMELETTES MADE OF DRIED EGGS ARE NOT very appetizing, as we can testify from personal experience. But Britons, rationed to two or three "shell eggs" a month and lucky if they got those, have found American powdered eggs a great standby. Now they are told there will be no more for the present, not because we have no eggs to spare—a glut is expected shortly—but because the British government feels that, with the exchange position so uncertain, it cannot draw on its supply of dollars for the purpose. Its anxiety on this score has no doubt been increased by Congressional delays in considering the British loan and by indications that it may not be approved for many months, if at all. Harassed British housewives, however, are asking whether other American imports should not be sacrificed first—for instance, films. They feel that while a rich cultural diet of Grable, Gable, and Garland is all very well, a little more protein would be still better.

★

BY ONE OF THOSE STRANGE LEGISLATIVE quirks which constantly crop up when Senate and House disagree, the House has passed by a decisive vote a compromise full-employment bill retaining all the essential principles which only two months ago it flatly rejected. Although the term "full employment" is nowhere used, the measure commits the federal government to "use all practicable means . . . to promote maximum em-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	181
Harry Hopkins	183
Labor in Wonderland	184
Stalin Reports	185

ARTICLES

Some News to Cheer <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	186
Washington's Atomic War <i>by Tris Coffin</i>	187
Perón: South American Hitler <i>by Stanley Ross</i>	189
General De Gaulle Steps Down <i>by Ida Treat</i>	194
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	196
The People's Front <i>by Del Vayo</i>	197

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes on Canadian Literature <i>by Robert Leigh Weaver</i>	198
The Work of Chief Justice Stone <i>by William Seagle</i>	200
Briefer Comment	201
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	203
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	205
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	205
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	206

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 207

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 148 *by Jack Barrett* 208

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting, *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$9; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ployment, production, and purchasing power." In itself the bill is no guaranty of full employment, but it does set up machinery which can be used to assure jobs for all. As in the original Senate bill the President is directed to report annually to Congress on the expected levels of employment and production, as compared with the levels needed to maintain maximum employment. A fourteen-man joint Congressional committee will then study the President's recommendations and propose specific measures. To a great extent the legislation's effectiveness will depend on the men President Truman appoints as the three economic advisers for whom the bill provides. If first-class men are chosen, the President's annual report on employment prospects can be so authoritative and so dramatic that Congress will have no choice but to accept his recommendations. *

A GAG HAS BEEN IMPOSED ON POPULAR voices in the Philippines at a time when the freest discussion is needed to clarify questions of independence and reform. Manuel Roxas, presidential candidate and collaborationist spokesman of the large landowners, is the chief benefactor and apparently the prime mover in this situation. The strongly anti-Roxas *Philippine Press* went out of business after being denied paper supplies and printing facilities by pro-Roxas forces. Because of their attacks on Franco and Salazar and because they advocated breaking up the large estates held by the Dominican Order, the *Star Reporter* and the *Courier* were denied press facilities by the Dominican Fathers who control the University of Santo Tomas Press. Liberal groups attempting to buy the printing press formerly used by Yank were outbid by Roxas's well-heeled *Daily News*, leaving the importation of machinery from America as their only hope. The American authorities, who control exports to the islands, should facilitate this shipment so that the future of the Philippines will not be determined by the loud and unopposed voices of the feudal-fascist newspapers. *

AFTER YEARS OF DELAY THE HOUSE WAYS and Means Committee is preparing revisions to the Social Security Act to meet present-day conditions. Proposals for liberalizing and expanding the act were contained in each of President Roosevelt's annual messages for several years. The most important change recommended is the extension of unemployment and old-age protection to farm workers, domestics, the self-employed, and employees of scientific, religious, and educational institutions. On the basis of ten years' experience in administering the act, the Social Security Board also urges that unemployment-insurance benefits be increased and standardized to eliminate the present wide variations among the states; that disabled persons receive the same protection as those unable to work because of age; and that provision be made for dependents in unemployment as

well as in old-age insurance, President Truman, on the board's recommendation, asked recently that health insurance be incorporated in the social-security system. In addition to these and other specific changes aimed at giving the American people financial protection against the hazards of modern life, a basic overhauling of the Social Security Act is required to eliminate inconsistencies and provide an integrated and comprehensive system of protection. It is impossible to predict how far the Ways and Means Committee will go: much will depend on the mail from back home. *

STANLEY ROSS'S STORY OF PERON'S CAREER in this issue is full of facts that have dodged the other correspondents. It brings out in sharp detail the ties that bind the Argentine dictator to his Axis forbears and to the Nazis still operating in Spain and Latin America. The Argentine election next week is as important to the peace of this hemisphere as the German elections of 1932 were to the peace of Europe; Mr. Ross shows clearly how the fascist forces have prepared for victory and what they intend to do with it. The UNO Assembly will apparently adjourn without considering the issue of Argentina, but its resolution on Spain makes the continued collaboration of Franco's Latin American partner more incongruous than ever.

*

SEVERAL POINTS SHOULD BE NOTED ABOUT Panama's resolution on Spain adopted by the UNO Assembly. First, while officially endorsing the San Francisco resolution and the Potsdam declaration barring admission to the Franco government, it goes a step beyond both by recommending "that the United Nations members take into account their spirit and their letter in conducting their future relations with Spain." The meaning implicit in these cautious words is that the assembled nations are advised to break with Franco. Second, this meaning was made explicit in several of the supporting speeches. The Czech delegate, Ivo Duchacek, not only told the members to sever relations with the Franco dictatorship but went so far as to urge that the Spanish Republicans be granted affiliation with the UNO. Third, among the many speakers who favored the resolution no American was included. Fourth, while the decision of the Assembly provides good ammunition for opponents of Franco and may even throw a scare into Argentina, which apparently was "absent" when the vote was taken, it need have no effect whatsoever on governments that want to do business with Franco. Fifth, nothing in the resolution would make it difficult for its supporters to recognize a monarchist regime in Spain if one should be set up or for the UNO to admit such a regime to membership. In sum, we welcome the gesture of the Assembly as a hopeful augury and plan to keep our fingers crossed.

THE RESIGNATION OF ISADOR LUBIN AS Commissioner of Labor Statistics will further weaken the Truman Administration. Few men have served the government of this country so long and ably as Dr. Lubin. He was with the Food Administration and the War Industries Board in the last war. He was economic adviser to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in the 1928-29 investigation of unemployment, to the Senate Committee on Manufactures in the 1931 investigation of economic planning; and to the TNEC monopoly inquiry. From 1933 on, as Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Dr. Lubin was one of the most hard-working, faithful, and understanding aides that Mr. Roosevelt had. Along with his regular job Dr. Lubin took on one crucial assignment after another for the President, beginning with his work in the PWA, down to his service in the OPM. Throughout the war he was one of the selfless and all but anonymous few who labored in the White House as close collaborators of Mr. Roosevelt. One of his final assignments was as associate United States representative on the Allied Reparations Commission. Dr. Lubin deserves his country's thanks for the hard work he has done. He is still a young man with a long and useful career ahead of him. We sincerely hope that he will some day return to the high governmental influence he deserves.

Harry Hopkins

DEMOCRATIC peoples are traditionally ungrateful, and the post mortem tributes to Harry Hopkins hardly compensate for the terrific beating he took in his lifetime. Mr. Hopkins was associated with Mr. Roosevelt longer than any other New Dealer except Henry Morgenthau. He was a well-known New York City social worker when in 1931, with nearly a million unemployed in New York State, Mr. Roosevelt made him director of the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration. From 1933 to 1938 Mr. Hopkins did for the nation's unemployed what he had done for New York's. Through the WPA, the CWA, and the FERA he provided made work for the jobless. He built and repaired schools, constructed roads, post offices, dams, and bridges, warred on illiteracy, supported special projects for the arts. One can hardly compute the sum total of human misery that this frail man helped to alleviate; his reward was a continuous snarling uproar from the press and Congress about boondoggling, leaf raking, and red plots. No man, not even Mr. Roosevelt, was ever subjected to a more narrow, cantankerous, unjust, and intemperate succession of attacks, and these without any doubt seriously affected his health.

Mr. Hopkins was far from being the radical he was painted. He was humane and progressive but no left winger. The first test of how far he would go came early

in the Roosevelt administration when he put his foot down on the plan to have the unemployed take over mattress factories in Ohio and manufacture for themselves. The socialistic potentialities of the scheme were obvious; the idea of putting idle men at idle machines for self-help was attractive to many New Dealers. Mr. Hopkins was criticized for opposing it. No one will ever know how much that opposition sprang from his own views, how much from a healthy and realistic sense of how far the country—and Mr. Roosevelt—would let work relief go. There was a period, from 1938 to the outbreak of the war, when Hopkins was Secretary of Commerce, in which a wide rift opened between him and the brain-trust crowd. The big business men Hopkins wooed into the New Deal through his Business Advisory Council were regarded as an influence against further social reform; they were the reservoir from which were drawn many of those who served the government—not a few of them very ably and well—in production and diplomatic posts during the war.

It was the war that brought out some of Hopkins's best qualities, as negotiator, as shrewd strategist, and as the loyal and self-sacrificing right hand of the President. One can only vaguely grasp the burden those years must have put on an already sick and doomed man; the aid and consolation he must have given Mr. Roosevelt in his heavy trials. Much that history will credit to Roosevelt was really the work of Hopkins; he would be the last to grudge the glory to his great friend.

Labor in Wonderland

AMERICAN taxpayers came off rather poorly in their week's investment on Capitol Hill. They paid out well over \$100,000 in Congressional salaries, not to mention operating expenses, and drew an absolute blank in services rendered. The Senate completed its fourth week of filibustering, which is the same as a work stoppage in private industry except that in the case of the Senate the strikers go right on collecting their pay. On the House side some four hundred Representatives occupied themselves with passing an extraordinarily obnoxious anti-labor bill that nobody pretended to have studied and everyone conceded had no chance of becoming the law of the land.

Scorning the Truman formula for easing management-labor relations, this measure, introduced by Representative Case from the great industrial state of South Dakota, would make the President's "cooling-off" proposal merely the initial provision in a sweeping move to restore labor to the bargaining position it enjoyed in the 1880's. While not openly repealing the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction law, the Case bill would make a mockery of the statute by giving any judge the right to enjoin even



"threatened violations" of the bill's provisions against the use of violence. No vivid imagination is required to conjure up the picture of a politically obligated judge seeing "threats" in a picket's frown and incitements to violence in a union rally. Most boycotts, jurisdictional strikes, and sympathy strikes would be banned, with loss of rights under the National Labor Relations Act as the penalty. Civil suits against labor and management would be permitted for "contract violations," providing a free-for-all for company lawyers and a constant threat to unions of having their funds tied up in endless litigation. Finally, supervisory workers would be denied the status of "employees" under the Labor Relations Act.

The provisions of this legislative throwback are less important than the politics that went into its passage. In the first place, the bill must have had the secret blessing of the Republican high command, since Representative Halleck of Indiana, a member of the powerful Rules Committee, was a prime mover in that body's extraordinary decision to rush the measure to the floor of the House without benefit of committee hearings. Halleck happens also to be chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. But this is an election year, and G. O. P. Congressmen with sizable labor constituencies were clearly embarrassed. They were not going to vote and die just because someone had blundered.

A curious situation developed, with some of the most virulent Republican labor-baiters in the House making painful efforts to mount the fence in a hurry. Hoffman, of Michigan, attacked the bill from the start, though his suffering was plain. It was he who opposed use of the injunction, and he did get across an amendment substituting for it the forfeiture of rights under the Wagner act. It was also Hoffman who held up the vote on the bill for twenty-four hours, and in the end he voted against it. Most of his party colleagues from industrial states shared his alarm, and modifying amendments came from such unlikely sources as Landis (Ind.), Vorys (Ohio), and Sumner (Ill.).

But even as the Republicans weakened, the Southern Democratic bloc rushed to the rescue. Smith, of Virginia, waded in with all the courage of a man whose poll-taxed vote was assured. In the best Claghorn tradition he assailed the worried Republicans for trying to

"sabotage, sterilize, and caponize" the bill. And for two days he engaged in a meaningless clash with Hoffman, who at any other time would surely have supported the measure with all his lung power.

Moderate Democrats, like Sparkman, of Alabama, worked hard in their own right to modify the bill, but the strongly pro-labor group had another strategy. They were not merely willing but delighted to see their foes stew in a dish of their own making. The worse the bill the better they liked it, and few of them bothered to offer amendments. "We wanted to beat down all anti-labor substitutes, including the Truman proposal," said Marcantonio in an extreme statement of this position. Tongue in cheek, the American Labor Party representative even came to the aid of tory Representative Church, of Illinois, when the chair ruled that his amendment to outlaw political activity by trade unions was not germane. "This amendment is germane," the New Yorker protested, "It helps crucify labor, and that's what the bill is for."

In this fantasy of reactionary Republicans sabotaging their own reactionary bill, of Southern Democrats embracing it as their own, and of liberal Democrats egging their opponents on to newer and greater follies, it remained for Representative Patterson, of California, to add the Alice in Wonderland touch of innocence. "You know it is a political gesture," said Alice, in some bewilderment. "You know the Senate won't pass it, and the President won't sign it." As though, in an election year, such a thought had ever entered anyone's head!

Emerging from the even more acrid climate at the other end of the Capitol, where the FEPC was being laid to rest by its filibustering pallbearers, Senator Morse declared himself "sick of the farce." He plans to tour the nation to tell the public it "must decide whether we are going to have representative government in the U. S. A." We will as long as the public understands that the only remedy for a bad Congress is better Congressmen.

Reduced prices of food. Stalin Reports

IN HIS eve-of-election address to the Russian people Joseph Stalin rendered an account of the Communist Party's stewardship couched in such terms as to suggest a reply to domestic even more than to foreign critics of his regime. Justifying the relentless pursuit of industrial and military preparedness in the past, he indicated that in the immediate future more attention would be paid to living standards. The final aim of making the Soviet Union an industrial power equal to any remains unchanged, but, it would seem, there is to be a slackening in tempo, a pause for consolidation, during which the masses may hope to reap some material rewards for their patient and heroic sacrifices.

Asking, in effect, that the Communist Party be judged on its record, Premier Stalin pointed to a number of conclusions that could be drawn from Russia's victory over its enemies. That victory, he said, had demonstrated the "complete vitality" of the Soviet system and refuted the assertions of foreigners by proving it to be a better form of social organization than any non-Soviet system. It had proved also the strength and vitality of a "multi-national state," contradicting those who had maintained that under stress it would collapse as did the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Finally, he added, victory had brought universal recognition of the Red Army's might and efficiency.

But, Stalin continued, bravery and skill alone could not win victories. In addition, an adequate industrial structure was necessary, and it was this that the three Five-Year Plans had provided. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the country had been transformed from an agrarian into an industrial state and production of basic raw materials had doubled and redoubled. This achievement would have been impossible had they not "reversed the usual path of industrialization," beginning with heavy instead of light industries, and, despite resistance, used collectivist methods to create a "large-scale agricultural economy." Thanks to these preparations, the Soviet armament factories had been able to meet the challenge of Hitler's war machine and produce colossal amounts of material, assuring the army against any shortage.

From this explanation and justification of past policies, Stalin turned to the future program of the Communist Party. The emphasis of the next Five-Year Plan, he said, would be on reconstruction, but in the very near future rationing would be abolished and special attention would be "focused on expanding the production of goods for mass consumption." He also promised, significantly, concentration on scientific research of all kinds, enabling Soviet science to overtake that of other lands. Was this passage a reflection of popular concern lest Russia lag behind the West, a concern which may have been enhanced by the accounts of Red Army men returning from Central Europe?

Stalin's speech ended with an appeal for a vote of confidence in the general election. That vote was, of course, a foregone conclusion. Communist and "non-party" candidates were united in a single block and but one candidate was nominated in any district. The only way voters could express lack of confidence, therefore, was by abstention or turning in a blank ballot. We write before the counting of the votes but can safely predict an overwhelming triumph for the Communists. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the party is not entirely happy about its preordained success and hopes to distill from the returns some evidence about its real standing with the Soviet masses.

63% for best white flour
10" " " "

Some News to Cheer

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 10

ALTHOUGH Mr. Truman is taking a deserved beating on his ignominious appointments, the outlook in the capital at the moment is brighter than it has been since he took office. The new housing program is all that could have been asked for, and the President deserves the highest praise for sponsoring it. Labor peace really seems to be just around the corner. The steel-price settlement may prove unpalatable to the progressive and the hard-headed, but there was every reason to believe this week-end that a new and firm price line might be established and OPA Director Chester A. Bowles, the bright hope of the Administration, given ample power to hold that line. Last-minute changes are always possible, but at present it looks as if the President's well-meaning but fumbling friend, John W. Snyder, director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, were in eclipse.

In a way it is a pity that Mr. Truman did not go on the radio with the new housing program instead of releasing it in so humdrum a fashion for the Saturday morning papers. A little showmanship would have given the whole country a badly needed lift. For while all of us grant the President's good intentions, we miss the sense of inspiration and leadership that Mr. Roosevelt provided. Yet this housing program is as bold, as comprehensive, as imaginative in its field as anything the Roosevelt Administration did. Mr. Truman even had a good phrase. He said that in calling Wilson Wyatt to Washington five weeks before to work out a housing program he gave Wyatt only one instruction—"to make no little plans." Presentation of the Wyatt report in a fireside chat would have made people feel that the man in the White House could tackle a big emergency in a big way.

The Wyatt program, in which some of the remaining New Dealers of the town had a hand, completely abandons the notion that emergency shortages can be cured by jacking up prices. In effect, it proposes to apply to the housing problem all the various devices used during the war to facilitate war production. First of all, the program sets a sizable and satisfactory goal—2,700,000 moderate- and low-cost homes to be started by the end of next year. The magnitude of the project may be measured by the fact that in 1925, the peak year for home construction in this country, only some 900,000 dwellings were built. Happily Mr. Wyatt was not indulging in mere rhetoric when he reported to the President that it would take "a dynamic program to achieve this goal," that "neither business as usual, labor as usual,

building as usual, nor government as usual" would suffice.

Mr. Wyatt proposes nothing less than a permanent expansion of building capacity in this country. Thus he strikes at once at the "overproduction" bugaboo that has held back both capital and labor in the field. Mr. Wyatt has won the approval of the American Federation of Labor for the recruitment and training of 1,500,000 additional building workers; that he has done so reflects great credit on the A. F. of L. At the same time, by premium payments, subsidies, accelerated amortization for new facilities, conversion of certain war plants, and direct government aid to prefabricated housing, Mr. Wyatt intends similarly to expand productive capacity for housing. His justification is that new housing generally has run far behind demand; in 1934, for example, there were half a million more new families than homes; in 1941 there was a deficit of 300,000 homes. He points out in addition that 10,500,000 existing homes are sub-standard "and must and can be replaced in a healthy full-production economy." On this basis, the housing industry can easily absorb twice as much capital and twice as much labor as it has in the past.

To meet the immediate emergency Mr. Wyatt outlines a flexible program under which the general price line for construction will be held, while realistic adjustments of wages and prices will be made where needed. The government will take the lead in breaking bottlenecks, not by mere price rises, but by subsidizing and planning expanded production of the scarce items. And instead of the present \$10,000 ceiling on new homes, Mr. Wyatt intends to aim at dwellings to cost not more than \$6,000 each and to rent for not more than \$50 a month. This is the kind of housing veterans and war workers need. The acuteness of the emergency is indicated by the general approval given this vigorous program. The only dissenting voice comes from the producers of lumber and other materials, who want price increases only. But even Judge John C. Collet, our hopelessly inadequate Economic Stabilization Administrator, told a Senate committee recently that price increases had proved futile as a spur to lumber production, that output had fallen steadily since 1941 despite four price rises.

It is important to recall that the housing situation is as bad as it is because of the poor advice given the President last fall by Mr. Snyder. Mr. Snyder is also to blame for the President's current difficulties with steel. The Reconversion Director has not only made it diffi-

cult for the White House to give the steel industry much less than \$5 a ton, but it looks as if Snyder and Truman have been duped into a steel-price increase of that amount "across the board." The sensible method to raise steel prices would have been by a graduated increase, allowing less on basic steel and more on fabricated steel. The big integrated companies like Bethlehem and United States Steel, which produce both ingot and fabricated products, need less than the fabricating firms which have to buy steel in basic or semi-processed form. To allow \$5 a ton "across the board" will make it necessary to give additional price relief to the fabricators. This means that the big companies will get price relief at both ends, and a \$5 increase of this kind will probably amount to about \$7.50 a ton for them. It seems that through bad advice and the poorest kind of bargaining tactics, the President is now so firmly committed that the steel companies will get a price rise generously tailored to suit the big fellows.

Perhaps it is the growing White House recognition of just what Snyder has done that lies behind the current willingness (1) to let Bowles write his own ticket on a new price line, (2) to make him Economic Stabilization Di-

rector, independent of Snyder, and (3) to authorize him to grant price relief only where it is proved necessary instead of as a general rise. This, according to reliable sources, is the program to which the White House has agreed at the moment. Let's hope it sticks. With Bowles as head of the OES and Paul Porter as his second in command in the OPA post, there is a fighting chance to keep inflation under control.

The only factor that keeps my fingers crossed is the President's intense desire to save face for his friend Snyder. The whole plan for the Bowles shift was one of Washington's best-kept secrets until the story suddenly leaked to the press Friday night. There is some reason to believe that the leak came from no less a personage than Bob Hannegan, a Missouri politician, but a politician with his ear to the ground, who has been disturbed by the reverberations of Mr. Snyder's incapacity. It is no secret here that Hannegan and Democratic leadership "on the hill" have been anxious to supersede Mr. Snyder; some of his appearances before Congressional committees have been appallingly inept. Until now the President has refused to listen to complaints about Mr. Snyder. Let's hope he is listening now.

Washington's Atomic War

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting Company

Washington, February 4

A HARD, rough-and-tumble fight over atomic energy is breaking through the surface in Washington. The issue is simple: who shall control the development and use of atomic energy—civilians or the military? Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace regards this as the great moral battle of our age. He told the Senate Atomic Energy Committee, "At no time in the history of the United States has it been more important to follow the constitutional pattern of subordinating the armed services to civilian representatives of the people." And so far the military are way out in front. They control atomic energy, and by shrewd manipulation they have arranged to keep a firm hold even if formal control is shifted to civilians.

The GHQ of the military is the sprawling Pentagon Building across the Potomac River. There Major General Leslie Groves, pudgy boss of the Manhattan Project, marshals his forces and lays out strategy. This gentleman has what amounts to the most influential position in the world. By his grip on atomic energy General Groves can deeply affect our foreign policy and the future of the United Nations Organization. He can also dominate the industrial future of this country.

The General's rise to power was largely accidental. He was selected to procure materials needed for the Manhattan Project and, incidentally, to see that military security was maintained. Groves was never expected to influence policy. That was the prerogative of President Roosevelt, who was very jealous of sharing power in this important field. He certainly never intended that General Groves, who was an army lieutenant for more than ten years, should tell him what to do. With the death of Roosevelt, President Truman, new at the job, and bewildered, asked the advice of the man nominally in charge of the Manhattan Project. General Groves became the White House adviser on atomic energy.

Although Groves is not a popular man, even at the War Department, he has potent allies, men who may not like him but are in the same boat. Among them are the Joint Chiefs of Staff, several of the so-called scientific administrators—such as Dr. Vannevar Bush, lanky head of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, and Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University—and many big industrialists associated with the Manhattan District. The opposition is less cohesive and less strategically organized. The loosely knit group includes Dr. Harold Urey, eminent atomic scientist and passion-

ate proponent of civilian control; two Cabinet members, Secretaries Wallace and Ickes; young Senator Brien McMahon of Connecticut, chairman of the Senate Atomic Energy Committee; the earnest, hard-working young men of the Federation of Atomic Scientists; and certain fac-

tions within the State Department.

The tactic of the military has been shrewd and practical. It is to keep a tight hold on the Manhattan Project and, while Congress and the White House stew over the final disposition of atomic control, to lay plans for dominating whatever civilian-control scheme may be developed. The Groves men pulled a fast play in January, so fast that al-



General Groves

most nobody noticed or commented on it. On January 7 the State Department issued an innocuous little press release. It said, "Anticipating favorable action by the United Nations Organization on the proposal for the establishment of a commission to consider the problems arising as to the control of atomic energy and other weapons of possible mass destruction, the Secretary of State has appointed a committee of five members to study the subject of controls and safeguards necessary to protect this government so that the persons hereafter selected to represent the United States on the commission can have the benefit of the study." The members of the committee named in the release are Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson, chairman; John T. McCloy, former Assistant Secretary of War; Dr. Vannevar Bush; Dr. James B. Conant; and General Groves.

Mr. Acheson's friends say that he was puzzled when he read of this committee in the press. Apparently he had not been consulted beforehand. Mr. McCloy is an able, rather liberal man of good intentions, but he has been associated with the military and its point of view throughout the war. His job as Assistant Secretary was to ease the frictions constantly arising between the War Department and civilian agencies. Dr. Bush has never made any secret of his attitude. He has stood consistently with General Groves and the War Department against the rank and file of atomic scientists. They refer to him contemptuously as "in General Groves's pocket." Dr. Conant is likewise associated with the military. He and Dr. Bush were two of the five witnesses who appeared before the McMahon committee in support of that crea-

ture of the War Department, the May-Johnson bill.

Three weeks after the original release, another mimeographed handout was laid on the big table in the State Department press room. This announced the appointment of a committee which would advise the Acheson committee on technical aspects of atomic power. The members of the new group are David E. Lilienthal, head of the TVA, chairman; J. Robert Oppenheimer, the brilliant atomic scientist; Chester R. Barnard, president of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company; Charles A. Thomas, vice-president of the Monsanto Chemical Company; and Harold A. Winne, vice-president of General Electric.

Mr. Lilienthal is well known as an able and liberal administrator. Dr. Oppenheimer is an individualist, a charming and entertaining one. No one has ever been quite sure where he stood on military versus civilian control, although he did indicate support of the May-Johnson bill. Mr. Barnard is an engineer who rose to the executive ranks and has dabbled briefly in public life as a member of the New Jersey Unemployment Relief Commission. Both Mr. Thomas and Mr. Winne are alleged to be "Groves men." The General suggested Mr. Thomas as a witness before the Senate Atomic Energy Committee, and it is reported that Monsanto, which Mr. Thomas represents, has offered General Groves a job. Mr. Winne is supposed to have been briefed by Groves before testifying at the Atomic Energy Committee hearing.

I asked Mr. Byrnes at a recent press conference, "Were you or the State Department consulted on the decision to continue the manufacture of atomic bombs?" He seemed surprised, even startled. He paused, reflected a few seconds, then replied thoughtfully, "No, we were not." Perhaps it did not occur to him that there were political implications in playing with the most dangerous kind of fire.

The opposition was slow to get started, but it is learning fast under the guidance of Senator McMahon, who has pulled the group together and is directing political strategy. Mr. Wallace brought the issue before the people in his testimony before the committee on January 31. He argued earnestly for civilian control of atomic energy at "the earliest possible moment." He supported the McMahon bill and said of it, "The provisions are consistent with our traditions of democracy and would place control of development of this new tremendous force in the hands of agents directly responsible to the people. Such democratic control is essential to prevent undesirable forms of authoritarianism or military dictatorship on the home front." Mr. Ickes, at an earlier hearing, grumbled loudly against military control. He said, "A democracy cannot afford to keep secrets from itself. I object to making a scientist get permission from an army officer to analyze an atom. I hope our victory will not lead to the military control of science and industry."

With these two Cabinet members on record, Senator McMahon called an executive meeting of the committee

and found that the members, generally, favored civilian control. Then he hustled down to the White House for a conference with President Truman. He laid the facts on the table and tactfully suggested that now was the time for the President to make a clear-cut statement on his position.

It came like a bolt out of the blue to the army crowd. In a letter to Senator McMahon Mr. Truman said: (1) The atomic-control commission should be composed "exclusively of civilians." (2) "The government must be the exclusive owner and producer of fissionable materials." (3) "It is essential that devices utilizing atomic energy be made fully available for private development through compulsory, non-exclusive licensing of private patents, and regulation of royalty fees to insure their reasonableness." (4) "Legislation must assure genuine freedom to conduct independent research and guarantee that controls over the dissemination of information will not stifle scientific research." (5) "The [proposed] commission should be in a position to carry out at once any

international agreements relating to inspection, control of production, dissemination of information, and similar areas of international action."

The Truman letter and the smooth maneuvering of Senator McMahon have put the Groves men on the spot. They cannot lobby openly against the McMahon bill. Their propaganda campaign to revive the May-Johnson bill, which even Mr. Johnson refers to sheepishly as "the so-called May-Johnson bill," has been nipped in the bud. What is left for them is undercover sniping. And there is always, as a last resort, the possibility of putting pressure on President Truman to name "right guys" to the atomic commission.

The President left the door wide open in his letter. While he said the commission should be composed of civilians, he inserted one dangerous sentence, "This should not be interpreted to disqualify former military personnel from membership." Leslie Groves, civilian, is not likely to think differently from Major General Groves. The battle has not been won.

Perón: South American Hitler

BY STANLEY ROSS

Correspondent for the Associated Press in Buenos Aires from 1943 to 1945. Mr. Ross has also written on Argentina for Collier's, the American, and other magazines.

UNLESS something unforeseen happens to prevent it, Colonel Juan D. Perón will be "elected" President of Argentina on February 24. And he will remain ruler of that rich nation until ejected by death or revolution.

Against Perón are the four main democratic parties—Radicals, Socialists, Progressive Democrats, and Communists, the Radicals alone controlling a majority of the nation's votes under a fair ballot. Against him, too, are the greater part of the middle class, the students, probably three-fifths of organized labor, and those vested interests of Argentina which are not controlled by German or British big business. But it will take more than even this formidable combination of interests to oust Perón, for the Colonel is a fearless and resourceful man, determined to win the "election" by ballots or bullets.

Juan Perón must not be mistaken for just another Latin, American dictator with a nickle-plated personality and an ironclad conscience. He is providing safe haven for a band of international bankers, munitions makers, cartel directors, and war-mongers who have transferred their headquarters from the former Axis capitals to Buenos Aires, together with their fortunes, formulas, and blueprints. At home Perón is supported by an armored police force as powerful as the army, by the

Catholic church, and by the political *caudillos* who for sixteen years have counted votes their own way, or never bothered to count them.

Perón first appeared on the international scene when he was Argentine military attaché in Chile. One night in 1936 police broke into his apartment in Santiago and caught him turning over British and Chilean military secrets to a German agent. He was expelled from Chile, and to his chagrin learned later that the "secrets," for which he had reputedly paid 70,000 pesos, were spurious anyway. The incident, however, did not ruin his career; in 1939 his government attached him to the German army, and for two years he stamped over Europe, goose-stepping into Paris with the conquering Nazis. Then he returned home to plan the seizure of his own government and lay the basis for a group of Nazi-dominated governments in Latin America.

This plan is still in effect, sponsored by the same influences which nurtured Hitler and Mussolini—the Krupps, Fritz Thyssen, Fritz Mandl, I. G. Farben, Siemens, Sofina, vast enterprises with semi-autonomous branches all over the world. These interests, with a cache of seven billion dollars of war loot hidden or invested in Argentina, cannot afford to have Perón overthrown at the polls or anywhere else.

Perón has kept Argentina on the verge of civil war since he returned from Germany in 1941 and founded a secret lodge of some fifty colonels and majors known as the G. O. U. (Group of United Officers). Its program was to "replace the moribund sinecurist generals and corrupt, fraudulent politicians." Its secret statement of aims, written by Perón one month before the lodge seized the government, outlines a plan for conquest and coalition that would make Argentina the ruling nation of the continent. "The struggle of Hitler in peace and war shall be our guide," runs one of the slogans.

For nine months after the G. O. U. became the government Perón allowed President Pedro P. Ramirez, a colorless general, to get the grit out of the political machinery. But his innate craving for recognition finally caused him to step out from behind the Presidential chair to a position in front of it. On one occasion he modestly said, "I take orders from President Ramirez. I am merely a soldier." A week later, scenting a Ramirez plot to seize actual power, he pounded his chest and told reporters: "This is the government of the G. O. U. and I am the G. O. U.! In my desk I have the signed undated resignations of 3,300 of the army's 3,600 officers, and the others do not matter."

This incident followed Argentina's diplomatic rupture with the Axis, on January 26, 1944. Perón had vigorously opposed the break until the United States South Atlantic fleet moved ominously into the La Plata estuary; he then reluctantly consented. But when he learned that Ramirez's Foreign Minister, General Alberto Gilbert, was planning economic measures against the Germans in Argentina, he stalked furiously into the Foreign Ministry, drew his sword, and ran Gilbert out of the building and the Cabinet.

Deprived of Gilbert's support, President Ramirez made a desperate attempt to oust the G. O. U. On the afternoon of February 25 he ordered the resignation of War Minister General Edelmiro J. Farrell and of Farrell's "assistant," Perón. Farrell obeyed. Perón did not. Instead, he fixed the President's messenger coldly with his eye and said, "Inform the unhappy ones who sent you that they will never get me out of here alive!"

That night six of Perón's generals burst into Ramirez's study, guns in hand, and forced him to sign over his powers to Perón's gawky puppet, General Farrell.

Since then Perón has been boss. Deftly he maintains his power and plays off his enemies against one another. He has flirted with capital and labor, with the moderates, the conservatives, and the leftists, and all along has been in close contact with the Nazis. He has brewed elaborate plots causing Cabinet convulsions by which sixty ministers were cast out in two years. When he realized that he could not gain full control of the army, he began to sap its strength, building up the Buenos Aires and federal police forces, famous for their brutality. The mechanized police, reinforced by countless discharged soldiers, num-

bers 40,000 and is a compact organization; the army has been cut to 60,000 and is spread over the country. Furthermore the army is controlled by the Condor Legion, a Nazi-trained Gestapo through which Perón learns of and aborts incipient revolts. Among its advisers is Major General Hans Steudemann, who fled from Berlin as the Allied armies approached—Steudemann is one of a group of German officers now working for Perón under Argentine names with citizenship papers to match. This powerful police force stood Perón in good stead last October, when his own ranks were so weakened by his treatment of the army that a group of youthful officers forced him out of his four Cabinet posts and jailed him for two days. With the aid of the police Perón escaped and announced his candidacy for the Presidency.

Today, with mutiny still festering in the army, and the country threatened with civil war, Perón is determined to remain ruler of Argentina. He has risked his life many times in the past forty years to get within striking distance of his goal, and I do not think he will be removed alive.

PRIVATE LIFE

Perón was born fifty years ago on the *estancia* of his father, a geologist and pioneer settler in bleak and icy Patagonia. As a boy he fought the local Indian youths, broke wild broncos, lassoed ostriches and wild animals with the gaucho's *bolas*. He forded icy streams in sub-zero weather, then raced against the wind until his *bombachas* froze stiff. At sixteen he was sent to military college, where he was an indifferent student but a crack soldier. His classmates called him "the man who invented work."

As a sublieutenant Perón's trigger temper and criticism of army red tape brought him before a court martial, where he had to prove he was not a Communist. Only the knowledge that he was fencing champion of the army, a title he held for sixteen years, restrained his fellow-officers from challenging him to frequent duels. A first lieutenant at twenty, for a decade he was shunted about among the less desirable posts of the interior until he was admitted to the Superior War College. By 1929, as a captain attached to the General Staff, Perón had become a serious student of tactics, attracting the fancy of General Wilhelm Faupel of the German army.

General Faupel had been sent to Argentina in 1911 by the German General Staff, which even then was planning eventual conquest of Latin America. Faupel became in turn secretary to the Argentine Inspector General and a general in the Brazilian, Chilean, and Peruvian armies. It was Faupel who later persuaded Franco to start the Spanish civil war, promising German aid, and it was Faupel who in 1930 piloted his disciple, Inspector General José Felix Uriburu, into the Argentine Presidency in a revolution that set the pattern for army dictatorships throughout Latin America during the thirties.

Faupel at the time helped Perón become Assistant

Minister of War in the Uriburu Cabinet—the same job Perón took when his G. O. U. came to power thirteen years later in an almost exact repetition of the Uriburu revolt. Under Faupel's guidance Perón became instructor in military history and strategy at the Superior War College. He wrote two textbooks so smacking of the Prussian strategist Clausewitz, whose "On War" was the military bible of the Junkers, that he has been accused of plagiarism. In one book Perón concludes that "war is an inevitable social phenomenon"; in the other he defends Germany in the First World War, blaming the United States for the Kaiser's defeat and urging Argentina to insure United States neutrality when Argentina eventually goes to war. During peace time, he said, "the country must have the army of its politics or the politics of its army. The political aspirations of a nation are as strong as the army's power to achieve them." He advised preparation not for war in general but for "a particular war."

What particular war Perón is preparing for is hard to say, although he has for the first time in Argentine history fortified the Chilean border and has stationed troops along the Brazilian frontier. When the G. O. U. came to power in 1943, Argentina had an army of 50,000 men, a large but outdated navy, and an air force with fifty first-class planes. The military budget that year had been only 260,000,000 pesos. In 1945 Perón spent 2,000,000,000 pesos on the army, swelling the national budget from 1,525,000,000 to 3,550,000,000 pesos to do it. In the early months of 1945 the army contained nearly 100,000 men, and 120 factories are today producing weapons from German blueprints.

Even the 40,000,000 pesos collected by public subscription for the victims of the earthquake which destroyed the mountain city of San Juan in January, 1944, were diverted to Perón's arms program. The Colonel's campaign for aid for San Juan residents had been so intense that people referred to the city as "San Juan de Perón." Later the stories changed tone. One relates that when the actress Eva Duarte came home one day she found a mink coat on her bed. "Now what saint in heaven could have brought this?" she exclaimed. Perón, behind the curtains, stuck out his head and replied, "San Juan."

The Colonel has just ended a two-year *affaire* and ten years of widowhood by marrying the twenty-six-year-old Eva and moving her into a mansion near Buenos Aires, where a pair of society spinsters are teaching her the manners of a first lady of the land. Until the marriage Perón and Evita occupied separate apartments in the same building in a middle-class section of Buenos Aires. Perón still keeps his home there—a modest, airy, five-room apartment which he shares with his daughter, Maria Inez, and an ancient halfbreed housekeeper named Koming, who raised Perón as a child in Patagonia. Perón is very fond of his nineteen-year-old daughter,

who, like his bride, is an auburn-haired beauty. He usually lunches with Maria Inez at the apartment, with Maria herself waiting on the table, singing aloud and chatting gaily.

The Colonel leads a brisk life. He jumps out of bed at six, exercises for half an hour, and reads the mail and newspapers, finishing them while being driven to his election-campaign offices in Buenos Aires. There he sheds his tie and jacket and works feverishly until 1:30, interviewing, dictating, scanning documents, preparing speeches. After lunch and a short siesta at the apartment he works until 9 or 10 p. m. and if he has no speech to make or meeting to attend, takes papers home and goes on working until long after midnight. Busy as he is, he always manages to look impeccably groomed, his dark hair combed back, his nails manicured. Women admire his physique—six feet tall, a stocky 210 pounds—his winning smile, and his flashing black eyes; his face is round with a sharp nose and high forehead. Men admire him for his horsemanship, boxing, skiing, and fencing, and most people are influenced by his concentrated speech, firm voice, and well-chosen words, which he underlines with voice and hands. Foreigners like him because he enjoys a joke on himself, which is refreshing in a country where people take themselves seriously.

Perón has gone to extreme lengths to increase his popularity. He enters dirty neighborhood cafes and shares cheap red wine and bad jokes with workmen; he even attended funeral rites for a laborer killed in an anti-Perón demonstration—a brave act though he was surrounded by scores of plain-clothes men.

COURTSHIP OF LABOR

The Colonel's courtship of labor has alternated with mass arrests, torture and imprisonment of labor leaders, abolition of unions which refused to cooperate. Now the old labor organizations have disappeared into the underground, leaving only Perón's Labor Party. The Colonel's skill in undermining opposition, together with the emergence of the industrial workers as a major political factor, will give him an important block of votes on February 24. The 400,000 industrial workers in Argentina in 1930 have become 1,000,000, of whom perhaps 40 per cent are devoted followers of Perón while the others hate him blindly.

Perón's labor campaign is coached by Fritz Mandl, ex-Austrian munitions magnate with a record of applied fascism which culminated in the massacre of the Vienna Social Democrats in February, 1934. Mandl's subtle hand can be seen in the case of Jose Tesorieri, secretary of the union of government employees, who was jailed in October, 1943, because he signed a petition asking the government to break diplomatic relations with Germany. After five months of softening-up treatment in the Villa Devoto political prison, while his family lived on charity, Tesorieri was released and restored to his job on condi-

tion that he speak for Perón at public meetings. He told a friend that he had intended to flee the country as soon as released but that his family was hostage. From constantly repeating praises of Perón he has apparently begun to believe what he says and has tried hard to get his friends in the Railroad Brotherhood to jump on the band-wagon.

The railroadmen have been Perón's toughest labor opponents. They applauded his promises of higher pay and bonuses but thumpingly defeated his candidates in the brotherhood elections in favor of a slate of unknown laborers whom he had thought harmless enough to allow to enter the race. The Colonel set aside the elections, charging the winners were Communists and



Perón

should be jailed. When new elections were held, with only Perón's men as candidates, the voters shunned the polls so generally that Perón's men did not get enough votes to legalize their appearance on the ballots, and a slate of write-ins—this time real Communists—carried the election.

Perón's thick-skinned Secretariat of Labor then circulated a huge embossed book with blank pages for the 200,000 railroadmen's signatures to a statement thanking the Colonel for his beneficence to organized labor. The book came back without a single signature, word having been passed that if Perón's few admirers in the brotherhood signed it, they would wish they hadn't.

Despite his tactics Perón has given labor advantages its union leaders never gained in decades of campaigning. He has decreed minimum wages and decent living conditions for agricultural workers who for centuries have lived in feudal peonage; white-collar workers, newspapermen, shop girls, and factory hands have obtained raises, vacations, and healthful working conditions. The most recent decree, ordering all concerns to raise wages approximately 30 per cent, was received with wild acclaim by even those workers who hate the Colonel. It has become a prime campaign weapon of the Labor Party, created to sponsor Perón's candidacy.

The Labor Party launched its campaign on December 14, 1945, before 100,000 persons gathered around the obelisk in the center of Buenos Aires. The meeting was a masterpiece of organization. Factories were closed at the suggestion of the police, and fleets of trucks and buses transported workers to the appointed place. Some 40,000 government employees, including 10,000 plain-

clothes police, were obliged to attend; the crowd was ringed by two cordons of uniformed police. Especially large was the representation from the manufacturing city of Avellaneda, adjoining Buenos Aires, whose political boss, Alberto Barcelo, head of the city's labor and graft rackets, has thrown in his lot with Perón. (In one Avellaneda district Barcelo's men do not even open the ballot boxes. They prepare substitute sets of stuffed boxes and merely burn the genuine ones when the polls close.) After wild demonstrations for their favorite, the crowd paraded through the capital shouting the phrases the nationalists had drummed into their ears for the past two years: "Argentines yes; Yankees no!" "Death to the Jews!" "Perón yes; Braden no!" "Mate yes; whiskey no!"

But well coordinated as are Perón's meetings, his principal weapon is the organized disorder, so reminiscent of the Nazis, that rears its head every time democratic elements gather in the public squares. Small disturbances start in the suburbs and spread toward the center of the city, increasing in violence until they reach the meeting place. There armed youths of the Nationalist Youth Alliance fire from roof tops or public buildings into the crowd and cause such confusion that the police find it expedient to finish the job by speeding trucks through the square, spraying the people with tear gas, and having mounted men ride them down with sabers swinging. It took only 200 armed Peronistas to break up the Democratic Union rally of 200,000 on December 8, when four persons were killed and forty injured.

OPPONENTS AND SUPPORTERS

The opposition to Perón is disrupted by such tactics and further handicapped because its only cohesive force is its dislike of the Colonel. Peronista agents, plentifully supplied with money for bribes, have even wormed their way into the nation-wide democratic underground, *Patria Libre*. The military branch of *Patria Libre*, the *Movimiento de Liberación Nacional*, has been all but destroyed by the Condor Legion.

In the election Perón will be opposed by a rather colorless ex-senator named José P. Tamborini, whose backing by the four major parties has deeply impressed the army. Many officers are angered by Perón's alliances with the political bosses whose corrupt practices he had assailed in rallying officers for the revolution. His bids for labor support have alienated many others, for most officers come from the landowning families. They are now concerned over his plan to confiscate and divide among the peons the 80,000-acre *estancia* of Robustiano Patron Costas, standard bearer of the National Democratic (conservative) Party. Patron Costas was to have been the Presidential candidate of the landed oligarchy just before the G. O. U. took over. And although the conservatives are not included in the Democratic Union, they are strongly opposed to Perón. Last month the party charged that the military government was spending pub-

lic funds and using police power in an open political campaign for the Colonel. It proved that the government printing presses were turning out propaganda written by Perón's four hundred publicity men, all on the public pay roll.

But it is doubtful whether these conservative officers can counterbalance the strength and determination of Perón's backers—though one young captain among them told an officers' meeting he would personally kill Perón if the elections were not honest. Perón is supported by President Farrell, long on the pay roll of the German Club; Vice-President Juan Pistarini, whom Hitler decorated with the Order of the German Eagle; Chief of Staff Carlos von der Becke, brother of the chief Nazi agent in South America; and Police Chief Colonel Filomeno Velasco. Every one of these four men has spent at least two years with the German army.

Velasco, most rabidly Nazi of them all, has a reputation for cruelty and falseness; it is said of him that "he uses lies as women use perfume." At the very moment that police were breaking into the home of the last university rector still at liberty, he was blandly telling newspapermen that no rectors were being arrested. On the same night in October the editors of *La Prensa* and *La Nación* were also dragged off to jail, as were two former Foreign Ministers, one of them Carlos Saavedra Lamas, winner of the 1936 Nobel peace prize.

The truth is that Velasco and Perón are beginning to fear the public temper. Revolutions are born of hunger and misery, and there is little hunger in overfed Buenos Aires, but beneath layers of materialistic fat the Argentines are a brave and liberty-loving people. Since last September, when half a million people marched past the War Ministry chanting "Death to Perón," the Colonel has watched popular feeling rise, and he is racing against time to get the elections over.

WHAT KIND OF RULER WILL HE MAKE?

If Perón's plans are successful, what can be expected of him as a ruler? One cannot tell from what he says. He calls himself a liberal but in the same breath asserts, "My government is one of might, not right." He fought like a madman against a diplomatic break with the Axis during the war, yet a week later said to a friend, "The Allies are going to win this war, so we might as well make friends with them."

In trying to obtain Radical Party support he promised to restore civilian government, but on the same day he sent to G. O. U. members "Secret Memorandum No. 10" assuring them the army would keep its hush political jobs. *Patria Libre* published this memorandum in an underground newspaper, and Perón, purple with rage, announced to the G. O. U., "If I find the officer who released that memorandum I'll have him shot!"

Flirting with Argentine big business, Perón has assured the Stock Exchange and the Agricultural Society

that he stands for the defense of their interests against communism. A year ago he invited leading capitalists to a banquet to bid for their aid. But when their spokesmen flatly said he was a greater menace than the Argentine brand of communism, the Colonel broke up the dinner by shouting, "It doesn't matter if you or the people are against me! I have created security for the workers, and I have double security for myself—an army of 100,000 men. Who can get me out of the government? Who dares start a revolution? You say you have 95 per cent of the people? Well, I have 95 per cent of the army. If you think you can overthrow my 95 per cent with yours, I dare you to try it!"

The following week 862 of Argentina's 937 business, banking, industrial, and agricultural associations published large advertisements excoriating his regime. The Colonel retaliated with a clamp-like press censorship and openly boasted that the army and "that other great army of laborers" could crush any insurrection.

Probably Perón's most sincere statements were those he made on the eve of the G. O. U. revolution. The army under him, he said, would become the instrument of Argentina's destiny, conquering by force of arms what José de San Martín, father of Argentine independence, failed to win by persuasion. Alliances would be the next step. "We already have Paraguay; we have Bolivia and Chile. With Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Paraguay, it will be easy to exert pressure on Uruguay. These five nations will easily attract Brazil, because of its form of government and the large nucleus of Germans. Brazil fallen, the South American continent will be ours!" "The people," he said, "must be inculcated with the necessary spirit through books, radio, press, and schools, with the collaboration of the church."

Starting with the schools, the army regime has plastered the blackboards with nationalistic slogans, and more than a year ago Perón ordered all children over twelve to have military drill and instruction in nationalism. School children are required daily to recite such slogans as "The Fatherland is always right" and "Argentina for Argentines only." Perón paints a picture of world conquest so enticing that already many patriotic boys worship him as fanatically as the German youth did Hitler. They sing his anthem, "The Fourth of June," and wear his emblem, a black condor with wings outstretched, almost a counterpart of the German eagle.

The Catholic church has been successfully wooed with a decree that Catholic religious instruction shall be given in the schools by priests, a practice eliminated from the public-school system fifty years ago when Argentine education was reorganized along lines drawn by Horace Mann. As War Minister, Perón has commissioned the Virgin Mary and a dozen other Saintly Virgins as full generals in the Argentine army. Their images are decorated with the insignia of their rank, and every soldier who passes a church containing one of the brass-bedecked

statues must halt and salute. The ecclesiastical authorities have publicly announced their support of Perón and instructed the people to vote against candidates of the Democratic Union because it includes the Communists.

Perón's speeches read well. They could be set to martial music easily, and daily more people beat time to them. "Before the nation enjoys luxuries and palaces," he shouted over the networks, "we must make sure that not one single Argentine is rejected for army service for malnutrition. We are famous for improving the breed of cattle, sheep, and horses. We should have improved the breed of men . . ., because if we must oppose foreign ambitions, men, not cattle, will do the fighting. Argentina must show those who have ambitions of conquest that to enter this land they will first have to kill fourteen million Argentines!"

Perón tries hard to make Argentines fear Brazil and the United States as a means of rallying the people behind him—the device used so effectively by dictators in Europe. When I spoke with him before leaving Buenos Aires, I found it difficult to combat this attitude in the face of our war-time policy of sending lend-lease weapons to the rest of Latin America. Perón said the United States had helped Argentina's neighbors build a ring of steel around his country, while refusing to sell arms for cash to Argentina because it maintained its traditional policy of neutrality. "You gave Brazil the weapons for a powerful army, upsetting the balance of power in the

continent." Uncle Sam, he added, had even given six gunboats to Paraguay, a tiny but warlike country without a seaport.

Perón said that Brazil, Chile, and other neighboring states are "have-not" nations. They lack the wheat, cattle, and fertility that make Argentina so prosperous. If they are armed while Argentina is defenseless, he argued, the temptation might be too great. "If the United States guaranteed our frontiers," he slyly said, "we would not have to arm. But you wouldn't do that, so Argentina must be prepared for defense."

All this may be true, except that Perón is not preparing for defense. He is preparing, in his own words, "for a particular war"—an aggressive war. And he has pawned Argentina's future income for a decade to store up enough weapons to keep an army of 200,000 men in the field for two years. His factories have the blueprints for those terrible weapons that Germany was about to produce when the war in Europe ended. One of the plants which the Argentine army bought from Hermann Göring last year is reported to have the German plans for the atomic bomb. Whether or not this is true, Perón's army is strong enough to cause considerable damage in the southern continent, where, the Colonel says, those who believe in lasting peace are utopian dreamers.

If the Argentine strong man becomes Argentine President next week, the situation in South America will continue to be dynamite—or uranium.

General de Gaulle Steps Down

BY IDA TREAT

An American writer who has lived in France for many years; author of "The Anchored Heart"

Paris, January 30

MY COBBLER in the rue du Bac said this morning that he knew why General de Gaulle had left the government. "It's because of the *maquis du Maréchal*—the people who were yesterday for Pétain. They think he's their last chance. As an honest man, he couldn't stand for that!"

That comment, among all the comments on the General's departure, was a new one, but I understood what the cobbler meant. I too knew recent converts to "Gaulism," advocates of the strong hand in politics and deadly opponents of the parliamentary regime. But I also knew others of the same ilk who hoped privately that his going might help to discredit the Assembly—the left Assembly—and give a new swing to the political pendulum at the May elections.

That any part of the reaction should have rallied to General de Gaulle is less significant than the attitude of some of his former companions who today are saying,

however regretfully, "Perhaps it is for the best. Perhaps he has finished his job, and it is time for others to take over." Few would have gone that far last November.

Of all this the General himself is perfectly aware. For all his celebrated aloofness, he has a pretty keen grasp on what is taking place around him. And certainly he is far more sensitive to the defection of his friends than to the questionable, doubly questionable, change of heart on the part of a fraction of his former adversaries. I remember once in London—I think it was during one of the strained situations that arose out of the North African muddle—someone said to him, "Even if the Americans and the British let you down, you have France behind you." And General de Gaulle replied drily, and proudly, "C'est le contraire qui m'aurait désolé."

At the time all France that counted was solidly behind him, and he knew it. Secure in that certainty, he could confront criticism with equanimity. He stood for France.

Times have changed. In 1946 he was no longer com-

mander-in-chief of a resistance army; he was Chief of State. Behind him the solid fighting phalanx had cracked, split into independent fragments, three main fragments. His prestige was slipping. His dream of the union of all Frenchmen, in peace as in war, for the sake of France—the first and supreme discipline—had encountered other "disciplines" that questioned his authority and escaped his control. In the Assembly the Chief Above All Parties could count at best on only a shifting and fragile majority, and even that seemed threatened.

I am convinced that General de Gaulle has an instinctive aversion for political parties, that the "party" in his mind implies the "politician" concerned primarily with elections and the intrigues and maneuvers of the political game, and that his vision of democracy probably includes an Assembly of individuals—men of pure motives chosen by *le peuple souverain* and free to plan and act according to their individual judgment of what seems best—not an Assembly of "party creatures" with imperative mandates.

All these factors may well have been fundamental in the "intolerable situation" that led to his departure. But given the personality of General de Gaulle, the conflict—and the impasse—was perhaps inevitable.

Much has been said about the personality of Charles de Gaulle—*le grand Charles* as the Free French, the Fighting French, called him affectionately. In their minds the term applied not only to his stature. He was the hero, the *preux chevalier*, "*sans peur et sans reproche*." Even his enemies could not question his deep personal integrity. Criticism concentrated on the outer man, his manner and his way of doing things. He was "difficult," rigid, intransigent.

Certainly few leaders of men had less of the demagogue in their make-up. From the very first, General de Gaulle made no attempt to draw men to him through personal charm or warmth of manner. On the contrary: men rallied to an idea rather than a chief. Even his close associates admitted that *le grand Charles* was reserved and cold. He was a name, a symbol, a point of focus, the figurehead for an attitude. As such he will go down in history; from his personal record one might judge that he had willed it so.

In London during the war years we knew him as a man of faith and conscience. A sincere and devout Catholic, he has something of the old Protestant austerity, a Protestant insistence on the individual conscience as a deciding factor in determining one's duty. The man and his conscience—and God his judge. Had that not been his faith, the chances are that General de Gaulle would never have made his appeal from London in June, 1940. The chances are that like many an officer of the French army and navy he would have stifled that conscience of his in the name of obedience to a traditional and collective discipline. To De Gaulle neither discipline nor the tradition of obedience, so deeply ingrained in every army

man, held weight. His duty, over the heads of his superiors, was to France. This was "*honneur et patrie*." For this he became, technically, a "rebel."

Obviously, given his military education, he bore, and bears, the stamp of army life, of its long habits and traditions—the habit of command, the impatient authority of the chief; he could be as intolerant and irascible as any *officier supérieur*. And as supreme commander he had a constant obsession of responsibility.

By birth and training he is an aristocrat. Perhaps, as he himself is said to have related, his discovery of the "people" came with exile and the contact with those who joined him overseas—little folk of France for the most part, a sprinkling of great names, and woefully few of the comfortable middle class. No doubt like many another aristocrat General de Gaulle has an inherited disdain for the bourgeoisie, a dislike that the experience of the past few years has intensified. He believes in the "people." He has discovered their qualities; he also knows their faults. They must be lifted out of their ignorance. They must be led. Somewhat in the manner of raw recruits? One has the feeling that his conception of the republic is one in which the little man will be assured of the Four Freedoms while the reins of command are held firmly by a gifted and qualified few.

Perhaps because war is an anachronism in what we call a civilized age the war hero in peace time seems to belong to another era—so the soldier virtues of De Gaulle and his conception of national grandeur and empire. A pure figure, but alone. No chief in a democracy can stand alone.

There was no "maneuver" in General de Gaulle's departure. To those who know his disdain for intrigue, such an attitude appears unthinkable. Once more, as in 1940, he has listened to that inner voice and followed his conscience—abruptly as is his wont, and undeterred by the thought of immediate consequences or the comments of the world.

Will he return one day to political life—and how? Will he attempt to rally the "people" over the heads of parties and assemblies? As chief of a "non-political" party, as leader of a new crusade? There are already rumors, and many of his strong supporters are torn, like Maurice Schumann, "between the will and desire to see him again, and the fear that if he returns he will no longer be himself." Or like Jean Tixier, who "refuses to think that one day certain half-pay pensioners of a 'Gaullism' of which we would no longer be a part, might bring him out of his retreat."

What General de Gaulle will do no one can foresee. An isolated figure, at a time when individual liberty everywhere is having to adjust itself to the needs of collective liberties, he shares no confidences. If and when that terrific inner voice—genius or daemon—calls him to action, he will act. May destiny guide him, so that no shadow may darken his record or his memory!



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



Feast and Famine

A VISITING Englishman recently remarked that New York wasted enough food in one night to feed England for a week. No doubt this was a somewhat exaggerated statement, but the contrast between the abundance displayed in food stores and restaurants here and the meager and monotonous diet available to Britons is glaring. This week, moreover, Britons have been told to pull their belts a notch tighter. They are to get less fat immediately and are warned that eggs, bacon, and poultry will become increasingly scarce owing to the feed shortage. Rice imports are to be cut out altogether because of the rice famine in Asia, and wheat imports are being reduced by 250,000 tons in the first six months of this year. In order to make up for this loss British wheat stocks are to be drawn down below what has hitherto been regarded as a safe minimum, and the flour-extraction rate is to be raised from 80 to 85 per cent, which means the return of the dark war-time loaf.

In spite of these changes Britain will still have a moderately well-balanced diet of nearly 3,000 calories per head per day, and compared to most countries in Europe will be well off. Indeed, a friend of mine who recently returned to London from France, where he had spent the war, writes that the contrast between the two countries is unbelievable, and he is rapidly regaining weight. France, in turn, is somewhat better off than many other parts of Europe. The report of the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe just issued estimates the diet of the French urban population during the next few months at 1,500 to 2,000 calories per day, while less than 1,500 appears likely to be available to the non-farm population in most parts of eastern Europe, Germany, and Italy. Since 2,650 calories daily are needed to maintain health and efficiency, it is certain that this winter will take a heavy toll of European lives.

Yet horrible as the state of Europe is, an even more appalling prospect is opening in eastern Asia. Northern Indo-China is now in its second year of famine. It is estimated that 600,000 or more persons died from starvation in 1945, and similar numbers are expected to perish this year. India needs a minimum of two million tons of food to avert famine, and less than half of this amount is in sight. Already conditions are becoming critical in the southern part of the Peninsula, including the populous provinces of Madras and Bombay, and a cut in the daily rice ration—the main staple of existence—from a pound to twelve ounces per day is under discussion. The worst threat, however, comes from a drought in the northern wheat-producing provinces of Punjab and Sind. Unless rain falls within the next two weeks, it is said, the greater part of the crop from these normally surplus regions will be ruined. "In that event," cables a New York Times correspondent, "India, without outside aid, faces a famine of catastrophic dimensions in the opinion of every person to whom I have talked."

Everywhere except in North America war or weather or both ravaged the harvests last year. France, which normally is nearly self-sufficient, produced only about half its pre-war average crop of wheat, partly because of war-born shortages of labor, tools, and fertilizer, partly because it was a very wet season. Meanwhile the Mediterranean region was afflicted with drought. North Africa, which normally exports 450,000 tons or so of wheat to France, was forced to import on a large scale and even then suffered from hunger riots. Outside Europe two of the largest exporting countries, Argentina and Australia, both experienced a lack of sufficient rain. In Australia conditions were so bad that it was necessary to buy Canadian wheat for home consumption. Fortunately this year's crop, now being garnered, is much better, but it will all be needed to meet Asiatic deficiencies.

In the world wheat picture last summer the only bright spots were the United States and Canada, both of which had bumper harvests. On July 1, 1945, total United States supplies (new crop added to carry-over) amounted to 1,404,000,000 bushels. Six months later 715,000,000 bushels had "disappeared," leaving only 564,000,000 available for the next six months if stocks were not to be reduced below the safety level. The chief reason for this rapid rate of consumption, which threw government plans badly out of gear, was the consumption as animal feed of 205,000,000 bushels—more than the Department of Agriculture had expected would be used for this purpose in the full year. Thus while much of the world is near starvation, a swollen livestock population in this country dines luxuriously on wheat.

If the animals continue to feed so well, it will be impossible for the United States to export the 225,000,000 bushels which it is committed to ship before June 30. Some of the measures announced by Mr. Truman on February 6 are designed to remedy this situation, but it is not going to prove easy to pry loose wheat from the farms, especially as other feeds are in very short supply. At present price ceilings it is profitable to turn wheat into meat, eggs, and poultry. Moreover, farmers with surplus stocks are holding for a rise in prices knowing that a drive is being made to end all price controls by June 30. "Should this happen," says M. W. Thatcher, president of the National Federation of Grain Cooperatives, "there will be a sharp but temporary spurt in prices, and under such conditions, commodities held on the farm are a better hedge than money in the bank." One way of bringing more wheat into the market, therefore, is an assurance that the OPA is not going to be sunk. Only Congress can provide this assurance.

Mr. Truman, using such powers as he possesses to stretch wheat supplies, has ordered coarser milling, restricted the use of grain for beverages, provided for lower inventories, and so on. But unless some way can be found to induce the thinning of cattle and poultry herds, too much wheat will continue to disappear in the feeding troughs. The difficulty is that, with the Administration committed to holding up farm prices, it pays to maintain a livestock population exceeding national needs. Just how this problem can be solved I do not know. But I do know that the moral position of America is going to be undermined if it continues to feast while famine spreads across the earth.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

THE curtain rises. Enter the Pretender. He has not inherited from his father the sharp wit and the Madrid manner that made Alfonso popular, especially with foreigners. He is certainly a Bourbon, but he resembles more his mother, the soft, plump Victoria Eugenia of Battenberg. He is not talkative. When he does make a statement, it has first been painstakingly edited by his able adviser, Lopez Oliván, former ambassador at the Court of St. James's. Above all, Don Juan must be kept from making compromising declarations. When the Axis seemed to be winning, he tended to be carried away by his fascist sympathies; in his new role he delivers carefully memorized speeches on constitutional liberal monarchy.

But unfortunately for the Pretender, his earlier political views have been chronicled—not in some Jacobin pamphlet, but in an authorized biography, "Prince Don Juan of Spain," written by his secretary, Bonmatti de Codecido, and published in Valladolid in 1938. Monarchist agents have been trying to buy up the whole edition, but a few copies reached Mexico and I have one before me as I write.

We find former King Alfonso, Don Juan, a Phalangist writer Gonzalez Ruano, and the biographer talking in the lobby of the Hotel Excelsior-Galia in Milan. Ruano is showing the King his membership card in the Falange; "Number 5," he says proudly. Alfonso remarks contemptuously, "I'm 500 ahead of you. The first Phalangists in Spain were General Primo de Rivera and I." "The first," agrees Don Juan.

"In Italy," the biography recounts, "Don Juan met his three great loves: Catholicism, fascism, and monarchy." The Pretender cannot conceal his enthusiasm for Mussolini's regime: walking past the Palazzo di Venezia one day, he exclaimed, "I can't pass here without remembering Spain. What wouldn't I give for my country to achieve this reality of empire full of youthful, conquering élan!"

In the days just before the Franco uprising, the book describes Don Juan as consumed by anxiety lest the rebellion be put off. For hours on end he never left the radio; finally, one day, he burst out, "Could it be possible that the certainty of a military uprising exists only in my imagination?" At last the news came. "On that seventeenth day of July, now famous in the history of his country, he began to hear the first faint heartbeats of his true Spain." He counted the days till he could go to fight at Franco's side. July 20, 21, 22, 23. . . . Don Juan neither sleeps nor lives nor rests for a single moment." He was impatiently awaiting Franco's reply to his request that he be allowed to join the army. Finally, on July 31, he crossed the border into the rebel zone, "dressed in overalls, with the red beret and the emblem of the Falange, the arrows." But Franco wanted no Pretender around who might supplant him; he escorted Don Juan back to the frontier.

From the Hotel Eden in Rome Don Juan sent another plea to General Franco on December 7, 1936, this time asking to be accepted as an officer or a simple sailor on the

rebel ship Baleares. "I do not know, my General, whether in writing in this manner, I am violating protocol. . . . But all my hopes are with you and all my prayers are that God aid you in your noble undertaking to save Spain." He sees Spain in close alliance with Fascist Italy taking the lead in a Catholic bloc that will draw in the "brother Spanish countries" and form an irresistible barrier against the "barbarian invasion from the East." Throughout the Spanish war the Pretender was, emotionally and ideologically, on the fascist side, just as in World War II he sided with Hitler and Mussolini until the Axis began to crumble.

A few days ago the Pretender arrived in Lisbon to confer with Franco's representatives about restoration of the monarchy. News of his coming provoked little reaction in Madrid—a demonstration of some two hundred people in which twenty boys, sons of well-known royalist leaders, were arrested. It was strictly a family affair.

Lacking support inside Spain, Don Juan's advisers count on two allies—the Vatican and Britain. The Vatican, because it sees in Spain the best Continental stronghold from which to extend its influence in America. Britain, because a monarchist Spain could be used to good advantage in the diplomatic struggle against Russia. Surely no greater insult could be offered the British Labor government than the monarchists' confidence that England will help restore the House of Bourbon. Complicity in this maneuver would disgrace the Labor government forever. Attlee and Bevin should remember León Blum; during his years in a German prison there was not a day, the French leader says, when he did not regret his weakness on Spain. I cannot imagine Stafford Cripps or Ellen Wilkinson accepting a new betrayal. But there is the danger that some well-meaning people in England, even Labor people, accepting monarchy as a normal, democratic way of governing, may favor replacement of the hated dictator by a king. But it is idiotic to speak of a liberal monarchy in Spain. A Spanish monarchy would be either Phalangist and clerical, provoking revolt through a policy of terror, or weak and corrupt, inviting a coup from right or left.

It is even more absurd to imagine that the people of Spain—who fought for three years against Axis intervention and Allied non-intervention, who have come out of the concentration camps of Europe tattered and starving but unbroken, who enlisted in thousands in the French resistance, who still fall every day before the firing squads of Franco, crying "Long live the Republic"—that these people will allow the battle for freedom to end in a shameful masquerade. Spain will fight the monarchy as it fought Franco; the clerical press of the United States may as well begin now to prepare its editorials denouncing us as "reds" and "murderers." The Western democracies were responsible for much of the blood shed in Spain ten years ago; if they support Don Juan now they will have to share responsibility for the new civil war that will surely follow. DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES ON CANADIAN LITERATURE

BY ROBERT LEIGH WEAVER

THERE is talk in Canada of a literary coming-of-age. And after a past of false hopes and generally second-rate writing, few interested Canadians feel inclined to comment too harshly on the real, if definitely limited, achievements of the moment. Moreover, much recently published work does show a new and promising vitality and ambition, though it also has the air of uncertainty usually associated with a literature still struggling to establish itself.

This recent progress will seem insignificant to most Americans unless they have some understanding of the special difficulties of Canadian writers. Unfortunately lack of space forces me to make many generalizations, and several "literary" problems must be arbitrarily divorced from larger issues of which they are an organic part.

In the past many Canadian authors have been strongly influenced—and still are—by British writing. But while the work of Auden, Spender, Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley, and other experimentalists is beginning to mean something to young Canadians, too many established writers have favored more conventional models. Thus the *Canadian Poetry Magazine*, which probably would have interested the Victorians, is now worth reading only because it occasionally and hesitatingly prints the work of the younger poets. Writers' groups and a number of other magazines mirror nineteenth-century influences, and public libraries are a haven for even the poorest British books. Literature courses in colleges and universities are based almost entirely on the work of classical English novelists and poets. Contemporary literature is studied inadequately, and the influence of important European writers is scarcely noticeable. For the rest, Canada has, unfortunately, accepted the mass-production culture of the United States—the best-sellers, the pulps and slicks, the comics—with its distortion of life and its too ready simplification of complex problems.

The tendency of Canadians to import much of their literature has been fostered by internal sectionalism. Serious differences between Quebec and the other provinces have left the country without any deep, distinct cultural pattern or heritage. The population is small, the land is vast, and Canada is drawn south to another country instead of east and west within itself. Some of the younger writers show an awareness of this sectionalism, and the division between English- and French-speaking Canadians is being examined.

The effects of puritanism are not always obvious, but the pressures of a passionate intellectual sobriety have left their mark on Canadian literature. There is direct censorship: "Ulysses" and "Sanctuary" are banned. Sometimes the careful official mind moves more subtly: "Strange Fruit" was not banned in Toronto after the Boston episode; it was simply

not purchased by public libraries. Canadian writers are not allowed to forget that there is a vocal minority, which sometimes seems to be a majority, eager to denounce any sign of "obscurity." (In Canada obscenity is a harsh synonym for naturalism and realism, especially when indulged in by native writers.)

Few Canadians are able to earn sufficient money from the sale of books and articles to devote themselves entirely to writing. In an attempt to solve this difficulty some writers have left the country, some have turned to other fields, writing only in their spare time, and others, without emigrating, have sought markets outside Canada. These solutions are far from perfect, either for the individual or for Canadian literature. I shall not attempt a detailed discussion of publishing in Canada, but one fact should be noted. Books published in Great Britain and particularly in the United States are advertised in this country through imported newspapers, magazines, and radio talks, and it is almost impossible for a Canadian work to obtain publicity equal either in quantity or in impressiveness.

These difficulties have produced their logical results. The average Canadian knows little about the writings of his compatriots, and a literature truly contemporary and recognizably Canadian has been slow to develop. Between the two world wars the American literature of disillusionment and later of social consciousness did not have its counterpart in Canada. And perhaps the critics who in the past few years have attacked the American realists of that period so bitterly, might not have done so if they had been in a position to know that for lack of realism Canada in the same years produced a literature without vitality, power, or perception. We were treated instead to the gently subjective musings of poetesses and their male counterparts, and to quiet dallyings in historical backwaters.

There were exceptions of course. Some writers combined outside influences with a Canadian background. Morley Callaghan, one of the few novelists to write consistently about immediate problems, unfortunately was content to develop characters apparently devoid of will or intellect. His novels form a long Canadian tragedy, in which the tragedy lies as much in the never thoroughly developed abilities of the author as in the lives of the characters he creates. Frederick Philip Grove, whose stories of the Canadian Middle West correspond in some ways to those of Sherwood Anderson, is surprisingly little known in Canada. And his novels, achieving something almost tremendous in their total effect, are individually shot through with clumsy techniques and curiously contrasting emotional and intellectual attitudes, some being puritanical and some nearly Freudian.

Two other writers of this period are generally overrated. The Jalna series of Mazo de la Roche is apparently more widely known in the United States than most contemporary Canadian fiction; but the Whiteoaks of Jalna are typical representatives of those British immigrants who never really became Canadians. It is both foolish and dangerous always to insist on the use of a "real" Canadian theme, for the reality may be debatable, and, in any case, a purely regional literature is not enough. But Canadians do have a right to feel that so substantial a novelist as Miss de la Roche might have chosen as the background for her major work a more integral section of Canadian life. E. J. Pratt, the poet of titanicism, is the dean of living Canadian poets. His tendency to mighty rhythms has created a poetry which is frequently striking but which, read at length, is generally dull. And when we consider the national and international crises which occurred during the period of his writing, Pratt cannot be said to have added much to the intellectual content of Canadian poetry.

By the beginning of the war a number of younger Canadian poets had begun to deal with social and political questions. The war years saw the publication of several new "little" magazines. Faced with both British and American competition, Canadian magazines have been a dreary lot, and serious literature in this field has been kept alive only by one or two university quarterlies and the leftist *Canadian Forum*. Now literary magazines have been established by groups of young writers in different sections of the country, and they continue to be published in spite of economic difficulties. These magazines stress poetry and criticism; generally speaking their fiction is poor. And among their writers there seems to be a tendency to isolation which, if carried to extremes, may result in a divorce from the feeling for life so basic to good writing. These journals have not added much to Canadian literature in spite of the brilliance of several *First Statement* poets, and their future is still uncertain. But as a reflection of new interest in literature they have a definite importance.

As in most countries the number of novels published in Canada decreased during the war. But the crises of this period stimulated a new social consciousness among novelists, partly by forcing a relaxation of taboos but chiefly by creating a new sense of urgency among all citizens. And although actual achievements have not been as striking as many notoriously lax Canadian reviewers suggest, I believe that they provide the prelude to as well as the necessary release for important work to follow.

The most startling popular success was achieved by Gwethalyn Graham's "Earth and High Heaven," which seems to me one of a new class of novels—the socially conscious slick. Until the climax the book seems to have a certain value; but then it becomes fraudulently Hollywood, and the problems it has posed are robbed of all dignity. Two other popular novels give reason for more hope, although neither is as expertly written as "Earth and High Heaven" and although both are in a certain sense failures. "Two Solitudes" deals with the French-English problem, and it too develops an issue which is not solved; but Hugh MacLennan does not attempt to impose a popular and incorrectly simplified conclusion in place of a solution he does

Whittlesey
House

BOOKS TO OWN

Washington Tapestry



By OLIVE EWING CLAPPER

"A delightfully told story of the political scene of the last two decades, that provides not only a wealth of information but many a chuckle."
—Chicago Sun. \$2.75

THE Four Cornerstones of Peace

By
VERA MICHELES DEAN
Research Director,
Foreign Policy Association

"An analysis of the conferences at Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta, Mexico City and San Francisco... There are few specialists so well qualified to help the American people on global politics."
—N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review. With official texts. \$2.50

World Politics Faces Economics

By HAROLD D. LASSWELL. A brief but comprehensive analysis of the effect of our economic policies on world security, with special attention to relations between Russia and the United States. \$1.25

The Management of Your Government

By HAROLD D. SMITH, Director of the U. S. Budget. "What a budget should be... the strengths and weaknesses of a bureaucracy... the role of planning in modern government... Hits a gratifying level of simplicity, insight and intelligence."—Chicago Sun. \$2.50



AT ALL
BOOKSTORES

Whittlesey House

A DIVISION OF
McGraw-Hill Book Co.
NEW YORK 18

not clearly see. And about "Two Solitudes" there is a tremendous compulsion that sustains a novel which is frequently too wordy and, in the final sections, sketchy and weak. In "Master of the Mill" Frederick Philip Grove examines the influence of a flour mill upon its successive owners. One of them attempts to introduce a system of fascist control, and the novel provides a strikingly imaginative exposé of the development of a vast monopoly. But this potentially important and exciting story is poorly constructed. It is told by means of a series of clumsily devised flashbacks which are often the wanderings of a senile old man, and the result is frequently almost utter confusion.

A good deal of interesting work has resulted from the preoccupation with social problems of the younger poets. Two of these poets, A. M. Klein and Irving Layton, are Jewish, and both are from Montreal. While Klein's poetry is suffused with his Jewish background, Layton has developed along the lines of modern proletarian poets, although he frequently draws both content and imagery from Jewish life. Klein, whose early work was extremely fine, has written somewhat weaker poetry lately; he has been understandably tortured by the monstrous persecutions of recent years, but these atrocities appear to be too great to be consistently brought within the limits of poetic expression. In his first book, "Here and Now," Layton's poems about the slums ("... and the wind's occasional/sigh lifts from the garbage pails their stinks") and about army life ("... no one will hear the furtive/scraping of the veteran's stump...") are filled with effectively contrasted poetic expression and blunt

social statement. His few love poems are less interesting and more conventional.

Like Layton, Patrick Anderson is associated with the Montreal group that published *First Statement*—which has now been combined with another "little" magazine to make the *Northern Review*. *First Statement* published Layton's book and Anderson's "A Tent for April." Anderson's poetry expresses the protest of the radical parliamentarian; Layton's that of the talented soapbox orator. But Anderson shows a deep feeling for people, and he has achieved a cosmopolitanism which still leaves him free to create distinctly Canadian poetry. His most ambitious poem, "Canadian Scene," demonstrates this blending:

cities not found and greater in the mind
woods without words
and winter on the boughs like crystal birds!

And in the same poem (writing of Montreal):

We used to say the loneliness and the mystery
were somewhere on the rims, a distant suburb:
we were wrong. They are here. Here in the center.

Among the many other poets now writing two deserve special mention. F. R. Scott and Dorothy Livesay early began writing about Canadian urban life and the effects of the depression. Protest gives their poetry an angry vitality, and both are able to write simply and effectively about nature.

French Canadian writing, which has developed from a cultural background different from that of the other provinces, has found a path of its own. I have not attempted a lengthy survey of this literature here, because I have not made a sufficiently careful study of it to speak with authority. But two factors are dominant in the literature of French Canada—Roman Catholicism and a passionate desire for continuance as a living cultural entity. Its critical writing has dealt mainly with French writers and artists, but a few studies of their English and American contemporaries have appeared. Prose and poetry show similar tendencies—a frequent sense of all-pervading sin, an interest in the simple virtues and in nature, nationalism, and sometimes naivete. The best continuing survey of French Canadian writing is to be found in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*. The issue of April, 1945, cited "Au Pied de la pente douce," "a picture of life in a working-class district... in Quebec," which is the first important social novel by a French Canadian.

This is a period of release and beginning for Canadian literature. Many of our writers now realize that freedom and vitality in literature can best be obtained by dealing honestly with contemporary life. This is at least a bright omen.

For Nation Readers!

THE ART OF PLAIN TALK

by RUDOLF FLESCH

Do you write or read reports? issue public-relations releases? or otherwise offer ideas for public acceptance? Here is aid to helping you put simple power and crystal clarity into your messages. Here is a plea for plain talk, a description of what plain talk means and a guide to simplifying one's style of writing that will appeal to all. "With wit and good humor Dr. Flesch follows his own writing rules... thoroughly readable and interesting."
—*Tide*, \$2.50

PRODUCTIVE THINKING

by MAX WERTHEIMER

Late Professor of Psychology, The New School for Social Research

What occurs when thinking really works productively? What is really going on in such a process? A brilliant psychologist here presents the results of his teaching and research as to the nature and process of productive thinking and how this process can be forwarded. "Wertheimer has contributed more than any other writer to the psychology of human thought processes. His posthumous volume will become one of the classics in the field."—GORDON L. ALLPORT, Dept. of Psychology, Harvard University. \$3.00

HARPER & BROTHERS, 41 E. 33rd St., New York 16, N. Y.

The Work of Chief Justice Stone

CHIEF JUSTICE STONE AND THE SUPREME COURT.

By Samuel J. Konefsky. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

THIS is not a life of Chief Justice Stone. The book itself is virtually devoid of biographical detail, and not much more than a bare outline of the Chief Justice's career is given in a prefatory note by Charles Beard. The purpose of the book is rather to analyze Chief Justice Stone's contribution to constitutional theory and his influence upon the work of the Supreme Court. Mr. Konefsky has accomplished his chosen

task well despite its difficulties. Jurists are not fungible personalities. But to assess the originality and leadership of a judge who is only one of a bench of nine requires great discernment. The trend of his own thought usually seems to be the trend of the court.

The most radical member of the present Supreme Court has been Justice Black. Chief Justice Stone has occupied the more strategic position left of center, and has helped to make the minority views of Holmes and Brandeis the accepted doctrine of the court. Inspired by one of Justice Holmes's epigrams, he has done much to curtail the intergovernmental tax-immunity doctrine, so that the income from government securities and the salaries of government employees have both been brought within the reach of the tax gatherer. However sound from the point of view of constitutional theory, the latter accomplishment has been of questionable practical utility. The state and federal governments have collected taxes on the pay of each other's employees, but they have had to return most of it to them in the form of pay increases. The lag in this process has been an unfortunate aspect of the period of war-time inflation.

Although Chief Justice Stone's insistence upon greater realism in the approach to constitutional questions is also part of the Holmes-Brandeis tradition, he has nevertheless struck many new notes. Thus he has been particularly effective in scotching those forms of question-begging of which lawyers are so fond. He has demonstrated neatly that the tests of the "direct-indirect" effect of legislation and the concept of the business "affected with a public interest" merely disguise preconceived conclusions. In dealing with legislation tending to infringe civil liberties, he has developed a doctrine against political restraints as a persuasive justification for holding such legislation unconstitutional while refusing at the same time to interfere with social legislation. It is not only that the constitutional guaranties of civil liberty are more specific but also that the maintenance of civil and political rights is essential if the electorate is to be in a position to express itself on the wisdom of social legislation. At least one of Chief Justice Stone's *motus* will live in our constitutional history. In the darkest days of the New Deal he had occasion to warn the Old Guard of the court that "while unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of the government is subject to judicial restraint, the only check upon our own exercise of power is our own sense of self-restraint."

WILLIAM SEAGLE

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Black Common Man

IN "MARCHING BLACKS" (Dial, \$2.50) Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., presents what he calls "an interpretative history of the rise of the black common man." The rise of the "black common man" is traced through three periods: Africa to Chicago, covering the period 1526-1920; the period of "the boom and the crash," 1920-40; and the period from Pearl Harbor to the present. The discussion of the changes in the status of the Negro during these three periods is characterized by many shrewd insights, novel and



FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN SOVIET POLITICS AT HOME AND ABROAD

The full story of Soviet Communism as a political movement and a way of life from its genesis prior to World War I to the contemporary problems following World War II, with special emphasis on the changing course of Soviet domestic and foreign policies.

"A fresh beginning in Soviet Western understanding. A brilliant recapitulation. . . . Certainly no other book on the Soviet Union . . . excels his . . . in readability and sustained interest." —*New Republic*

"The best survey in the field. But it is more than a survey. It is an interpretation with insight and power." —MAX LERNER

"Notable for the breadth of its perspective, the vigor of its style and the abundance of its factual contents . . . highly interesting and even exciting reading."

— *New York Times Book Review*

710 pages, \$4.00

For sale at all bookshops,
published in New York by

ALFRED · A · KNOPF



unwarranted interpretations of historical facts, and much justifiable indignation. For example, such phenomena as the emergence of a class of free Negroes before the Civil War and the advantageous position of the house slaves and the mulattoes are treated as if they were due to some consciously planned conspiracy against the black masses. In championing the cause of the black masses against the talented tenth of lighter complexion, the Reverend Mr. Powell indulges in much rabble rousing, claiming that he is a descendant of the black field Negroes. His section, on what happened to the Negro from 1920 to 1940 offers a fair analysis of the changes in the Negro's status as long as it sticks to facts. The third part contains an indictment of the nation for its treatment of the Negro during World War II, which, Powell holds, began as a race war and was converted into Civil War II to complete the emancipation of the Negro. We are still engaged in Civil War II, which can only be won by the migration of the millions of Negroes from the South. This book was written, undoubtedly, to spur the Negro to continue his fight for freedom, and as such it is an effective piece of writing. But, unfortunately, it is marred by a number of glaring errors. There are errors concerning dates of well-known happenings, and in one case a white man is described as the "first Negro to emerge in this century as an educated, subsidized Uncle Tom."

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Power and Peace

A BOOK IS NOT A MAGAZINE. It should offer some unity of thought and style. Collective books are invariably disappointing, even such notable achievements as "The City of Man" or "Beyond Victory." "Peace, Security, and the United Nations," edited by Hans J. Morgenthau (Chicago, \$1.50), is no exception. Any one of the five distinguished contributors could have written a better book. Then, too, these lectures were delivered on July 9-13, 1945, and President Truman revealed the atomic bomb to the world on August 6 (my pious calendar states: Transfiguration Day).

The title should be reworded: "No Peace or Security Under the UNO." Percy E. Corbett notes that the smaller nations insisted on writing justice into the charter. But the

word is taken in a purely Pickwickian sense, and he concludes that power remains the sole reality. Arthur Robert Burns tries to figure out how the victors can squeeze the Germans without having a rotting corpse on their hands. Malbone W. Graham gives a capital sketch of the great-power idea. Vienna, Versailles, triumph of the Big Three, Munich, greatest achievement of the Big Four—an ominous record; yet we are relapsing into the good old method which has "averted" all the wars in the past. He believes that intermediate powers, "security" powers, that is, indispensable to security, will play an increasing role. His style is arresting, but I wonder about an "invertebrate skeleton." (True, Milton spoke of "blind mouths.") Eugene Staley offers an excellent, and honestly inconclusive, survey of World Organization on the Economic Fronts.

Frederick L. Schuman, who contributes a lecture on Regionalism, is the life of the party. His wisecracks at times reach the dignity of epigrams. He believes in a radical difference between Great and Small—"whales and sardines." William Fox, a landlubber, said "elephants and squirrels." (Half a century ago the Anglo-Russian rivalry was referred to as "the duel of the elephant and the whale.") Weird surrealistic nightmare: our actual world is not in the least like that. Force is anarchy, and—quoting Hobbes—under anarchy life is "poor, solitary, nasty, brutish, and short." Whereupon Schuman plumps for power, that is, anarchy. He pronounces federalism dead, "despite the fact that federation is a basic principle in the organization of power in the United States, the U. S. S. R., and the British Commonwealth." Is it realistic to reject such an obvious fact? And is it not a fact also that we have found peace at home *under the law*, by refusing to recognize sheer force, that is, gangsters' rule? Above all, Schuman wants to prevent a break with Russia. But appeasement is not peace; it is a sure step toward war. Peace with Russia can be obtained through universal peace, not vice versa. To conclude, he quotes admirable but starry-eyed words of Roosevelt, radically at variance with the bulk of the lecture. I diagnose a case of four-way schizophrenia. It is curable, in the hands of a good psychoanalyst.

ALBERT GUERARD

Report from the Balkans

IT IS NOT EASY to get rid of traditional slogans, such as that the Balkans are the powder keg of Europe. This explains the unjustifiable title of Leon Denen's book, "Trouble Zone: Brewing Point of World War III?" (Ziff-Davis, \$1.50), which makes Russian trouble-shooting in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean solely responsible for the menace of a new conflagration. Even aside from Iran, China, and similar "trouble zones," just now there is hardly any spot on the globe which is not a potential "brewing point" of a new war. More objectionable than the title is the conclusion the author reached on his return from the "trouble zone" to America—namely, that in the United States "to cast the slightest doubt on Russian policy is to leave yourself open to denunciation as . . . even a war criminal." Neither the Hearst nor the McCormick-Patterson press, which day by day certainly cast more than slight doubts, has yet been arraigned as a war criminal.

on the
PALESTINE QUESTION
and the Rehabilitation of Jews in Europe

THE COMPLETE TESTIMONY OF
HON. JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER
PRESIDENT, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

before the
Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry

JUST PUBLISHED IN PAMPHLET FORM

"IN PEACE AND DIGNITY"

by the
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

DEPT. N
386 FOURTH AVENUE, N. Y. C.

• Copies available upon request •

Without questioning the accuracy of Mr. Dennen's observations during the nine months he spent in the region, certain contradictions cannot be overlooked. We are told that, unlike Russia, Turkey has freed itself from totalitarianism, but that Atatürk was, and even İnönü is, "virtually a dictator." The Bulgar has been aptly described as "the bad boy of the Balkans" because Bulgaria fought twice on the side of the Germans, but the author forgets to mention that it was a pro-German Coburg ruler who pushed the pro-Russian Bulgar people into the war. Although Mr. Dennen is wary of those people "who seek to drive a wedge between the American and British people," he nevertheless believes that Brigadier MacLean and Major Randolph Churchill "intentionally misdirected" American planes so that they bombed anti-Nazi Chetnik forces. Some of Mr. Dennen's statements may be premature, as, for example, that "the civil war in Greece is over" or that "Palestine is already a Jewish state." No one can disagree with his conclusion that the disappearance of reactionary political systems is a prerequisite for the establishment of a democratic federation. Such a federation must not be regarded, however, as an anti-Russian Holy Alliance.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

FICTION IN REVIEW

I HAVE been meaning to comment briefly on several recent books which have won not only a big popular audience but also a great deal of praise from the reviewers. Among them is "The White Tower" by James Ramsey Ullman (Lippincott, \$3)—the only one, as a matter of fact, that seems to me to deserve its reputation. Although I do not think Mr. Ullman's novel about mountain climbing is the literary milestone it has been called, it is a thoroughly gripping adventure story, done with the skill to hold one to it in the old I-couldn't-put-it-down fashion; and this is not the drug on the market one might guess from fiction advertising. "The White Tower" tells the story of six people who attempt to climb a hitherto unscaled Alpine peak. It would appear to be designed with a double purpose—as a straight-away narrative of dangerous action and as a philosophical parable. As the first, it is entirely successful. As the second, I found it not so much successful as remarkably inoffensive: Mr. Ullman keeps his comments on life fairly modest, and he is not given to the inflated prose rhythms that usually pass for a philosophical attitude. Even the inclusion, in his mountain party, of a Nazi who promptly begins to play out his anti-democratic principles doesn't too seriously deflect our responses to "The White Tower" from the viscera, where they belong, to the head, where they are of only minor consequence.

In "Focus" by Arthur Miller (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$2.50) a personnel manager of a large corporation that operates on a policy of religious discrimination is forced, because of bad vision, to use eyeglasses; wearing glasses, he is himself at once mistaken for a Jew—this is the rather over-contrived central situation around which Mr. Miller plots a short intense study of American fascism as it manifests itself in our native brands of anti-Semitism. From its first chapters I was

led to expect a better book than "Focus" turns out to be: there is more than ordinary talent, both for observation and writing, in Mr. Miller's introduction of his small hero; the early home scenes, office scenes, city and subway scenes have a clean, hard, bright quality which, were it sustained, would compensate for the obvious didactic inspiration of Mr. Miller's novel. After its nice opening, however, "Focus" begins to thin out into just a familiar unpleasantness.

The reception of Jessamyn West's "The Friendly Persuasion" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.50) makes me wonder, as I wonder at each fresh instance of our national appetite for family reminiscence, if Henry James's boyhood desire for orphanhood might not be generalized into a dominant American trait. Surely there must be more than meets the eye in our insatiable pleasure in these restorations of our family life, and in our willingness to accept at their face value such patently unnatural pictures of domestic humor and domestic harmony. Each time a new volume comes along, it has only to be sweet to be hailed as the pure spirit of American literary art and only to be sufficiently extravagant to be hailed as the fine robust spirit of the American home. Miss West's collection of sketches about her Quaker forbears in Indiana being of a peculiar gentleness, it is making its expected literary way.

Erich Maria Remarque's "Arch of Triumph" (Appleton-Century, \$3) is about a refugee from Nazism living in Paris in the period preceding the outbreak of war. It a book of serious and decent intention, and not uninteresting as story, but I must dissent from majority opinion, which finds it one of the literary monuments of our difficult times. For I think

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

*will make her first report to the
American people*

on the

United Nations Organization

HUNTER COLLEGE AUDITORIUM

Park Avenue and 69th Street

Wednesday, Feb. 27, 1946

At Eight Forty-five P.M.

Admission \$1.00 Per Person

Admission 83¢—Fed. Tax 17¢

Auspices: UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

For Reservations Phone: PLaza 8-0702

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
88th ST.
near LEX.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
54th ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROOM
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
ALDEN
Jamaica
Kith's
FLUSHING
Kith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
Manhattan
COLONIAL

RIKO**NOW**

"A MEANINGFUL DRAMA"—PM

**DICK POWELL
'CORNERED'**

— with —

WALTER SLEZAK • LUTHER ADLER

Story and Adaptation by JOHN WEXLEY

— and —

"MAN ALIVE" PAT O'BRIEN ELLEN DREW

"A TIMELY DRAMA"—N. Y. Sun

JOAN

ROBERT

**LESLIE HUTTON
'TOO YOUNG
TO KNOW'**

Adapted from HARLAN WARE'S story

— And —

'THE DALTONS RIDE AGAIN'PARAMOUNT presents
VERONICA LAKE • SONNY TUFTS

JOAN CAULFIELD

**"MISS SUSIE
SLAGLE'S"**

— with —

BILLY DeWOLFE • RENNY McEVOY

— and —
LILLIAN GISH

A Paramount Picture

NOW PARAMOUNT

— in Person —

DANNY KAYE

• MISS

Georgia Gibbs

Tip, Tap & Toe

• Bob Chester
AND HIS ORCHESTRA— Featuring —
Larry ButlerTIMES
SQUARE

A Limited Number of Supplements on
"THE SUSPENSION OF ARGENTINA"
are available. Price 10 cents per copy.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

it takes more than a doctor forced to perform abortions to symbolize the indignity that modern man has suffered under the Nazi terror, more than a Humphrey Bogartesque cynicism in love to suggest what a man feels who has seen his wife murdered by the Gestapo, more than an addiction to apple brandy to describe the emotional conflicts of an innocent human being victimized by circumstances, and more than Mr. Remarque's soft prose to create the moral and intellectual tone of a period of tragedy. Indeed, I find it hard to explain the already staggering sales figures for "Arch of Triumph." I should have thought the market had been so glutted with anti-Nazi fiction that any new novel on the anti-Nazi theme would have to be a really distinguished performance to win so huge a public. But I suppose the sales of Mr. Remarque's book indicate quite accurately the depth at which our emotions about the tragic world in which we live are fixed—just about the depth of a Grade A movie notation of a cosmic sorrow.

DIANA TREMLING

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents

**MAURICE EVANS**

In His New Production of Shakespeare's

HAMLETColumbus Circle Thea. 8'way of 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Eves. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30**UP IN CENTRAL PARK**Book by HERBERT
& DOROTHY FIELDSLyrics by
DOROTHY FIELDSMusic by
SIGMUND ROMBERG**BROADWAY THEATRE** 8'way at 63rd St. Mats.: Sat. & Sun. Eves. incl. Sun. 2:30 & 8:30

"A DELIGHTFUL PLAY"—Coleman, Mirror

Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA

in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMAfrom Kathryn Forbes "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 46th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4036
Eves. 8:30 Sharp Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp

"ENCHANTING! BRILLIANT!"—Watts, Herald Tribune

KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOATMusic by JEROME KERN • Book and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
ZIEGFELD THEA. 54th Street and Sixth Avenue, CI 8-8200
Eves. 8:30 Sharp Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp**You may again buy BOOKS
through The Nation**

Nation readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division**THE NATION**

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

BORN YESTERDAY (Lyceum Theater) is an unexpected pleasure. In any preliminary description it sounded pretty routine and pretty dull. It will, I am afraid, not sound so very different in any account I can give of it, but there is not likely to be much disagreement among spectators. Nearly everybody, I think, is going to find it quite the funniest and quite the freshest farce comedy the season has seen.

Garson Kanin, the author, is by no means the first contemporary writer to have the idea that a rapid-fire satiric piece about Washington would be a good idea and not even the first to suppose that it might be given a liberal slant. The project suggests a whole line of recent farces ranging from the obvious vulgarity of "The Doughgirls" through the laboriously synthetic writing of "State of the Union." I at least had come to the conclusion that the thing couldn't be done with any real success, and then Mr. Kanin comes along to do it brilliantly. What makes the result all the more puzzling is the fact that the general scheme of "Born Yesterday" doesn't depart very radically from that which has been employed a good many times before. The self-made millionaire, half gangster and half commercial genius, who has bought himself a first-rate lawyer and has now arrived in Washington to buy himself a second-rate Senator, is a stock figure; so too is his sweetie, an apparently dumb blonde formerly of the chorus, who in this instance becomes the central character of the action and at moments pretty nearly the whole show. I am not unaware of the fact that when this last-mentioned personage puts on glasses and goes in for solid reading she is merely trying out a variation on a situation so familiar that even the movies hesitate these days to use the plain Jane who takes off her bifocals and stands revealed as a glamour girl. But this is one of those cases—not without parallel in the history of the drama—where a stage figure gets its most effective use, not when it is first invented, but after it has become more or less stock, and without exactly comparing Mr. Kanin to either Shakespeare or Congreve, it might nevertheless be pointed out that neither Hamlet nor Mirabelle was a figure totally new to the stage.

Undoubtedly "Born Yesterday" is

superlatively slick as writing. And undoubtedly it is given superlatively slick direction by its author, as well as getting performances to match. The temptation is to assume that the unusual effectiveness of the whole depends upon this fact and to predict that Mr. Kanin may soon find himself possessed of the sort of reputation for ingenious competence held in days past by George Abbott and George Kaufman. But I am not sure that this is all there is to "Born Yesterday" and am not sure that one has said everything even after one has added that Judy Holliday is very nearly ineffable as the sweetie and manages somehow, even in the first act, before her regeneration has begun, to suggest that she is a darling whose heart continues to beat honestly beneath either of the two mink coats which symbolize for her the fact that she has twice as much as all any girl could want. Surely there must be in the writing itself something more than mere theatrical dexterity. One notes, among other things, the fact that the humor is really humor of character rather than the humor of the wisecrack. One notes also that Mr. Kanin is one of those rare writers of farce who establish at the beginning the exact degree of extravagance and caricature, the exact level of credibility, to which they are going to stick consistently throughout the evening. And above all one notes a genuine freshness, a genuine shrewdness, and a genuine gaiety quite different from the mechanical liveliness one has come to expect in plays of this kind.

Whatever the reasons may be, "Born Yesterday" contains more sheer amusement than anything seen here since "Harvey"—which, I hesitate to point out, it does not in the slightest degree resemble.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

SINCE last fall a change of job has made it impossible for me to see more than a few of the movies which, as a reviewer, I have wanted and felt I ought to see and review. I should have spoken of this months ago, but until lately I was unable to resign myself to the impossibility. Until further notice, then—and of that I see no prospect—anything like adequate coverage is out of the question, and I may be late, as herewith, even with those films

which most obviously require reviewing. Just as I was slow to realize that there was nothing I could do about my new situation except describe it, I shall probably be slow to realize whether or not, under these circumstances, I can write a column useful enough to justify my going on with it. That my editor and my readers will have as much to do with that as I will goes without saying.

Of current films the two best I have seen were already weeks at large before I got to them, and for both reasons deserve priority now.

"It Happened at the Inn" ("Goupi Mains Rouges") should have gone high on my selection of last year's best films. I kept putting off seeing it because, stupidly, I was as usual set on edge by the kind of finishing-school, French-table, cultural chitchat to which so many American enthusiasts are aroused by anything from France. This film should teach me better sense, if anything since Clair's best films can. Whether or not I like my company, I have a standing love affair with a good deal that is French—particularly the French mass as understood by the least affected of the French intelligentsia—and this film reawakened me to the fact.

"Goupi" is a comic melodrama—or perhaps a lightly tragic farce—about a family of wrangling, innocently cruel, frustrated, strongly individualistic peasants. Some of the characters are as salient as those of comic strips; none lose truthfulness or depth through this; all are with tender, sober adroitness graded, controlled, and modulated between different levels of caricature and of limpid, always poetic realism. Like most French films, this one is basically nearer literature than movie; but, like many, it is always supple, quick, and expressive visually and in its use of dialogue and sound; and, again like many, it makes even the best American work look childish so far as reverence for and skill with character and background and atmosphere are concerned. At times the picture goes so wild that it suggests Gogol or Erskine Caldwell—or, simply, that rural life is at once the most localized and the most universal, and that its pine-knot paroxysms of grotesqueness are among the most endearing, even noblest, of its characteristics. But as a whole, and more intensely, gently, and richly, it embodies France. There is no evidence, good or bad, that Pierre Very, who wrote the picture, or Jacques Becker, who directed it, were trying to

do anything "great." Perhaps for that reason, among many others, I thought it wiser, more beautiful, and much more fun than nine out of ten masterpieces, written or filmed.

"Murder, My Sweet" should have been mentioned in last year's listing, too. So should Edward Dmytryk's next picture, "Cornered." "Murder, My Sweet" gave a Raymond Chandler story the combination of skinned knuckles and big-city sentence proper to it; "Cornered," without losing much if any force as melodrama, is much more elaborate, self-assured, and ambitious. I have never been in Buenos Aires, and I have known few fascists or even people who pretended to be or thought they were—though I know any number who think they aren't—but in casting, business, setting, and, with few exceptions, writ-

ing and costuming the picture consistently convinced and excited me. One beautiful little bit, of an old waiter's silent reaction when he is questioned too closely for his own safety, suggests that the only serious problem about intelligence, even subtlety, on the screen, is inventing it; for it got a yell of understanding and joy from an audience at the Palace. Dick Powell, with a Bogart haircut, sometimes works a little too conspicuously at being The New Dick Powell ("rougher, tougher, and more terrific," as the billboards not very helpfully insist). But on the whole, perhaps because he still looks less official, less highly paid to look small-bracket, and less superhuman and bound-to-win-out, I think he is even better, just now, for this sort of role, than the Founder himself.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE BACH READER" (Norton, \$6) is a collection of source material documenting the life, career, and achievements of Bach that are summarized in an excellent opening section by the editors, Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel. The material includes Bach's own letters, reports, petitions, and so on, extracts from official records, writings of contemporaries, Forkel's monograph, and statements of later men as Bach's music began to be known and to achieve its present status. Some of it makes dull reading; but much of it is extremely interesting and enlightening.

For one thing it establishes the fact that Bach's powers were fully appreciated by all his contemporaries who had contact with his music: in his own place and time he was famous and honored. It also enables us to understand the limitations of that place and time. The place was the fairly large portion of Germany in which he went about and made his music known; where he did not go his music was not known, since the period was one in which publication of music—to say nothing of more recent means of communication—had not yet replaced the composer himself as the disseminator of his music; and where it was not known Bach's music could not be appreciated.

Moreover, when he died there were not widespread published copies of his works to keep them alive; but one reason why so little of Bach's output was printed was the prevailing idea of a composer as a mere musical craftsman working solely for the immediate moment. "The composer of Bach's time was hardly more concerned with posthumous fame than the medieval artist had been. The cantatas and Passions Bach performed year in and year out in the Thomas-Kirche or the Nicolai-Kirche were mostly of his own composition. Bach had good reason to assume that his successors would not perform the works he wrote any more frequently than he performed compositions written by his predecessors; and indeed his works were as promptly laid aside when he died as theirs had been." And yet so strong was the impression he made on his contemporaries that "the memory of his work lingered on . . . occasionally his name was mentioned, occasionally a fugue subject was quoted, or a canon or even an entire fugue reprinted";

Next Week in *The Nation* Midwinter Book Review

FRENCH EXISTENTIALISM

By Hannah Arendt

"THE COMPLETE WRITINGS OF THOMAS PAINE"

An Essay by Perry Miller

NOTES BY THE WAY

By Margaret Marshall

NEW POEMS

By Robert Lowell

STUART CHASE REVIEWS

"Rival Partners" by Keith Hutchison

REINHOLD NIEBUHR REVIEWS

"Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad"

by Frederick L. Schuman

Other Reviews by Randall Jarrell, Lionel Trilling, Keith Hutchison. . . . Briefer Comments by Albert Guérard, Rolfe Humphries, George F. Willizer, and others.

DRAMA, MUSIC, ART

By Joseph Wood Krutch, B. H. Haggin, Clement Greenberg

when Mozart visited Leipzig forty years after Bach's death the Cantor of the Thomas-Schule had the choir sing Bach's motet "Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied" for him; and "before those who personally knew Bach had all passed away, a reversal set in."

There was also the fact that Bach continued to work in the polyphonic style and forms of his predecessors even after composers and public had turned away from counterpoint toward a simple melodic style; and although he absorbed elements of the new style into his own, his art remained an essentially contrapuntal one, of which "the very basis for understanding . . . was swept away." The reversal I have mentioned set in only when composers like Haydn and Mozart began again to "create structures of balanced complexity, and the audience learned to appreciate them."

"The Diaries of Tchaikovsky," translated from the Russian, with notes, by Wladimir Lakond (Norton, \$4), cover the years 1873 to 1891. They are, with two important exceptions, mere jottings that are impossible to read continuously; and the person who wishes to use them for reference purposes will find himself handicapped by the absence of an index. The two exceptions are Diaries 8 and 11: the first a brief supplementary record of more extended—and sharply perceptive—thoughts at intervals during the years 1886, 1887, and 1888; the second a no less perceptive record of his experiences during his visit to this country in 1891 for the opening of Carnegie Hall in New York.

"Mendelssohn's Letters," edited by G. Selden-Goth (Pantheon; \$4.50), are full of personal and literary grace and references to the legendary personages of his time that should have held me fascinated from the first page to the last. But I found myself unable to keep my mind on them in continuous reading; and when I tried looking up particular references to what interested me, the statements about Berlioz stopped me from going any further.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Protest in Manila

Dear Sirs: Last night I witnessed a glowing testament to what Americans can do and what America can be. In the shadow of the ruins of the Philippine Legislative Building 20,000 soldiers gathered to raise their protest against the miserable output of double talk that had assailed their ears ever since the surrender of Japan and Germany.

They had been told by people in high places not to demonstrate, not to make their feelings known so publicly. Why? Because "it would set a bad example to the Philippine people, who have problems of their own." And the soldiers hurled their answer back: "What better example could be shown these people than this magnificent display of the democratic process in action? What better living example of how democratic people act and feel?"

It would be an exaggeration to say that all these men had aims and ideals beyond their immediate desire to "go home," but it is to the everlasting credit of the speakers that the problem was set forth in larger and more meaningful terms. Almost everyone of them asked the right questions, clearly, surely, intelligently. These men wanted to know why Americans should be involved in the internal affairs of countries with which we were not at war. Again and again it was stressed that we did not propose to turn our backs on the world in a stupid and dangerous isolationism, but that it seemed strangely incompatible with many of the things we had been told we were fighting for to see an American division training to quell political unrest in a country to which we had so recently promised independence. They asked: Why are American troops in China, and why are American troops in Java? Is it because we soldiers were caught in a net of political finagling, inspired in the main by reactionary economic and political interests?

Again and again the speakers called attention to the promises, contradictions, double talk, and "circumstances have altered conditions" that have plagued us ever since the initial War Department policy was enunciated. The now famous "I don't know" of Secretary Patterson came in for resounding hoots and catcalls.

We were citizen soldiers, soldier citi-

zens, flexing our muscles and minds in preparation for the democracy that we are going to be an integral part of.

I fear that this is a completely inadequate attempt to capture the spirit of last night's meeting. But I was dismayed at the coverage given it by U. P. and A. P. They completely neglected the political implications present in the meeting, which I felt were of primary importance. They seemed to treat it as merely a big get-together of angry G. I.'s out for a crack at the army. It was that, surely, but it was much more—and that should be stressed.

T/5 MENDY WEISGAL

Manila, January 8

Report from Holland

Dear Sirs: I have been a physician over forty years here in Tiel, our small town on the large River Waal.

In September, 1944, when the battle of Arnhem began, we hoped soon to be free from the German yoke. Things went otherwise. A difficult time began. All the inhabitants of Tiel had to sleep in their cellars, for fear of the shells. Then the evacuation began; we had to leave our town with only the most necessary luggage.

I shall never forget how just on this day, a year ago, when walking from my evacuation village to a small neighboring village, to go to church there, we met a train of open farmers' carts, all loaded with people from Tiel, mothers with their children in their arms, sitting on their trunks, the men and boys walking beside them, all driving to an unknown future on the frosty morning of Christmas, 1944.

On May 5 war was over, and the hunger period was ended by the sending of food through our Allied friends and through the Red Crosses of many countries. Soon we could return to Tiel. Many people found their houses burned up, or ruined and shattered. And they who found their houses still habitable had first to clean them from all the filth the Germans left there, and saw that much of their furniture was broken

The New Statesman and Nation

England's Leading Weekly Review
may now be obtained through

THE NATION

20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.

Yearly subscription \$8.50 including postage
BPOIMRN copy on request

NOW — THROUGH FEBRUARY 24
6th Exhibition

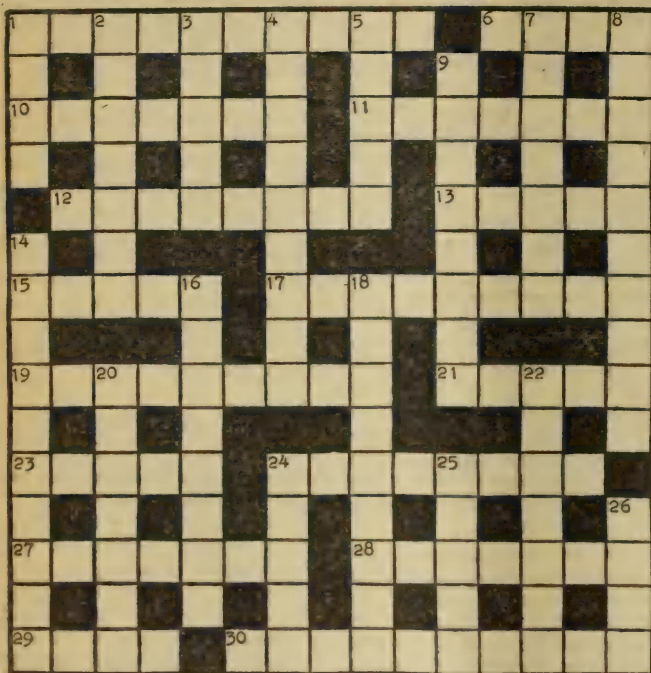
The Art of Portrait
B. F. DOBLIN
Drawings
FRED STEIN
Photographs
International
Book and
Art Center

THE TRIBUNE

100 WEST 41ST ST. COR. 6TH AVE.
6th Ave. Subway Arcade, downstairs
in the building of Schullis cigar store

Crossword Puzzle No. 148

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Do lions eat? (anag.)
- 6 Entertainment essential to many games
- 10 Give Dad some cereal. It's cracker-jack!
- 11 The last generation loved to have a game with this old top
- 12 Comic character you know
- 13 Like the head on near-beer there's nothing in it
- 15 One Charlotte, and a tasty dish!
- 17 Go in alone (anag.)
- 19 The most adorable of the fair sex
- 21 Longfellow relates her story in *The Golden Legend*
- 23 The soldier gets furlough, but the sailor gets this
- 24 A rendering that meets with no approval
- 27 Sue live here? She's hard to find
- 28 Tradesman more likely to be popular if there's plenty of meat on his bones
- 29 "The melancholy days are come, the saddest of the ----"
- 30 Hinged weapons? (two words, 6 & 4)

DOWN

- 1 Underworld argot for pickpockets
- 2 Only London building that is really in character, according to architects (two words, 2 & 5)
- 3 "All hell broke ----," as Milton succinctly puts it

- 4 Set ten men to build apartment houses
- 5 Ancient, and sounds like an ancient
- 7 A.I. rooms for lovers abroad
- 8 Celebrity seeker who is likely to be greeted with a roar (two words, 4 & 6)
- 9 Adolescent affection (hyphen, 4-4)
- 14 Where the public flock to see the hangings (two words, 3 & 7)
- 16 The science of interpretation revealed by six geese
- 18 Where the natives live (two words, 6 & 3)
- 20 Bram Stoker's famous (infamous?) Count
- 22 Seems to make me short—of breath, of course
- 24 Look out for the drink swindle in this Illinois town
- 25 Fed up
- 26 There are degrees of ability in these

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 147

ACROSS:—1 BALDRIC; 5 COMICAL; 9 MIS-TRIAL; 10 ATTAINS; 11 LEAPT; 12 EXPLO-SIVE; 14 ANNE; 15 TERRACE; 18 SEC; 20 LAD; 21 TWO-HAND; 23 CHOW; 26 IN-DELIBLE; 28 EXCEL; 29 ILLUDES; 30 PIERROT; 31 GUARDED; 32 PETTISH.
DOWN:—1 BUMBLE; 2 LASCAR; 3 RURI-TANIA; 4 COLLEGE; 5 COALPIT; 6 MOTTO; 7 CRIMINAL; 8 LESSENER; 13 YEW; 16 ROOSEVELT; 17 CAP; 18 STRIK-ING; 19 CORDELIA; 22 DEBASED; 23 CREEP UP; 24 OCTROI; 25 FLITCH; 27 LADED.

or stolen. Most of the clothes were worn out to rags and on others is endless mending. Some things begin to come again, but still many things are lacking. Fuel is very scarce this winter, and warm clothes are often failing.

May I mention to you some articles which are failing in many families?

Needles, pins, black and white bobbins of thread, wool, silk, and cotton to mend socks and stockings, socks and stockings, bootlaces (brown or black), drawing pins, razor blades (the little knives to use in Gillette), scissors, pocket knives, hammers and pincers, matches, suspenders, sock upholders, loose soles, and shoes to put under boots; elastic, tooth brushes, sponges, and combs.

Everybody at Tiel got a new pair of American shoes happily; the greater part of Holland walks on leaking shoes. Tea is very seldom distributed and much appreciated, as well as pipes for smoking.

Packages can also be sent to Mr. N. F. Cambier van Nooten, town-mayor of Tiel, Holland. We shall take care that packages are given to families where they are most wanted.

J. G. TER BRAAK

Tiel, Holland, December 25

RESORTS



50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

A Resort Estate of un-matched beauty. Ideal for winter rest and recreation. Write or phone Ridgefield, Conn. 820.

The Fieldstone

On Round Island Lake

A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York.

ALL SPORTS — OPEN ALL YEAR

MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7865

HATHAWAY SKI LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 500-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the City." Large, luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces and private porches. Wind-ing Mountain Trails, Ski Tow, 700-foot Ski Slope. Delicious food. Easy transportation.

Attractive Winter Rates

For reservations or further information write or call HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y. Telephone, Tannersville 289

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR Newburgh 4477

Delightful...skating on private lake. Open fireplaces.

Different...the colonial atmosphere.

Delicious...our unexcelled cuisine.

Diversing...recordings for listening & dancing.

All this only 53 miles from New York City

A Resort for Adults Only

'THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 23, 1946

NUMBER 8

The Shape of Things

NEWS FROM INDIA IS VERY DISTURBING. The specter of famine looming more and more menacingly over the country, added to an already tense political situation, may serve to produce a nation-wide explosion. Last month's riots in Bombay, which grew out of a celebration of the birthday of S. C. Bose, dead leader of the Japanese-created "Indian Nationalist Army," have been followed by an even more serious outbreak in Calcutta occasioned by a prison sentence imposed on an ex-officer of that army. Actually Bose's followers have been treated with great leniency; this particular man, who had been found guilty of brutality to Allied prisoners, is the only one of those tried whose sentence has not been fully commuted. But Indian Nationalists have reacted against the prosecution of any of the Bose group; they regard them as true, if misguided, patriots and lose no opportunity to exploit them as martyrs to British imperialism. The fact is that politically conscious Indians, whether Hindu or Moslem, are in a belligerent and uncompromising mood. Jinnah, leader of the Moslem League, is adamant in his demands for Pakhistan—a separate Moslem state composed of six provinces of northern India. If the British attempt to institute an All-India constitution, he told a *New York Times* correspondent recently, the Moslems will revolt. But it is even more certain that British indorsement of Pakhistan would be bitterly opposed by the Indian National Congress which stands for a united India. This issue has blocked all previous efforts of the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, to organize a representative government and seems likely to stymie his new proposal for a national administration, including both Congress and Moslem League leaders, to cope with the food crisis. Out of its golden Indian flask British imperialism has raised genii which it can neither subdue nor appease. It is difficult to see how a bloody showdown can long be postponed.

★

UNDER JOHN RANKIN'S SHRILL LEADERSHIP the House Committee on Un-American Activities has become more authoritarian in its methods than its notorious predecessor—the Dies Committee. Dr. Edward K. Barsky, chairman of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, has been threatened with contempt charges for

refusing to turn over the organization's books and records, thus terminating its relief work. The Refugee Committee has taken the seemingly reasonable position that as a relief agency under the supervision of the President's War Relief Control Board, it does not fall within the Rankin Committee's legitimate scope of investigation. Several other organizations whose activities are politically objectionable to Representative Rankin, such as the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties and the National Committee to Combat anti-Semitism, have similarly been called on the carpet, while Gerald L. K. Smith received a cordial welcome and was permitted to use the committee as a sounding-board. But even this outrageous abuse of a congressional committee's powers pales beside the presumptuousness of its chief counsel, Ernie Adamson, in sending letters to numerous organizations and individuals, including Columnist Drew Pearson, protesting against their use of the term "democracy" and implying that anyone using this word is seeking to undermine the American "republican" form of government. This proved too much for even some members of the committee and Mr. Adamson's days as counsel are said to be numbered. But the only way to save the country from the indignity of these repeated witch-hunts is to abolish the committee.

★

THE BERMUDA AIR CONFERENCE ENDED IN an agreement so favorable to this country that not even the most dunderheaded congressman can complain that once more John Bull has outsmarted Uncle Sam. In fact, if there is any difficulty in ratification of the agreement, it is likely to be at Westminster rather than Washington. The terms provide the United States with every opportunity to maintain its long lead in international air travel. It is not possible here even to summarize a long and complex document. We note, however, as particularly important the grant by Britain of "fifth freedom" rights which were the biggest stumbling block at Chicago. This means that American transatlantic planes will be able to pick up passengers in Britain for destinations in other countries and will thus be able to operate profitably over long routes crossing several frontiers.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	209
UNO—Act I	211
Beyond the Blue Book	212
The Harding Aura <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	213

ARTICLES

Mr. Truman Wavers <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	214
Spruille Braden <i>by Robert Bendiner</i>	215
In the Wind	219
Cross-Fire in Korea <i>by Andrew Roth</i>	220
Wages, Prices and Production <i>by Ben Fischer</i>	223
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	225

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

French Existentialism <i>by Hannah Arendt</i>	226
Three Poems <i>by Robert Lowell</i>	228
Thomas Paine, Rationalist <i>by Perry Miller</i>	228
The Russian Adventure <i>by Reinhold Niebuhr</i>	232
The Irrepressible Myth <i>by Lionel Trilling</i>	236
Verse Chronicle <i>by Randall Jarrell</i>	237
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	240
Art <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	241
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	242

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 149

<i>by Jack Barrett</i>	243
------------------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting, *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1940, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Librarians: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

British planes reaching this country will enjoy a similar privilege but geography makes fifth-freedom rights in North America of less value than in Europe. Another concession made by the British was abandonment of their demand for control of frequencies—that is of the number of flights daily or weekly over any particular route. Fares, it was agreed—and this was our chief concession—were to be approved by the International Air Transport Association, subject to review by each government. By this means it is hoped to avoid rate-cutting wars and competitive subsidization, while providing machinery to insure that lower costs will be passed on to the customers. It seems probable that the Bermuda document will serve as a model for agreements with other European countries. The diplomatic fog, which has been keeping international aviation grounded, is beginning to lift.

★

BY THE DEATH OF WILLIAM ALLAN NIELSON the cause of freedom and enlightenment is poorer today. Never was there an American who gave himself more generously or with less thought of his own convenience or prestige. Never was there a "reformer" freer from solemnity or pretension. Dr. Nielson's unflinching humor and serenity were reflected in his smile and in his gentle, sagacious manner. But they were nourished by the profound scholarship which gave richness to all his thinking. He was witty; he was provocative; he was irreverent. During his long years as president of Smith College he was all but worshiped by the students, whom he insisted on treating like rational adults rather than capricious school children. He was very clean in his beliefs and stood up for them with an unshakable simplicity more impressive than the loud protests of others.

★

THE CATHOLIC CARDINALS' MARCH ON ROME became for a few days number one on the best-seller list for the American press, radio, and newsreel. The United Nations Assembly, New York's tugboat strike, and Harold Ickes managed to stay on the front page, but the report of imminent famine on an unprecedented scale barely made page six. For the cardinals meant color, medieval pageantry, theater, in a land which is surfeited with tales of human misery. Pleasant human-interest stories filtered back from Rome—the unfortunate tailor faced with the necessity of throwing together a simple little cardinal's ensemble valued at \$6,000, "and, mon vieux, you know how scarce silk is these days!" Forty rooms reserved at the Grand Hotel for the New York cardinal-designate and family—"Don Juan, the Spanish pretender lived here and was married here . . . frequented by monarchs, diplomats, financial rulers . . ." The Gripsholm sailing out of New York harbor laden with episcopal victuals so that "the Italian people now suffering great privation would not be deprived of their meager food supplies." The airliner Star of Rome at La

Guardia, the Star of Rome at Gander, the Star of Rome at Shannon, the Star of Rome at Paris, the Star of Rome at Rome. How far we have advanced since the days of that primitive journey to the other Holy City—by donkey.

✱

TO EARL BROWDER HAS COME THE PAINFUL realization that a man's communism may slip imperceptibly into an ism new to him and to the world. With his expulsion from the party last week, comrades everywhere were summoned to the "struggle against Browderism." We telephoned the office where Mr. Browder publishes an organ called *Distributors' Guide*, hoping to learn something about the philosophic basis of the new ism, but no information was forthcoming. In view of the suddenness with which it was forced upon him, it may well be that Mr. Browder has not yet worked out its principles. If so, he has our sympathy; we can imagine few situations more awkward than that of a man with an ism on his hands and no ideology to talk about. Browder's fate should be a warning to his former comrades to store away at the back of their heads a reserve ideology against the day when they find themselves the founder of a new ism. No one can say when a public speech by a Communist leader in Paris or Johannesburg may change William Z. Foster's communism into Fosterism; when a magic word uttered in Moscow may give the world Molotovism or Vishinskyism. Life is simpler for bourgeois politicians; a Cabinet member is thrown to the wolves but no one is warned to beware of Ickesism.

✱

THE CLEARANCE OF ANDREW ROTH BRINGS tardily to a close the "Case of the Six," one of the few lapses in the unhysterical war record of the Justice Department. And even this lapse should be scored against State rather than Justice—the old State Department with the Far East branch bossed by Grew and Dooman, for whom liberal criticism was tantamount to treason.

✱

WHEN DOUBTING DEMOCRATS BEGAN TO question the intention of the Argentine government to hold an honest election next Sunday, the Foreign Minister, Juan Isaac Cooke, issued a challenge to foreign correspondents to come and see for themselves. In a dispatch from Buenos Aires on January 29, Señor Cooke said: "I extend . . . a formal and concrete invitation to the press of all countries who may want to send their representatives to follow at first hand not only the election itself but the pre-electoral campaigns." *The Nation* has taken up Mr. Cooke's offer. Freda Kirchwey left this week for Buenos Aires to report the election and its results. Her first dispatch will appear in our next issue.

J. Alvarez del Vayo's page, *The People's Front*, has been omitted from this issue because he is now en route to France. His first cable from Paris appears next week.

UNO—Act I

THE first session of the UNO proved more dramatic than had been expected before the curtain rose. From the moment Iran sent its appeal to the Security Council the plot thickened rapidly, and the action became fast and furious. Believing that Britain was egging Teheran on, the Russian delegation retaliated with a series of countercharges, and thereafter Bevin and Vishinsky held the center of the stage, exchanging verbal blows with more gusto than discretion. Yet this sub-plot seems to have been based on the hackneyed theme of mistaken identity, for it turned out that actually it was Britain that had been holding Iran back while the United States encouraged it to go ahead. Even when this became clear, however, the Soviet delegates did not revise their lines. Playing for the colonial gallery, they stuck to Britain as the obvious and vulnerable object of attack.

In the world audience there was disagreement about which protagonist was the villain. The Communist claque in all countries naturally cheered Vishinsky and hissed Bevin; Britons of almost all political views cheered Bevin and hissed Vishinsky. Our view, which we believe a good many American liberals will share, is that there was more than a touch of ham about both actors. Both contrived to give a melodramatic twist to a play that was far too serious for overacting to be tolerated.

If we are to understand what has been happening in London we must get away from black-and-white interpretations of the Anglo-Russian duel. There are those who see the Soviets picking on a temporarily weak Britain, intent on disintegrating its empire as a first step toward world hegemony; there are those who insist that Britain is spearheading a world-wide conspiracy to encircle and crush Russia. We believe that both these schools of thought are wrong, and that neither country is bent on aggression. Their tactics at the UNO meeting, offensive in form as they were, appear to us to have been basically defensive.

There are good reasons why both Britain and Russia should be haunted by a sense of insecurity at this time. Britain, economically debilitated by the war, is more than usually sensitive to any threat to its empire and trading routes, for it depends on these for recovery, especially if American assistance is not forthcoming. Russian moves in Iran, pressures on Turkey, demands for positions in the Mediterranean and Red Sea, all touch exposed nerves. But the Soviets also feel threatened. They see themselves as isolated in an unfriendly world, subjected constantly to ferocious attacks in capitalist countries. They see Britain and America flirting with reactionary forces in many parts of the world, and note fearfully the support given to such men as General Anders, who commands a sizable army dedicated to revenging Poland's loss of territory. Moreover, despite

its vast area, the U. S. S. R. remains landlocked. Without full access to the oceans it fears its world position will be inferior to that of America or Britain.

During the UNO sessions the bulletin of the Soviet embassy in London published an article declaring: "Britain and the Soviet Union have an equal interest in keeping the Mediterranean open. What is wanted is clear recognition of the strategic needs of the U. S. S. R. . . . The trouble between Britain and the Soviet Union today is directly traceable to the fact that, contrary to all expectations, the present British government has embraced in full the British policy of the nineteenth century vis-à-vis czarist Russia." Of course Britain might well retort that the trouble is due to the fact that a supposedly anti-imperialist Russia has resurrected all the imperialist ambitions of its predecessors. But such recriminations do not provide any solution to the problem.

Is a solution to be found by admitting Russia's claims, which undeniably have validity, and affording it the opportunity to acquire Mediterranean bases which will balance those possessed by Britain? It is difficult to believe that this would lead to anything but an armament race, accompanied by intrigues by both powers among the smaller nations bordering the Mediterranean. The suspicions which Britain and Russia now entertain about each other would be tremendously enhanced, and eventually war would follow.

The Mediterranean should not be treated as the private lake of any power or combination of powers. Its security is of vital interest to all the countries bordering it, and it provides a world route used by every maritime nation. The Mediterranean, therefore, should be open to all peaceful states and dominated by none. Its proper guardian is the UNO.

The suggestion has been made that Tripoli, which commands the narrow waist of the Mediterranean, should become a trusteeship of the Big Four powers. This would be a step in the right direction, but it would leave Britain in command of most of the other strategic bases in the area. To make the sea a truly international highway, it would be necessary for Britain to offer to place Gibraltar, Malta, and Suez under a similar trusteeship, provided that Russia surrendered all claims to an exclusive position in relation to the Dardanelles.

The United States is in an excellent position to take the initiative in pressuring a solution of this kind. We should point out to Britain that if it adopts a purely stand-pat position in the Mediterranean it is likely to get the worst of it. It has not the strength to offset Russian pressure indefinitely, and while we are vitally concerned in British survival and prosperity, we are not able to underwrite the British Empire. Realism, therefore, demands admission of Russia to a share in Mediterranean control under conditions effectively neutralizing that sea.

If this can be accomplished, the drama of UNO's Act I will have served a great purpose by exposing clearly

a dangerous conflict. But if remedies are sought in power politics, succeeding acts are likely to see Britain and Russia locked in a struggle of growing intensity—a struggle which can only end in tragedy.

Beyond the Blue Book

ARGENTINA'S government, wholly under the thumb of Presidential candidate Juan Perón, has made the retort obvious to the State Department's accusation that it collaborated with Hitler while "at war" with Germany. Publication of the American Blue Book, says Foreign Minister Cooke, is an interventionist move intended to beat Perón in the forthcoming election.

We have no doubt that the State Department would like nothing better than Perón's defeat, and the timing of its exposé is hardly calculated to swing votes his way. If that be intervention, let the political purists make the most of it. But all the evidence indicates that the election was a secondary consideration. The truth is that Assistant Secretary of State Braden, like everyone else who has closely followed affairs in the Argentine, believes that Perón cannot lose at the polls. The purged army is his, and the police force is his—and it is the army and the police that will "protect" the sanctity of the Argentine ballot. If they are inadequate for the job, there is always Perón's private army of thugs to back them up. Mr. Braden, we believe, was looking beyond the "election" of the Colonel when he let loose his damning indictment. He had his eye on the Inter-American Conference to be held at Rio de Janeiro next month, at which a mutual-assistance pact is to be proposed calling for a permanent military agency for hemispheric defense.

Mr. Braden has said more than once that this country will not sit down at such a conference with an Argentine regime of the Peronist persuasion. We will not be party to a pact calling for defense of the Americas alongside a clique that did its best to open the hemisphere to the enemy. The primary purpose of the Blue Book, we believe, is to demonstrate that Perón and his gang are guilty of precisely that crime. Both Braden and Secretary Byrnes know the danger of unilateral action, and their broadside is addressed not so much to the Argentine people as to the governments of the other Latin American republics, because only with their consent and approval can the Argentines be barred at Rio. Their wariness of a revived "interventionism" in Washington is deep-seated and natural, as Robert Bendiner points out in his article on Braden elsewhere in this issue.

The carefully documented Blue Book, based on papers discovered in Germany, should overcome their doubts. Giving names, places, and dates, it shows beyond argument that from the beginning of the war to the end the Argentine government and army hoped and worked for a German victory. It exposes the negotiations with Nazi

agents, all identified, whereby Argentina was to send food, quinine, iodine, oils, mica, platinum, and other critically needed items to Spain for reshipment to the German war machine; in return for which the Franco government was to sell Argentina arms and other war materials obtained from Germany. It uncovers the secret organization of Nazi agents and native collaborators, headed by Perón, whose object was to use these German arms to form a fascist bloc composed of Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay, with Brazil thrown in provided the Integralista Party succeeded in ousting the Vargas regime. Only in Bolivia did the plan fully succeed, and the various deals for German arms likewise came a cropper—but not for lack of effort by the Farrell-Perón crowd.

Belgian and Russian delegates to the United Nations have informally raised the question whether these facts were known to our government at the time we forced Argentina's admission into the UNO. Probably we did not then have all the evidence now in our possession, but we certainly had enough to know better. The truth is that we were guilty of a monstrous boner at San Francisco. Braden can't say that in so many words, and he is obliged in consequence to offer the lame explanation that we accepted the "pledged word of the Farrell-Perón government" to reform, only to find our confidence betrayed. But this painful cover-up for his predecessors, dictated by protocol, is unimportant. The significant fact is that Braden—more power to him—refuses to be bound by the wrong-headedness of Avra Warren or to base a continuing policy on the blunder of Nelson Rockefeller and Edward Stettinius.

The Harding Aura

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

WHEN President Truman traded in Ickes for Pauley he lost more than an able, progressive administrator; he also lost another big chunk of public confidence. Even the people who dislike Ickes and his ideas have caught the unsavory odor of oil politics in the shift. Indeed, for Americans who remember the twenties, oil is a symbol of political jobbery in high places; their minds revert automatically to the rocket-like rise and descent of Albert B. Fall and that earlier group of home-state boys who saw a natural link between public office and private interest. The greater intelligence and probity of Mr. Truman does not suffice to wipe out an unhappy resemblance to Mr. Harding. It can be effaced only by acts, and the public is anxiously looking for proof that the President intends to extricate himself from a mess he should never have got into. So far no proof has appeared. Instead, he has compounded his mistakes by sticking to Mr. Pauley and allowing Mr. Ickes a last word so blister-

ing that its mark will show a long time, perhaps well through 1948.

Almost simultaneously he muffed another big chance to dispel the Harding aura. The reorganization of the stabilization-reconversion set-up, which was supposed to insure Chester Bowles's control of the price structure, has instead apparently left Bowles in a position subordinate to the pliable Mr. Snyder. At least that is the way things look as we go to press. If the change works out that way, another able and progressive administrator will soon walk off into the wings, for Mr. Bowles obviously means it when he refuses to be made responsible for continued inflationary price concessions to business.

The resignation of Ickes is an arrow pointing toward disintegration and defeat. If Mr. Truman's advisers realize this in time, they may help him salvage his Administration. If they keep their eyes fixed only on short-term political advantages, they will go down to defeat in two jumps—next fall and in 1948. We trust they and the President can summon the will to reverse their direction, for we see no hopeful alternative on the Republican side and no early alternative anywhere else.

But Ickes is more than a sign and a warning. He is a public servant who, in his own right, can ill be spared. When his resignation was rumored soon after Mr. Truman took office, we urged Mr. Ickes to stay on. With Wallace, he represented all that was left of the Roosevelt tradition. The war had thinned the New Deal ranks and erased most of the New Deal program. In spite of war-time concessions to business and the get-the-job-done-at-all-costs spirit, Ickes stood solidly and almost alone for progressive measures to insure a going economy and protect the community from unrestricted profit-hunting. At that time he stuck to his post, but he did so in a mood of pessimistic skepticism. The Pauley appointment and the President's casual dismissal of Ickes's testimony left him no alternative to resignation, even if he had wanted one.

He will be difficult to replace. His enormous administrative capacity has led him to accept, even advocate, numerous accretions to the huge, jumbled, multicellular structure of the Interior Department. A lesser man will have a hard time handling the job. It seems certain that the President will try to compensate for the Pauley blunder by choosing a progressive as Ickes's successor; he cannot possibly risk a strictly political appointment. That he will be able to find a man as strong, as stout-hearted and enduring, is most unlikely. The best possible choice would be Oscar L. Chapman, now Acting Secretary, who has been Assistant Secretary for thirteen years. Chapman is also a good administrator; he is liberal and uncompromising. His chief flaw, ironically, is his long and devoted service, which, in the process of fitting him for the arduous post of Secretary, has also deprived him of those political qualifications which party chieftains look for in their appointees. If he doesn't get the job it will be because he is too well prepared for it.

Mr. Truman Wavers

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 17

PERHAPS Mr. Truman's official life continues to be a series of crises because he rarely ends any one of them with a clear-cut decision. Each settlement carries the seeds of a new rumpus. This is certainly true on the anti-inflation front. When I wrote last week's letter, it looked as if Chester Bowles had finally won a free hand. It had apparently been decided to make him Economic Stabilization Director independent of Snyder, to authorize him to grant price relief only where proved necessary instead of as part of a general rise, and to give him direct power to deal with many acute shortages, as in textiles and building materials.

Presumably Mr. Bowles had gained that much by threatening to resign. He has become the center and symbol of the anti-inflation fight. He has political appeal, and he could do much damage if he took to the hustings. But the premature, perhaps deliberate, leak of the Bowles-Snyder shift to the press last week-end enabled Snyder's friends to organize a counter-offensive. The result is another precarious compromise. Mr. Bowles becomes Economic Stabilization Director but remains subject to Mr. Snyder as War Mobilization and Reconversion Director. Mr. Bowles and Paul Porter, his successor and subordinate as OPA Administrator, are given ample power to hold the line on prices—if Mr. Snyder does not interfere. But Mr. Bowles is also saddled, against his will, with the job of holding the line on wages through a new Wage Stabilization Board, which is the old War Labor Board in a new guise.

Compromise was piled on compromise in arranging the new price-control shift and ending the steel strike. Mr. Bowles, who had offered \$2.50 a ton on carbon steel, and Mr. Truman, who had spoken of \$4 a ton, were forced to agree to \$3 a ton, not only on carbon but on alloy steel. A rise in the price of alloy is, if I may be forgiven the pun, pure steal—a gift of another \$35,000,000 to \$40,000,000 clear profit to the most profitable sector of the industry. In simple arithmetic, steel has managed to exact a \$325,000,000 price increase from the government in return for a \$185,000,000 wage rise. Actually much of this wage rise has already been compensated for by down-grading, the elimination of overtime, and so on. The price increase for the big integrated companies will be larger than it seems to be, for they will benefit to the extent of another \$2 or so a ton from the additional increase the OPA will have to allow on fabricated steel products to save the smaller producers from

a price squeeze. This was the most profitable strike in the history of the steel industry.

At one point in the negotiations the business crowd behind Snyder hoped for Presidential acceptance of a formula which would provide for a general price rise throughout industry. Mr. Truman finally turned this proposal for a new "Big Steel" formula down, probably under threat of a resignation by Mr. Bowles. The latter was finally given wide power to hold prices in line except where an industry would be left in "an over-all loss position." Such adjustment upward in price ceilings may be allowed as would "in the judgment of the Price Administrator" enable the industry, "unless operating at a temporary low volume," to earn the "average rate of profit" it earned in the pre-war base period. This broad grant confers great power on Messrs. Bowles and Porter, notably in the reference to "temporary low volume"—the phrase which is likely to be the storm center of reconversion pricing. For the issue will be whether to fix prices on the basis of immediate operations or on that of the capacity output which should be reached in most industries later in the year.

But a heavy price had to be paid for these powers. Mr. Snyder insisted that, if prices were to be held, wages must also be controlled. After being responsible for the premature scrapping of the War Labor Board last year, he demanded its replacement. Mr. Bowles and Secretary Schwelienbach wanted to leave wages to collective bargaining, price relief to government agencies. They lost, but in an effort to placate them and the labor movement the President gave the new Stabilization Administrator such broad discretion that wage control may be as strict or as mild as Mr. Bowles chooses to make it—always assuming that he is not hamstrung by Mr. Snyder. The breadth of the order is such that labor can hardly make a frontal attack upon it. The proof of this administrative pudding will be in the eating. With strong support from labor and consumers Mr. Bowles has a fighting chance under this order to hold any price increase to a mere "bulge" yet allow a wide forward movement in wages. And Mr. Truman, by backing Bowles and Porter, can still demonstrate that he meant what he said in advocating a general upward revision of wages and in declaring that this was possible without a general price rise.

Mr. Snyder in this picture is only President Truman's alter ego, if not his real self. Mr. Snyder is no strong man, except in the strength he derives from Mr. Truman's own faltering belief in the principles he espouses.

on formal speech-making occasions. There are a number of crises ahead on the price front, some of them grave enough to upset the whole settlement within a short time. There will be a sharp fight within the Administration when Mr. Bowles seeks to reimpose certain controls prematurely lifted last year by Mr. Snyder and Civilian Production Administrator John D. Small, notably those designed to channel textile facilities into the low-cost clothing field. Messrs. Snyder and Small will fight, despite the reference in the Presidential directive to the need for "prompt and firm enforcement, during the present emergency, of government controls over scarce materials and facilities." Mr. Krug at the War Production Board got away with similar defiance of a similar directive last year.

A second crisis may be expected on a broader front when Messrs. Bowles and Porter tackle the task of reconversion pricing. Mr. Snyder, who is industry-minded, favors prices which would allow for profitable operations even on a low, and temporary, level of output. The OPA will try to head prices to a level which will be adequately profitable when industry hits its stride. While fighting this battle, Mr. Bowles will almost certainly have to counter a flank attack from part of the labor movement. The A. F. of L. is against the new set-up; the C. I. O. is dubious. Just around the corner

are John L. Lewis and a demand for higher wages in coal. This new wage board, unlike its predecessor, is not buttressed by a no-strike pledge. If too many wage applications bog down the machinery of stabilization, there will be trouble. Part of the labor movement may gang up with industry against price control. The biggest tussle of all will be with the farm bloc, which is lining up to blackmail and blackmail the Administration into higher prices or subsidies or both. Mr. Truman has asked Congress to extend the OPA, the subsidy program, and the Second War Powers Act, and to enact the Patman housing bill. Without these measures we can have neither price control nor new large-scale housing. But to get them the Administration must run the gauntlet of the cotton bloc, the dairy interests, the wheat, corn, and hog interests, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the real-estate crowd. It is a formidable line-up, but defeat almost certainly means disastrous inflation. Much depends on labor and consumers. The Administration has a first-rate housing plan which it could use to rally the veterans. Veterans would also respond to a thoroughgoing program for low-cost clothing. Given some daring and imagination on Mr. Truman's part—he is showing these qualities on housing—the battle against inflation could be won. But it's a tough one.

Spruille Braden

BY ROBERT BENDINER

SPRUILLE BRADEN is at least a 50 per cent violation of the State Department's traditional formula, "Too little, too late." There is nothing little in the bearing of the 240-pound Assistant Secretary, whose florid complexion, double expanse of chin, and impressive bulk recall nothing so much as Edward Arnold's portrayal of Diamond Jim Brady—down to the stickpin in the cravat. There is even less that is little in the gusty spirit with which he has swept away the cobwebs of diplomatic cant and made himself democracy's ambassador to Latin America. But many observers believe that Spruille Braden is "too late"; that he was placed in authority only after his struggle to prevent the emergence of a full-blown Nazi movement in the Americas had already been doomed by the bungling of his predecessors. One of his warmest admirers from below the Rio Grande—a man who bitterly resented the forcing of Argentina's admission into the United Nations some months before Braden's appointment—described him to me sadly as "the right man at the wrong time."

To Americans who like their ambassadors tough, straightforward, and uncompromisingly committed to the democratic ideal, Braden appeared dazzlingly to be

"the right man" in the summer of 1945. Overnight he had become a front-page figure as the man who had made a habit of rebuffing the most accurate facsimile of Mussolini ever produced in the Western Hemisphere—Colonel Juan Domingo Perón, dictator of Argentina. Here was an emissary of the ultra-cautious, infinitely stuffy Department of State serving as a catalytic agent in the gathering of popular forces against the government to which he was accredited. In the words of Perón's own shrill denunciation, "Braden gave shape, courage, and directives to the amorphous political organism that opposes us." Mr. Braden looked surprised when I asked him whether it did not require unusually strong democratic convictions for an American ambassador to a dictator state to speak so passionately on the evils of dictatorship and the necessity for its extinction. It didn't take much of a feeling for democracy, he said, to be repelled by what he had seen in Argentina or to condemn it with all possible forcefulness.

The case, as Braden saw it, was clear-cut. To qualify for a seat at the conference table in San Francisco, Argentina's representative, on April 4, had belatedly signed the Act of Chapultepec, an instrument that committed his

country, with all other American nations, to a common safeguarding of "the essential rights of man." Hardly had the conference disbanded when American reporters in Buenos Aires began filing stories of a terrorism that went beyond anything the Farrell-Perón dictatorship had dared to attempt before Argentina's entrance into the charmed circle of United Nations. Regular features of these dispatches were reports of mass arrests, imprisonment without trial, and daily murder by armed bands which roved at will through the streets of cities chanting the name of Perón, setting fire to opposition newspaper offices, and sacking Jewish properties—all under the benevolent eye, and even with the armed support, of the Perón-controlled police. It was when these outrages reached a climax in threats to assassinate American correspondents that Braden stepped into the picture, and from July onward hardly a week went by without a Braden incident, a Braden protest, or a Braden pronouncement couched in terms almost without precedent in the relations of nominally friendly nations.

Speaking in the heart of a country that had declared war on Germany just in time to beat the surrender, Ambassador Braden had the daring to tell an audience: "Victory has brought us new and surprising friends. The victorious United Nations are now being acclaimed in some high places by those who in the past had with evident enthusiasm attached themselves and their destinies to the Axis." Against a backdrop of tyranny and violence he boldly warned a Buenos Aires meeting: "The peoples of the world have learned that fascist militarists, to attain their end, will stop at nothing, no matter how cruel or vile it may be. To defeat them we have paid a staggering price in blood and suffering. We shall not forget this lesson merely because petty tyrants are now assuming the disguise of spurious democracy."

Stung into an extreme of rashness, Dictator Perón made it plain to Braden in a blistering interview that not only was he unable to insure United States correspondents against assassination at the hands of his worshipful followers, but the same could be said of *anyone* who crossed his path. So pointed was the inference that Braden replied, "Whether you assassinate Cortesi [correspondent for the *New York Times*] or me doesn't matter. The principle is the same, and we stand on principle."

Perón backed down, but a few days later the walls of Buenos Aires broke out in a profusion of posters headed by the single word "Crime." In the text that followed, the Ambassador was linked with a disaster in a Chilean mine owned by Braden Copper, a company with which he had never been connected and which his father had sold thirty-three years before. "Workers, unite against Wall Street imperialism," the posters read. "Braden means exploitation and crime in Chile!" Pamphlets, too, deluged the city—some comparing Braden to Al Capone

—and a "memorial" meeting for the mine victims rang with shouts of "Out with the Yankee pig!" and "Death to Braden!" Not too curiously, the leaflets and posters were strikingly similar in paper stock, typography, and layout to material turned out by the regime's official Press and Information Department. Even less curious, not the slightest attempt was made by the Buenos Aires police to check the distribution of the inflammatory literature, though it was clearly a violation of the law.

The net result of this blatant campaign, unexpectedly, was a further crystallization of anti-Perón sentiment in the country. Protests against the attack on Braden appeared in all the leading papers, signed by outstanding Argentines from all walks of life. Demonstrations were held in his honor, and the welcome he received at the station on his return from Santa Fé Province a few days later was a severe blow to the Colonel's prestige. He had tried to depict Braden as a "Yanqui cowboy trying to run the Argentine government," but millions of Argentines hailed him instead as "*el Domador de Coroneles*," the Colonel-Tamer.

An American diplomat whose family fortune stems from Chilean copper does not immediately seize upon the imagination as the natural foe of imperialism and the arch-champion of the democratic way. People reasonably wondered whether Braden's flare-up in the Argentine was not a flash in the pan, or perhaps a devious diplomatic game that called for a specialized technique. They could not be expected to know that Braden is the least devious character to be found in striped pants today—with the possible exception of Ernest Bevin. His genuineness and the simplicity of his approach are apparent both in his private conversation and in the record of his thirteen years as a diplomat.

Spruille Braden was a man of thirty-nine when President Roosevelt, soon after taking office, made him a delegate to the Inter-American Conference at Montevideo. The appointment was almost inevitable. He had been a personal friend of the President's since the middle twenties, had spent a major share of his life below the Rio Grande, spoke Spanish as well as his native tongue, and had long since abandoned a weak and purely hereditary attachment to the Republican Party.

The itinerant life of the Braden family had prevented Spruille from acquiring that early hardening of the social arteries with which an over-sheltered existence is prone to afflict the sons of the wealthy. Five years after his birth in the town of Elkhorn, Montana, his father, William Braden, shifted the base of his highly successful operations as a mining engineer and promoter to Canada. A few years later it was Mexico, and at the age of ten the future ambassador found himself a Chilean schoolboy. After six years of erratic education he was sent up to the Sheffield Engineering School at Yale, where he applied

himself to water polo and heavy eating, as well as engineering, with a year out to acquire practical experience in the mines and oil fields of the West.

Through with his schooling at twenty, the young engineer returned to South America in 1914 and struck out in a series of ambitious projects in the field of industrial engineering and finance. Most ambitious of these, and most profitable, was the electrification of the Chilean State Railroads, which he undertook for Westinghouse after a spirited competition with General Electric and the German firm of Siemens-Schuckert. Other extensive business operations followed—but so did the crash of 1929. Much of the Braden fortune vanished overnight.

The great débâcle of 1929 was an eye-opener, however temporary, to many a business giant, but it is not fair to include Spruille Braden in their number. He had long since departed from the political norm for those engaged in "colonial" operations—even to the point of having campaigned for Al Smith in 1928, against his distinguished brother in the fraternity of engineers. "Braden just couldn't help convincing himself that he was a progressive," former Attorney General Homer Cummings once said of him. "It was in him all the time and had to come out."

It had, in fact, been "coming out" for a good many years before his entry into the world of government. In the first place, Braden is what one of his subordinates describes as a "glandular democrat." There is enough of the mining frontier in his composition to make him bridle at class or racial distinctions of any sort. An instinctive feeling for democracy rather than any carefully worked-out philosophy of government has animated his political life. It was this same feeling that prompted him as a successful young business man in 1920 to give an interview to the press in which were set forth the essentials of what was much later to be called the Good Neighbor policy.

Aside from his natural inclinations, Braden was moved to forsake the Republicanism of his forbears by the influence of Woodrow Wilson. He was convinced soon after leaving school, he says, that the Democratic Party offered more intelligence in the field of foreign relations. He believed in the League, and he believed in a low tariff. And beyond these formative political factors, there was his own characteristically oversimplified but obviously sincere theory concerning the nature of imperialism.

Braden had seen at close range the political effects of bribery by American industrialists in Latin America: the buying of elections and the payoff in concessions. Imperialism, he concluded, produced corruption; and corruption, in turn, produced dictatorship, since neither the giver nor the receiver of bribes could hope to continue his shady transactions under the fierce light of a free political system. Braden maintains that in their years of business operations in Latin America neither he nor his

father ever found it necessary to engage in this common practice of "buying into" governments—a conviction that was to set him apart from his fellow-*yanquis*, to establish warm ties with democratic political groups throughout the continent, and finally to make him one of the most extraordinary emissaries ever sent from Washington to the countries of South America.

Spruille Braden has performed four major diplomatic missions in Latin America, and each one has added perceptibly to his political growth. At Montevideo he had been a minor figure, though Ernest Gruening, a fellow-delegate, says that even then he displayed in conferences a "rare feeling" for the people of the Latin American nations rather than a purely diplomatic regard for their governments. "It is time," he was heard to remark, "that we were as New Dealish in our foreign relations as we are at home." But it was not until 1935



Spruille Braden

that Roosevelt gave him his first chance to put his talents and experience to the test. He was sent to Buenos Aires to replace Hugh Gibson, who had been making no perceptible headway as head of our delegation to the Chaco peace conference.

After three years of indecisive warfare Bolivia and Paraguay had agreed to a ninety-day truce, during which the other powers of the hemisphere were to attempt to mediate. The ninety days were nearly exhausted when Braden arrived on the scene, and it did not take him long to make two acute observations: first, among the mediators themselves a fierce struggle for power was in progress between Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, and if hostilities were allowed to resume, the entire continent would go up in the flames of war; second, German and Italian diplomats were conniving feverishly behind the scenes to effect precisely this result, and were openly ridiculing the whole mediation procedure.

Braden succeeded in renewing the truce, and held the conference together for three years—in itself a notable achievement. During this period he took every advantage of shifting political tides, looking for the break that he knew would ultimately come. It came with the election of Roberto Ortiz to the Argentine Presidency. So impressed was Ortiz, himself a thoroughgoing democrat, with Braden's earnestness and good-will that he gave him

Argentina's advance consent to any decision he might make. The jam was broken. Going over the heads of the Bolivian and Paraguayan representatives, Braden addressed their two nations over the radio. The response was swift and decisive, and shortly thereafter the proposed treaty was signed.

One of the guests at the banquet in celebration of the peace was the German ambassador, Edmund Freiherr von Thermann. He had just returned from an equally historic celebration at Nürnberg—the first *Parteitag* of Greater Germany, held in honor of the German-Austrian *Anschluss*. Apparently still vivid in his mind as he turned to chat with Braden were the massed war banners and the imperial regalia of the Holy Roman Empire, brought from Vienna for the occasion. "The Nürnberg spectacle," he remarked, "was magnificent! It celebrated a peace made as Germans make it. We use a different method."

The comment impressed Braden deeply, and he kept it in mind when he reached Bogotá in 1938 to undertake his second major mission—as minister (later ambassador) to Colombia. It was obvious to everyone that the world was close to war, and it was equally obvious to Braden, at his new post, that Hitler's agents were close to the Panama Canal. He kept a sharp watch, and from Bogotá to Washington went reports of the discovery of secret landing fields and even of plans for destroying the Canal. Chief source of danger was Scadta Airlines, 16 per cent of which was controlled by the Germans. Here was a potentially hostile air fleet no farther from the Canal than New York is from Washington. When the conflict broke out, Braden acted at once. Officials of Pan-American Airways, which controlled by far the major share of Scadta, were asked to take over the German interest. When they balked, Braden threatened to hold them officially responsible for any possible attack on the Canal by enemy planes operating out of Colombia. In a matter of weeks the Germans were relieved of all control and their men replaced entirely by Americans.

Braden's next assignment, as Ambassador to Cuba, was noteworthy for continued vigilance against Axis agents, one of whom had been using his high post in the Batista government to spy on American shipping movements and tip off enemy submarines. It was noteworthy, too, for a remarkable application of Braden's long-standing prejudice against the influence of United States dollars in Latin American politics. Early in 1944 American business men in Cuba were jolted by a blunt warning that any of them who contributed so much as a dollar to either party in the approaching election could henceforth expect neither protection nor service from the American embassy. That was revolutionary, and the protests were loud and anguished. But Braden was adamant, and for the first time an election took place in Cuba without benefit of the American dollar. Batista, who had lost much of his one-time following, failed to put up the

fight expected of him, but, even so, both Washington and Havana were astounded at the proportions of the landslide that replaced the dictator with the democrat.

When it became apparent in the early summer of 1945 that appeasement would no more work with Argentine fascists than it had with the Italian or German variety, it was inevitable for the Administration to turn, in desperation, to Spruille Braden. His assignment to Buenos Aires would in itself be a red light to the rampaging Colonel from Patagonia. More than that, it would be an admission that Nelson Rockefeller—under pressure from Avra Warren, a State Department appeaser from way back, and probably from the British as well—had blundered in forcing the acceptance of Argentina into the United Nations.

Braden's hold on the popular imagination of Latin America is undeniable—and the appeal is personal as well as political. A man who habitually wears out two shifts of subordinates, he has long been known for the tremendous zest with which he throws himself into his work, into his speeches, and into his play. As typical as the confidence almost automatically bestowed on him by the friendly Ortiz was the reluctant tribute paid him by Batista. "He is more a man," said the fallen dictator, "than a diplomat."

Despite his seal-like figure, Braden is today rated the best conga dancer in official Washington. And he is equally adept at the samba and the waltz. No doubt with an eye to modifying that same figure, Braden now sharply controls his fondness for the banquet table, but in his earlier years in the service his gustatory exploits amounted to a legend. Two or three times a week he would delight in feasts reminiscent of Elizabethan England and enjoyed today only in the food-rich Argentine—feasts that, launched in dry Martinis, progressed from pickled partridge through soup, a second bird, and a huge roast, to luxurious salads and rich desserts, the entire meal eased by a free flow of wine and topped off with a fine old brandy.

Affable in manner but extremely forthright, Braden is further assured of popularity in Latin America by his perfect use of Spanish and by his long and idyllic marriage to the daughter of a prominent Chilean family. His wife, the former Maria Humeres del Solar, is a Catholic, and the five Braden children have been reared in that faith. Braden himself remains a Protestant and has no use for the ultra-reactionary hierarchs who play a major role in certain Latin American countries. But he cultivates the friendship of liberal Catholic churchmen, and is known to entertain hopes that at least in clerical circles of this hemisphere their influence will predominate.

As Assistant Secretary of State, Spruille Braden faces an extraordinarily delicate task. He is strongly opposed

to the old-style interventionism. "No one more non-interventionist than I ever served in" the State Department," he told me—and he obviously believes it. At the same time he believes just as firmly that fascism must be eliminated wherever it rears its head. "Democracy," he says, "cannot exist in a world half slave and half free. Our democratic system will go down if fascism is allowed to prevail anywhere."

His critics, chief of whom is Sumner Welles, believe that these two principles involve him in a dilemma from which he will be unable to extricate himself. And Braden himself fully appreciates the extreme narrowness of the path he has laid out for himself. He knows the depth of mistrust that still exists throughout Latin America for the "colossus of the North." When the Foreign Minister of Uruguay recently proposed *collective* action by American states against any one of their number that denied its people democratic government and basic human rights, Mr. Braden was quick to indorse the plan. But besides the United States, only Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama, and Nicaragua were won over. Even countries like Colombia and Mexico, with the most liberal governments in Latin America, shied away. A record of sixty interventions in fifty years cannot be wiped out by a dozen years of good neighborliness.

Of course, Braden emphasizes the collective aspect of his approach, and, in fact, if this type of action is to be rejected as "intervention," then the doomed UNO need not bother looking for a site. But some of the best liberals of Latin America are not convinced. They know that the United States represents the real power in the collectivity—and they are suspicious.

If Braden is unable to bring pressure on Perón through collective diplomatic action, what is left? Armed action he rejects completely. Economic action is insufficient, since in this sphere Argentina depends primarily upon Britain rather than the United States among the great powers. There remains only the cultivation of public opinion, and in this Braden is a master, as his timely exposure of Argentina's war-time collaboration with the Axis abundantly proves.

He may be expected to employ his talents along this line to the utmost between now and the convening of the next inter-American conference at Rio de Janeiro in March. That meeting will be Braden's great test. If a Perón delegation is seated and allowed to make a farce of the proposed hemispheric security treaty, Braden will be finished. But those who know him best do not believe that he will allow himself to be maneuvered into any such position. He plans well. Senators who opposed his nomination to his present post spoke of him as a "bull in a china shop." That is a superficial view of Spruille Braden. Shrewd as well as forceful, he picks his china in advance and breaks only what he knows is ready for the breaking.

In the Wind

THE UNITED PRESS is our authority for the story of an ex-army sergeant who was arrested for drunkenness in Beaumont, Texas, after he had slugged a striker on a picket line. He explained that "when I was overseas I promised I'd punch the first picket I saw right in the nose." The picket was also an ex-army sergeant.

HIGHER EDUCATION NOTE: the Southern Illinois Normal University operates a Department of Effective Living.

WHEN UNITED STATES STEEL turned down President Truman's proposal of an 18½-cent wage increase, the Greencastle, Indiana, *Daily Banner* headlined its story on the start of the steel strike: "Steel Workers Reject Offer by Mr. Truman."

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the National Park Service complains that "the bighorn sheep-wolf relationships" problem is continuing. . . . And the Fish and Wildlife Service is having trouble with the whooping crane, a bald-headed bird which is almost extinct and is stoutly resisting all efforts to keep it from becoming completely so.

THE LEGISLATURE OF MISSISSIPPI, a theoretically dry state, has postponed consideration of a bill to repeal taxes which the state now collects on bootleg liquor.

CAPITALISM IN CRISIS: Oklahoma City pest exterminators are up in arms against a proposed ordinance empowering the city to order building occupants to ratproof and if necessary undertake the work itself at cost to the owner. Rats, the exterminators claim, are properly the concern of private enterprise, and they accuse the city of "using Hitler methods on us."

WILLIAM LINDSEY, president of the Florida Peace Officers' Association, told a recent meeting of Florida sheriffs that returning Negro veterans would be a major problem for law-enforcement officers. "In a 'keep them in their place' speech," reported the Miami *Herald*, "Lindsey asserted that Negro soldiers . . . are coming back pretending to be heroes without ever having seen a gun unless they stole one. . . . We have to iron out this situation, even if it's with a club."

THE TROUBLE WITH THIS COUNTRY, suggests the writer of a Letter to the Editor in the New York *Herald Tribune* of February 7, is that "the poor people have too much money." We knew *somebody* had too much money, but we weren't quite sure who it was.

PROFESSIONAL DIGNITY: When the proprietor of a New York "Fountain Pen Hospital" goes out to lunch, he hangs a sign on the door saying, "The doctor is out."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Cross-Fire in Korea

BY ANDREW ROTH

Author of "Dilemma in Japan"

JUST after landing in Korea Lieutenant General John R. Hodge, American commander in that area, regaled newsmen with a story about the "impractical and charming" Koreans. According to General Hodge, "a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Brown University took off in a small boat, met us in the harbor, and told me he wanted to be Minister of Finance."

The full story of this incident is a reflection upon the General rather than upon the Koreans. Two Koreans did come out on the pilot boat on September 8 as the convoy bearing the Twenty-fourth Army Corps lay off the entrance to Chemulpo. But they were not job-hunting opportunists; they were distinguished patriots on an important mission. One was Professor Pak Sang-kyu, a substantial Korean landlord and a graduate of Brown, class of 1905; the other was Dr. Lyuh Woon-heung, head of the Left National Party, Foreign Minister in the 1919 Korean Provisional Government, Korean representative of the Singer Sewing Machine Company, editor of the Seoul daily *Chung Il Bo* until it was closed down by the Japanese in 1938, and from 1939 to 1942 an inmate of a Japanese political prison. Both spoke fluent English, which should have endeared them to an occupation force without Korean interpreters, but what was far more important was the letter they bore.

The letter came from a historic assembly held in Seoul two days before at the behest of a group which had operated underground during the war. The meeting had been attended by delegates from every one of Korea's thirteen provinces, some fifteen hundred in all, representing the three chief political groups in the resistance movement: the Left Nationalists (now the People's Party), a moderate left group drawn largely from the dispossessed middle class and intelligentsia; the *T'ien Tao Chao*, originally a rural religious sect which developed into an anti-Japanese politico-religious movement with roots deep in the land; and the Communist Party, whose hardened core of radical intellectuals and militant peasants and laborers had been considerably augmented after 1935, when it had adopted a "popular front" policy. The Seoul assembly was also supported by peasant and trade unions, students' and women's associations, claiming a total of 600,000 members.

These groups reached agreement on a twenty-seven-point program which included the immediate disarming and removal of the Japanese, confiscation and state ownership of Japanese-owned land (80 per cent of the cultivated area) and its free allotment to landless peasants,

abolition of the Japanese usury system and cancelation of all debts incurred under it, abolition of exorbitant taxation and compulsory grain collection, confiscation and state ownership of Japanese-owned industries (85 per cent of Korea's industrial plant).

The popular forces represented in this assembly had already begun to dispossess the Japanese. Police stations—hated symbols of Japanese terror—had been stormed and the Korean prisoners replaced with Japanese. In many places Japanese troops had been disarmed, and by the time the assembly was convoked on September 6 all Korea's 182 districts had at least a rudimentary Korean administration. The Seoul assembly acted to place these local governments under a "Korean Provisional Commission for Forming a People's Republic" with Dr. Lyuh as chairman, the expectation being that Dr. Rhee Syng-man, Kim Koo, and other exiles would assume positions of leadership when they returned. Plans were made to hold elections on March 1, 1946, for a National Assembly which would convene on March 31. And a letter was addressed to the commander of the eagerly anticipated American forces offering the assistance of the Provisional Commission.

General Hodge ignored the letter, its distinguished bearers, and its offer of assistance.

UNPLANNED OCCUPATION

Seldom in modern history has the representative of a major power approached so ticklish a task with so little understanding of actual conditions or of the policy of his own government. General Hodge landed in Korea without even having read the State Department's basic directive on occupation policy. After the Cairo declaration of 1943 had promised Korea independence "in due course," the State Department had lethargically begun to plan for the transition, always assuming that the United States would occupy all Korea, with perhaps token Russian, Chinese, and British representation. At Yalta the Allied military chiefs had decided that when the Soviet Union entered the Pacific war the difficult task of conquering the Japanese in mountainous Korea would be divided between the Russians and Americans, but this decision was not confided to State Department planners until it was formalized at Potsdam. After Japan's capitulation the responsible State-War-Navy subcommittee hurriedly drew up a tentative directive, ordering, among other things, immediate replacement of Japanese officials, but this did not reach General Hodge

until after he landed in Korea. His pre-landing briefing came from General MacArthur's staff, which, although it had been cautioned by the State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to proceed with caution in the Korean political situation, acted on the conviction that it would be just as expedient to exploit the Japanese administrative machine in Korea as it was to work through the emperor in Japan.

This theory was put to a scorching test on the very night American forces landed at Chemulpo, the port of Seoul. Local labor groups decided to greet the liberating American forces even though they might run into trouble. Their leaflets declared that they were determined "to shake hands with . . . the heroes who help the independence of the Korean people." Accordingly five hundred unarmed workmen carrying tiny American flags paraded toward the landing place. Japanese police ordered them to halt and when the marchers refused, fired into their lines, killing two and wounding ten.

General Hodge defended the Japanese police, saying, "I had ordered civilians kept away because they would hinder the landing operations." He also said that the use of the Japanese administration was the "most efficient way of operating now." He praised the Japanese as his "most reliable sources of information" and slurred the Koreans as "too excitable" to be of any use. Within twenty-four hours indignant Korean demonstrations and American editorials produced a White House order to General Hodge, via General MacArthur, to replace all Japanese in the Korean government as rapidly as was "consistent with the safety of operation."

THAT OLD BOGY

Washington failed to eliminate another and more firmly established army fixation. In Tokyo Brigadier General W. E. Crist was reported to be telling Korea-bound officers that one of their principal missions would be "to form a bulwark against communism." Later Major General A. V. Arnold, first American military governor of Korea, told Gordon Walker of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "It is our job to see that the Koreans get the American type of democracy and not communism; call it the rule of enlightened dictatorship."

Since the major nationalist groups were linked with the Communists in the People's Republic movement, AMG's anti-Communist credo pushed it into the waiting hands of the Democratic Party, which claimed only 700 members and was admittedly a coalition of big landowners and big business men—in a country where only pro-Japanese could achieve that status—specifically founded to fight the People's Republic. Its suspicious wealth did not disturb General Hodge, who remarked: "Korean business men must have ability—they made money even under the Japs. They are hard-headed and realistic, but of course they are not liked by the Koreans."

Virtually all the Korean translators and assistants employed by AMG were persons indorsed by these rightist Democrats. In early October General Hodge established an eleven-man Advisory Council which he hailed as the "nucleus of democracy in Korea," and to which he named nine Democrats and two representatives of the People's Republic movement. The latter, however, refused to participate in a council so dominated by collaborationists. The council's chairman, Kim Sung-soo, was a wealthy industrialist who had served as consul general in Manchukuo and energetically recruited Koreans for the Japanese army. One member, Song Chin-woo—recently assassinated—had worked among his fellow-émigrés as a spy for Tsuruyama, Tokyo military police chief, and for the infamous General Tanaka when he was preparing to seize Manchuria. Another, Li Sung-seul, had been active in the movement to renounce Korean for Japanese culture and had frequently condemned the "outrages" of "American demons"; Cheun Kap-soon, the "patent-medicine king" had become rich selling morphine to Koreans and medical supplies to the Japanese army. The others were of the same stripe, or non-entities subservient to the party bosses.

Advised by these men, the AMG surrounded itself with a choice set of rich collaborationists. Paik Nam-hoon, a manufacturer, was named Governor of Kyang-kido Province. The mayor of Seoul was an American major, but as he could not speak Korean, the actual government of the city fell to Deputy Mayor Kim Chang-young, who had served the Japanese so faithfully as a spy in Korea and Manchuria that they had given him a retirement annuity of 150,000 yen. Persons similarly tarred with treachery and venal opportunism were placed in charge of the schools and other institutions.

To add strength, it would seem, to his rightist bastion General Hodge invited the exiled Dr. Rhee and Kim Koo to return but, needless to say, did not invite the leftist leaders of the Yenan-based Korean People's Emancipation League. Dr. Rhee was granted plane accommodations long before Kim Koo, perhaps because Kim, although very conservative, had close Chinese connections and had included some leftists in his Chungking-sponsored "Provisional Government." Dr. Rhee had made his Russophobia clear in Washington, where he had proclaimed that "democracy and communism cannot coexist" and that "future generations of Americans will have to pay" for inviting Russia into the Japanese war. When he reached Seoul he was given a bodyguard of American army officers and was warmly introduced by General Hodge at a mass-meeting where he asked rhetorically: "Is one part of Korea to be slave and the other master? . . . Is that army in the north going to remain there permanently?" Rhee later was to say, "I have watched the spread of communism in Europe and Asia, and I have come to the conclusion that

the question had better be thrashed out here and now, rather than postponed." As was expected, Rhee and Kim threw in their lot with the Democratic Party, which, with continued AMG support, made considerable headway through December.

AMG did not restrict itself to sponsoring rightists; it also harassed popular left-wing elements. Fifty Seoul tramway workers were arrested as "Communists" because they struck against retention of the Japanese management. When workers employed by a pro-Japanese industrialist, Pak Heun-sik, refused to obey his orders and demanded that he be brought to trial as a war criminal, armed M. P.'s forced them to return to work. When the leftist Peasant Union attempted to throw off some of the oppressive measures imposed by the Japanese, AMG decreed: "The owners of the land [80 per cent Japanese] will continue to determine how tenants shall pay for their land. . . . Tenants must comply with the wishes of the owners." On October 10 Major General Arnold attacked the People's Republic movement even more virulently, according to Korean newsmen, than the Japanese had ever done, and ordered all Korean newspapers to publish his remarks. And when the People's Republic group answered in a documented English-language pamphlet, AMG banned the publication and distribution of pamphlets and handbills.

Naturally a wide chasm opened between the Russian and American zones. The Russians had moved fast, taking over their zone by August 26, thirteen days before the Americans landed. The Red Army, which included some 30,000 Siberian Koreans, trumpeted the slogan: "All Power to the Korean People." Japanese officials were summarily dismissed or imprisoned, and soldiers were disarmed and herded into pens for deportation. Members of the People's Republic movement were encouraged to take over the administration and to abolish land taxes and distribute the land.

Before the Moscow conference General Hodge tried without success to get the Russians to permit economic intercourse between the two zones. The demarcation line drawn at the Thirty-eighth Parallel had ignored Korea's economic geography: almost all the manufacturing capacity, most of the coal and iron, the greater part of the railroad rolling stock, most railroad repair shops, and all important sources of electric power are in the north, while the rich rice lands and fishing banks are in the south. The Russians, with by far the best of the bargain, acted tough, refusing to supply anything but electric power, perhaps because they were not anxious to strengthen the economic underpinnings of a rightist regime in southern Korea.

This friction had its military manifestations. Robert P. Martin, correspondent of the *New York Post*, reported that as many American combat planes were massed on Kimpo Field outside Seoul last November

as had been massed on any Pacific island except Guam during the war. He also quoted one general: "We are ready for the Russians if they make one false move."

MOSCOW CONFERENCE

It was this strife-torn Korea that appeared on the agenda of the Moscow conference in December. Unlike the army officers running the field show, Secretary Byrnes and his adviser, John Carter Vincent, director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, thought Korea should be a peaceful bridge to Russo-American cooperation rather than a skirmishing field for a future Russo-American war. Mr. Vincent presented a plan for unifying Korea and giving it independence after a five- or ten-year four-power trusteeship. The Russians proposed that the Koreans be permitted to form a democratic provisional government under Soviet-American supervision. The Russian proposal, with a few American amendments, was accepted. In its final form the agreement called for the creation of a Joint Soviet-American Commission which would tackle, first, economic and administrative unification and then, in consultation with Korean democratic and social organizations, make recommendations to the American, Soviet, British, and Chinese governments for the establishment of a provisional government. Then the joint commission and the provisional government would work out measures for the achievement of democratic self-government and independence. If the Koreans prove unable to form a united and effective government, the commission is to recommend a five-year four-power trusteeship. (Sumner Welles described this as "almost identical with the plan providing for the ultimate independence of Korea which President Roosevelt favored three years ago.")

Koreans were disturbed when they read the Moscow communiqué: its language was fuzzy and its transmission garbled, and they feared that a trusteeship would be imposed immediately. They remembered that the Japanese had entered in the guise of trustees in 1905. The rightists thought they could develop this fear into mass support for their bid for power. On December 29 they distributed huge posters charging the Communists and Russia with responsibility for a trusteeship and violently attacked leftist papers. American flags were torn down, American soldiers were stoned, and a strike was called against AMG to indicate displeasure with the United States' alleged appeasement of Russia on the trusteeship issue. General Hodge had surrounded himself so completely with rightist supporters that when the strike came his aide had to shovel coal. A rightist mass-meeting assailed trusteeship and demanded immediate recognition of the Rhee-Koo provisional government and suppression of all opposition newspapers and parties.

General Hodge managed to end the disturbances by convincing the rightists that no immediate trustee-

ship was contemplated and warning them that further action would jeopardize their place on the contemplated provisional government. But a few days after the Russo-American negotiations opened in Seoul, on January 16, the same groups again started anti-Soviet demonstrations. The Russians, apparently convinced that this was done with tacit American support, retorted with a press campaign pinning responsibility for the trusteeship proposal on the United States and lambasting General Hodge for "inspiring" the Korean reactionaries. Negotiations made scant progress.

These developments underlined the validity of a state-

ment broadcast by John Carter Vincent on January 19, in which he declared that Korea would be "a test of the ability of two great powers to cooperate in solving a problem of mutual interest." It would, he added, require that the Russian and American representatives be "of a caliber and character which will assure that they will approach the problem with unprejudiced intelligence and in a spirit of real cooperation; and that the Korean leaders submerge their factional differences and work with united zeal to reestablish the statehood of Korea."

[The second of two articles on Korea by Mr. Roth.]

Wages, Prices, and Production

BY BEN FISCHER

Research economist for the United Steelworkers of America

THE National Association of Manufacturers tells the radio audience each Saturday evening: "Production means jobs; production means higher wages; production means more purchasing power." Experts who speak for big business accuse labor of failing to understand this fundamental fact.

But does production mean higher wages, more jobs, and more purchasing power? Let's look at 1924-29, the period of prosperity that preceded the worst depression in our history. An examination of the facts will show that while production reached record heights and prices remained stable, the result was a bubble of speculation followed by the bursting of the bubble. Why was this so?

The trouble was that the fruits of production—the money value of the goods and services produced—were not converted into purchasing power in sufficient quantity to keep goods in use. The fruits of industrial activity were converted into exorbitant profits and dividends. As a result excessive corporate reserves and working capital were accumulated on a rapidly growing scale at the very time when mass purchasing power was lagging. Drastic reduction of production schedules inevitably followed.

Reduced to simplest terms, the story of the '20's reads as follows: Between 1924 and 1929 production of industrial items rose 27 per cent, according to the index of the Federal Reserve system. Productivity of labor rose 24 per cent, as computed by the Department of Commerce. Net industrial profits, after taxes, rose 72 per cent. But wages, the major form in which purchasing power is created, remained virtually frozen. A survey of twenty-five manufacturing industries by the National Industrial Conference Board shows an increase in average hourly earnings from 1925 to 1929 of 3.3 cents an hour—from 56 cents to 59.3 cents, only 5.8 per cent in six years.

The picture is sharply pointed up by the figures for the nation's key industry—steel. Between 1924 and 1929 production rose 47 per cent and net profits after taxes 157 per cent. The finished steel tonnage produced in 1924 was 28,000,000 tons; by 1929 it had reached 41,000,000 tons. The industry's profits were \$188,000,000 in 1924 and \$483,000,000 in 1929. Throughout these prosperous years there was no general wage increase. The common-labor rate remained at 44 cents an hour. In forty-nine steel plants, according to the study of the National Industrial Conference Board, the average hourly earnings of steelworkers rose from 64 cents in January, 1925, to the peak of 65.9 cents in October, 1929, the month of the crash. Such a slight gain represents merely small instances of upgrading and increased tonnage pay for increased production. It is apparent therefore that higher production did not bring higher wages; profits rose, not wages.

One may ask, "Perhaps the fruits of increased production went into lower prices, thereby increasing the purchasing power of the wage dollar?" Not at all. The price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows only a tiny change between 1924 and 1929, less than 1 per cent.

No matter how one views the basic economic facts of the boom of the '20's, they lead directly to the conclusion that there could have been no speculation orgy without the excessive profits paid to stockholders and managers, and that the money invested took on the character of reckless speculation because the roots of the economy were rotting—underpaid consumers could not provide the purchasing power necessary for maintenance of production.

In the years ahead one of the few economic certainties is the ability of industry and labor to produce in overwhelming quantities. The tremendous expansion of

plant, equipment, and scientific research during the war cannot fail to speed the flow of goods. The productivity of labor per man-hour rose 5 per cent annually during the war and can be expected to make great strides in the immediate future. Most of the war-time technological improvements are being utilized in peace-time production. In addition, innovations restrained by war-time shortages are now being installed. But it must be remembered that production is a source of improved living standards and a stable, prosperous economy only if wages are adequate to prevent economic paralysis and explosively excessive profits.

The other side of the N. A. M. penny bears the inscription: "Higher Wages Mean Higher Prices." The same business economists who peddle this line and warn against wage increases lest inflation overtake us also spearhead the drive against price control. While charging labor with favoring inflation, business itself fights for higher prices—a case of the right hand not knowing what the left is doing.

There is some sincere fear that wage increases are always absorbed by price rises. And some sources that know better encourage the notion. If this were true, real wages—that is, wages measured in terms of their ability to purchase goods—would never rise. The N. A. M. does not claim such economic stagnation.

The failure of wages to keep up with prices during the war is not explained by the working of our economic system but rather by the way government economic controls were applied in the political atmosphere of war-time America. The wage controls were rigid and effective. The price controls were much looser in the first place and much less effectively administered. Thus price levels ran away from wage levels. It would be disastrous if we now fell victim to the delusion that this war-time pattern will continue as the expression of some mystical economic law. The fact is that real wages and living standards have risen slowly but surely over the years—even when unionism was weak. When unions are aggressive and succeed in boosting pay rates, real wages rise sharply.

Some interesting data are available regarding wage-price relationships. The General Electric Company recently reported its success in achieving higher wages, lower prices, and fair profits. This report, appearing as an advertisement, revealed that G. E. wages averaged 72 cents an hour in 1935 and 89 cents in 1941, an increase of 23.6 per cent. During these same seven years the price of a G. E. refrigerator dropped from \$199 to \$129.95, or 34.6 per cent. Electric bulbs were reduced from 15 cents to 10 cents. A G. E. radio cost \$47.50 in 1935 and \$27.95 in 1941, a reduction of 70 per cent. Incidentally, during the same period G. E. profits rose from 70 cents per share of common stock to \$1.75.

For all manufacturing industry the same story can be told. Real wages rose an average of 42 per cent between 1932 and 1940—not wage rates but real wages. Specifically, the average money wage of manufacturing workers rose 50 per cent while prices rose only about 18 per cent. This period of the New Deal and the C. I. O. brought on the sharpest improvement in living standards that has ever taken place in any decade of our history—even though a portion of the period found us in the throes of a severe economic depression.

Also of interest is the effect of collective bargaining on the economic dips. In 1937 the average wage was 57.7 cents. It rose to 65.5 cents by 1940, an increase of 13.5 per cent. Despite the business recession of 1938, wages did not go down because the C. I. O. stubbornly held the line and rejected proposed wage cuts. Prices did go down, 2.2 per cent between 1937 and 1940. Thus even during the 1937 to 1940 period a gain in real wages was realized. It was the rigid war-time controls that led to a loss for labor. Now that wage controls are substantially lifted, we can be certain that real wages will go up.

This is true despite the likelihood that prices will rise in the coming months. Various sources are forecasting increases in the price index for 1946 of 5 to 10 per cent. But they also agree that before 1946 is over we shall see a movement toward price reductions. The increases will result from the economic fact that severe shortages exist side by side with extensive purchasing power, plus the desire of business to convert special reconversion costs into higher prices while they still can. However, as savings are reduced and the supply of available goods increases, competition will resume its influence on price levels, and the rapid advances in technology will work to the same end.

Improved technology is one of the most encouraging factors and will fail to be effective only if competition is stifled and unionism destroyed. As long as free competition is permitted to continue in any significant measure and as long as unions continue their insistence on converting exorbitant profit margins into higher wages, industry will inevitably pass on savings from technological advances to the consumer in the form of lowered prices.

It borders on fantasy to cringe before the danger of inflation at such a time as this. Certainly, the OPA's efforts to forestall price increases deserve complete support. But we should realize where we are and where we are going. We are on the threshold of an era of abundant, high-speed production. Dizzy inflation cannot overtake us in such circumstances. What we should fear is rather an unsound type of prosperity—a prosperity not underpinned by sufficient mass purchasing power to insure consumption of the products of our industrial plant.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Post-War Planning in Sweden

THOUGH fortunate enough to remain unscathed by war, Sweden for nearly six years lived under the threat of invasion and consequently was forced to give defense a top priority in its budget. It maintained large forces under arms and diverted a good part of its national resources to building planes, warships, tanks, and other weapons. As a result, the national debt was quadrupled, even though taxes were raised steeply and new social reforms had to be postponed.

Now Sweden is once again able to add to its long record of progressive legislation. The coalition government which held office during the time of national peril has been replaced by a Social Democratic administration, commanding a majority in the *Riksdag*, with a program of constructive economic planning. Early in January the budget, introduced by Ernst Wigforss, Minister of Finance, revealed some of the government's plans. For the fiscal year beginning July 1 ordinary expenditures and revenues are expected to balance at about \$814,000,000, and no supplementary military budget will be necessary, as it has been during the war years. However, taxation is to be maintained at war-time levels partly as an antidote to inflation, which Sweden must guard against so long as, in common with the whole world, it has to cope with a shortage of goods. But there is another reason for maintaining the flow of revenue, and that is to build up funds for new social benefits. The revenues that for years have been spent on armaments are to be used for increasing old-age pensions, hitherto little more than token payments. Now it is proposed to pay aged couples up to \$600 a year. Other plans call for increased social distribution of national income in the form of free meals for school children and paid vacations for underprivileged housewives—recognition of a group whose contribution to national welfare is usually overlooked.

Sweden, for a good many years, has engaged in the business-like practice of setting up two budgets. The running expenses of government are provided for in the ordinary budget and are normally covered by taxes; revenue-producing expenditures, on the other hand, are grouped in a separate capital budget and amortized over a period of years. In the next fiscal year the capital budget will amount to about \$167,500,000, compared with \$92,750,000 in the current year. It will cover new investments in the railroads, public utilities, and other publicly owned undertakings and, to the extent of \$62,500,000, credits to war-ravaged countries.

A capital budget of this kind is an essential tool for a planned economy. It provides a means of maintaining a balance between savings and investment, of checking booms which threaten to get out of hand, and of offsetting the deflationary effects of a fall in private capital expenditures. "The economic power of the state," declares the Program of the Swedish Labor Movement—a joint production of the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions—"ought in

everybody's interest to be applied so as to give that support to the national economy which is needed in order to maintain a permanent and stable state of high business activity. The incomes of the community must be made so high, and made so secure, that demand does not slacken. In order to stimulate enterprises, the interest rate must be kept as low as possible. In addition, there must be a public coordinating body to insure that capital is employed so as to utilize fully for useful ends both labor and the material means of production."

To achieve these objectives, the Swedish government is not content to rely wholly on budgetary and other controls. Consideration is therefore being given to public ownership of a number of industries which, it is felt, are not being conducted efficiently by private enterprise. Examples are insurance, which under private management is thought to have assumed certain monopoly characteristics; stone quarrying, an industry suffering from obsolescent methods and needing new capital, new machinery, and new marketing methods; and the refining and distribution of oil and gasoline, now dominated by the big Anglo-American trusts. The last of these industries has already been investigated by a committee whose report asserts that prices have been held at too high a level by the oil monopoly and suggests means by which the distribution system could be simplified.

While the Swedish government is proceeding cautiously, allowing time for inquiry and discussion and showing no doctrinaire disposition to pursue socialization for its own sake, its plans have naturally aroused antagonism in business circles. What may be more surprising to those American conservatives who regard consumer cooperation as a form of communism is the strong opposition that has developed in the powerful Swedish cooperative movement. A few days ago I had an opportunity to discuss this question with Albin Johansson, head of the Kooperativa Förbundet (KF), the great Swedish cooperative organization. He said, in effect, that his movement fully approved of government ownership of railroads, public utilities, and other "natural" monopolies but was against the creation of monopolies, either public or private, in consumer goods or in the provision of such services as insurance. In these fields he thought that a strong cooperative movement, able to challenge private trusts by setting up "yardstick" enterprises as KF had done in the case of electric lamps, margarine, rubber shoes, and other products, was a better safeguard for the public than nationalized enterprises that were apt to become bureaucratic.

In the case of oil, the Swedish cooperatives have already their own distribution system, which they are planning to expand greatly. To this end they are negotiating with the Consumers' Cooperative Association of Kansas City, which operates a large integrated oil enterprise, to obtain direct supplies making them independent of the trusts. Hence, while they think some government control of the oil trade is justified, they feel that scope should be left for an organization such as theirs. Since the membership of the Swedish cooperatives overlaps to a considerable extent that of the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions, the government is bound to give full consideration to these views. But either way prospects for Standard Oil and Royal Dutch-Shell in Sweden seem rather dim.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS and the ARTS

FRENCH EXISTENTIALISM

BY HANNAH ARENDT

A LECTURE on philosophy provokes a riot, with hundreds crowding in and thousands turned away. Books on philosophical problems preaching no cheap creed and offering no panacea but, on the contrary, so difficult as to require actual thinking sell like detective stories. Plays in which the action is a matter of words, not of plot, and which offer a dialogue of reflections and ideas run for months and are attended by enthusiastic crowds. Analyses of the situation of man in the world, of the fundamentals of human relationship, of Being and the Void not only give rise to a new literary movement but also figure as possible guides for a fresh political orientation. Philosophers become newspapermen, playwrights, novelists. They are not members of university faculties but "bohemians" who stay at hotels and live in the cafe—leading a public life to the point of renouncing privacy. And not even success, or so it seems, can turn them into respectable bores.

This is what is happening, from all reports, in Paris. If the Resistance has not achieved the European revolution, it seems to have brought about, at least in France, a genuine rebellion of the intellectuals, whose docility in relation to modern society was one of the saddest aspects of the sad spectacle of Europe between wars. And the French people, for the time being, appear to consider the arguments of their philosophers more important than the talk and the quarrels of their politicians. This may reflect, of course, a desire to escape from political action into some theory which merely talks about action, that is, into activism; but it may also signify that in the face of the spiritual bankruptcy of the left and the sterility of the old revolutionary élite—which have led to the desperate efforts at restoration of all political parties—more people than we might imagine have a feeling that the responsibility for political action is too heavy to assume until new foundations, ethical as well as political, are laid down, and that the old tradition of philosophy which is deeply imbedded even in the least philosophical individual is actually an impediment to new political thought.

The name of the new movement is "Existentialism," and its chief exponents are Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, but the term Existentialism has given rise to so many misunderstandings that Camus has already publicly stated why he is "not an Existentialist." The term comes from the modern German philosophy which had a revival immediately after the First World War and has strongly influenced French thought for more than a decade; but it would be irrelevant to trace and define the sources of Existentialism in national terms for the simple reason that both the German and the French manifestations came out of an identical period and a more or less identical cultural heritage.

The French Existentialists, though they differ widely

among themselves, are united on two main lines of rebellion: first, the rigorous repudiation of what they call the *esprit sérieux*; and, second, the angry refusal to accept the world as it is as the natural, predestined milieu of man.

L'esprit sérieux, which is the original sin according to the new philosophy, may be equated with respectability. The "serious" man is one who thinks of himself as president of his business, as a member of the Legion of Honor, as a member of the faculty, but also as father, as husband, or as any other half-natural, half-social function. For by so doing he agrees to the identification of himself with an arbitrary function which society has bestowed. *L'esprit sérieux* is the very negation of freedom, because it leads man to agree to and accept the necessary deformation which every human being must undergo when he is fitted into society. Since everyone knows well enough in his own heart that he is not identical with his function, *l'esprit sérieux* indicates also bad faith in the sense of pretending. Kafka has already shown, in "Amerika," how ridiculous and dangerous is the hollow dignity which grows out of identifying oneself with one's function: In that book the most dignified person in the hotel, upon whose word the hero's job and daily bread depend, rules out the possibility that he can make an error by invoking the argument of the "serious" man: "How could I go on being the head porter if I mistook one person for another?"

This matter of *l'esprit sérieux* was first touched upon in Sartre's novel "La Nausée," in a delightful description of a gallery of portraits of the town's respectable citizens, *les salands*. It then became the central topic of Camus's novel "L'Étranger." The hero of the book, the stranger, is an average man who simply refuses to submit to the serious-mindedness of society, who refuses to live as any of his allotted functions. He does not behave as a son at his mother's funeral—he does not weep; he does not behave as a husband—he declines to take marriage seriously even at the moment of his engagement. Because he does not pretend, he is a stranger whom no one understands, and he pays with his life for his affront to society. Since he refuses to play the game, he is isolated from his fellow-men to the point of incomprehensibility and isolated from himself to the point of becoming inarticulate. Only in a last scene, immediately before his death, does the hero arrive at some kind of explanation which conveys the impression that for him life itself was such a mystery and in its terrible way so beautiful that he did not see any necessity for "improving" upon it with the trimmings of good behavior and hollow pretensions.

Sartre's brilliant play "Huis Clos" belongs to the same category. The play opens in hell, appropriately furnished in the style of the Second Empire. The three persons gathered in the room—"Hell is the Others"—set the diabolical tor-

ture in motion by trying to pretend. Since, however, their lives are closed and since "you are your life and nothing else," pretense no longer works, and we see what would go on behind closed doors if people actually were stripped of the sheltering cover of functions derived from society.

Both Sartre's play and Camus's novel deny the possibility of a genuine fellowship between men, of any relationship which would be direct, innocent, free of pretense. Love in Sartre's philosophy is the will to be loved, the need for a supreme confirmation of one's own existence. For Camus love is a somewhat awkward and hopeless attempt to break through the isolation of the individual.

The way out of pretense and seriousness is to play at being what one really is. Again Kafka indicated in the last chapter of "Amerika" a new possibility of authentic life. The great "Nature Theater" where everyone is welcome and where everybody's unhappiness is resolved is not by accident a theater. Here everybody is invited to choose his role, to play at what he is or would like to be. The chosen role is the solution of the conflict between mere functioning and mere being, as well as between mere ambition and mere reality.

The new "ideal" becomes, in this context, the actor whose very profession is pretending, who constantly changes his role, and thus can never take any of his roles seriously. By playing at what one is, one guards one's freedom as a human being from the pretenses of one's functions; moreover, only by playing at what he really is, is man able to affirm that he is never identical with himself as a thing is identical with itself. An inkpot is always an inkpot. Man is his life and his actions, which are never finished until the very moment of his death. He *is* his existence.

The second common element of French Existentialism, the insistence upon the basic homelessness of man in the world, is the topic of Camus's "Le Mythe de Sisyphe; essai sur l'absurde," and of Sartre's "La Nausée." For Camus man is essentially the stranger because the world in general and man as man are not fitted for each other; that they are together in existence makes the human condition an absurdity. Man is the only "thing" in the world which obviously does not belong in it, for only man does not exist simply as a man among men in the way animals exist among animals and trees among trees—all of which necessarily exist, so to speak, in the plural. Man is basically alone with his "revolt" and his "clairvoyance," that is, with his reasoning, which makes him ridiculous because the gift of reason was bestowed upon him in a world "where everything is given and nothing ever explained."

Sartre's notion of the absurdity, the contingency, of existence is best represented in the chapter of "La Nausée" which appears in the current issue of the *Partisan Review* under the title The Root of the Chestnut Tree. Whatever exists, so far as we can see, has not the slightest reason for its existence. It is simply *de trop*, superfluous. The fact that I can't even imagine a world in which, instead of many too many things, there would be nothing only shows the hopelessness and senselessness of man's being eternally entangled in existence.

Here Sartre and Camus part company, if we may judge from the few works of theirs which have reached this country. The absurdity of existence and the repudiation of *l'esprit*

sérieux are only points of departure for each. Camus seems to have gone on to a philosophy of absurdity, whereas Sartre seems to be working toward some new positive philosophy and even a new humanism.

Camus has probably protested against being called an Existentialist because for him the absurdity does not lie in man as such or in the world as such but only in their being thrown together. Since man's life, being laid in the world, is absurd, it must be lived as absurdity—lived, that is, in a kind of proud defiance which insists on reason despite the experience of reason's failure to explain anything; insists on despair since man's pride will not allow him the hope of discovering a sense he cannot figure out by means of reason; insists, finally, that reason and human dignity, in spite of their senselessness, remain the supreme values. The absurd life then consists in constantly rebelling against all its conditions and in constantly refusing consolations. "This revolt is the price of life. Spread over the whole of an existence, it restores its grandeur." All that remains, all that one can say yes to, is chance itself, the *hazard roi* which has apparently played at putting man and world together. "'I judge that everything is well,' said Oedipus, and this word is sacred. It resounds in the ferocious universe which is the limit of man. . . . It makes of destiny an affair of men which should be settled among men." This is precisely the point where Camus, without giving much explanation, leaves behind all modernistic attitudes and comes to insights which are genuinely modern, the insight, for instance, that the moment may have arrived "when creation is no longer taken tragically; it is only taken seriously."

For Sartre, absurdity is of the essence of things as well as of man. Anything that exists is absurd simply because it exists. The salient difference between the things of the world and the human being is that things are unequivocally identical with themselves, whereas man—because he sees and knows that he sees, believes and knows that he believes—bears within his consciousness a negation which makes it impossible for him ever to become one with himself. In this single respect—in respect of his consciousness, which has the germ of negation in it—man is a creator. For this is of man's own making and not merely given, as the world and his existence are given. If man becomes aware of his own consciousness and its tremendous creative possibilities, and renounces the longing to be identical with himself as a thing is, he realizes that he depends upon nothing and nobody outside himself and that he can be free, the master of his own destiny. This seems to be the essential meaning of Sartre's novel "Les Mouches" ("The Flies"), in which Orestes, by taking upon himself the responsibility for the necessary killing of which the town is afraid, liberates the town and takes the Flies—the Erinyes of bad conscience and of the dark fear of revenge—with him. He himself is immune because he does not feel guilty and regrets nothing.

It would be a cheap error to mistake this new trend in philosophy and literature for just another fashion of the day because its exponents refuse the respectability of institutions and do not even pretend to that seriousness which regards every achievement as a step in a career. Nor should we be put off by the loud journalistic success with which their work has been accompanied. This success, equivocal as it may

be in itself, is nevertheless due to the quality of the work. It is also due to a definite modernity of attitude which does not try to hide the depth of the break in Western tradition. Camus especially has the courage not even to look for connections, for predecessors and the like. The good thing about Sartre and Camus is that they apparently suffer no longer from nostalgia for the good old days, even though they may know that in an abstract sense those days were actually better than ours. They do not believe in the magic of the old, and they are honest in that they make no compromises whatever.

Yet if the revolutionary élan of these writers is not broken by success, if, symbolically speaking, they stick to their hotel rooms and their cafes, the time may come when it will be necessary to point out "seriously" those aspects of their philosophy which indicate that they are still dangerously involved in old concepts. The nihilistic elements, which are obvious in spite of all protests to the contrary, are not the consequences of new insights but of some very old ideas.

THREE POEMS

BY ROBERT LOWELL

Rebellion

There was rebellion, Father, when the mock
French windows slammed and you hove backwards, rammed
Into your heirlooms, screens, a glass-cased clock,
The highboy quaking to its toes, and damned
My arm that cast your house upon your head
And broke its flintlock on your skull. The dead
Caught at my knees and fell:
And it was well
With me, my Father. Then
Behemoth and Leviathan
Devoured our mighty merchants. None could arm
Or put to sea. O Father, on my farm
I added field to field
And I have sealed
An everlasting pact
With Dives to contract
The world that spreads in pain;
My bondsmen, having had their fill,
No longer line the ditch at Bunker Hill
Where the clubbed muskets broke the redcoat's brain.

The North Sea Undertaker's Complaint

Now south and south and south the mallard heads,
His green-blue bony hood echoes the green
Shutters of Gray Rock, and the mussel beds
Are sluggish where the webbed feet spanked the lean
Eel grass to tinder in the take-off. South
Is what I think of. It seems yesterday
I slid my hearse across the river mouth
And pitched the first iced mouse into the hay.
Thirty below, it is. I hear the dumb
Club-footed orphan ring the Angelus
And clank the bell-chain for St. Gertrude's choir
To wail with the dead bell the martyrdom
Of two more parish priests, the phosphorous
Shriveled to glory when they babbled fire.

Where the Rainbow Ends

I saw the sky descending, black and white
Not blue, on Boston where the winters wore
The skulls to jack o'lanterns on the slates
And Hunger's skin-and-bone retrievers tore
The chickadee and shrike. The thorn tree waits
Its victim and tonight
The worms will eat the deadwood to the foot
Of Ararat: the scythers, Time and Death,
Helméd locusts, move upon the tree of breath;
The wild ingrafted olive and the root

Are withered, and a winter drifts to where
The Pepperpot, ironic rainbow, spans
Charles River and its scales of scorched-earth miles,
The tree-dabbed suburb where construction mans
The wrath of God. About the Chapel, piles
Of dead leaves char the air
And I am a red arrow on this graph
Of revelations. Every dove is sold,
The Chapel's sharp-shinned eagle shifts its hold
On Serpent-Time, the Rainbow's epitaph.

In Boston serpents whistle at the cold.
The victim climbs the altar steps and sings:
"Hosannah to the lion, lamb and beast
Who fans the furnace fire of Is with wings:
I breathe the ether of my marriage feast."
At the high altar, gold
And a fair cloth. I kneel and the wings beat
My cheek. What can the Dove of Jesus give
You now but wisdom, exile? Stand and live,
The dove has brought an olive branch to eat.

THOMAS PAINE, Rationalist

BY PERRY MILLER

TODAY it is unnecessary to defend Tom Paine against Theodore Roosevelt's accusation, "filthy little atheist." Historians and biographers have at last impressed upon our generation the long-forgotten fact that "The Age of Reason," from which Paine's fame as an "infidel" sprang, was actually the work of a pious deist. Yet it remains a significant commentary on Paine's career that for a century after his death Americans charged him with infidelity on the strength of a book he wrote in the pathetic hope of arresting the progress of atheism in France of the Terror. His simple confidence that mere rational persuasion could curb the unleashed furies of the Revolution was roundly refuted by the Jacobins who condemned him to prison. The irony of his subsequent reputation shows how Paine was victimized by his place in history; he had the misfortune to be the most fervent of rationalists at the very moment when rationalism of the eighteenth-century variety was going down before the rush of an entirely new kind of fervor.

Undoubtedly it was his reputed infidelity that caused nineteenth-century America to forget his services in the War of Independence. When he returned to America in 1802, political machinations were again to challenge his faith in the

goodness of man, for under the regime of Thomas Jefferson, Federalist politicians and clergymen found that by denouncing the atheism of Tom Paine they could strike a glancing blow at the man in the White House. Their campaign of vilification found a ready response among the people for the more important reason that it coincided with an evangelical revival and the collapse of the "republican religion" of the eighteenth century. Not until the twentieth century, when Paine's anti-Christian sentiments no longer seemed shocking or dangerous, could justice be done to him, and the image of the "filthy atheist" be replaced with that of the champion of liberty writing the first *Crisis* paper on a drumhead by the light of a camp fire among Washington's demoralized militia. Yet bigotry in the age of Jackson must have been intense indeed if it could so utterly efface the memory of Paine's patriotism. It seems strange, moreover, that even emancipated Americans of the time, Emerson and Thoreau for instance, should have thought so little of Paine that they went to Luther and Cromwell for their revolutionary heroes and celebrated Napoleon as the Representative Man of Action. Perhaps bigotry is not, then, the only explanation for the neglect into which he fell.


The answer to his problem is not long in emerging when Paine's work is surveyed in the new complete edition of Dr. Foner,* where we can view it in its entirety, excellently annotated and unobscured by the haze of nineteenth-century religious prejudice. When one reviews these 2,000 pages of political polemics, deistic tracts, scientific projects, labored verse, and argumentative letters, one may ask oneself where else in English literature one could go to find enunciated more clearly, more concisely, more readably the body of doctrine conveyed by the term "eighteenth-century rationalism." Certainly not to Locke himself, for however simplified the doctrine ultimately became, in him it was tentative and skeptical, and made consistent with the "reasonableness of Christianity." Nor to Jefferson either, for despite the succinctness achieved in the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence, his thinking was characteristically much more subtle, more uncomfortably aware of the complexities of human nature and society. Perhaps the closest parallel is Paine's contemporary, Godwin; but in him the rational doctrine had become rigid and fanatical, with a "Gothic" element entirely lacking in Paine. So we may look to Paine to find, in all its naked simplicity, the faith that animated the optimistic eighteenth century: the belief that man is by nature good and reasonable, since his mind is a *tabula rasa* on which a benevolent Newtonian universe writes rational principles; that the evils of society have been brought about by the scheming designs of a few corrupt kings and priests; that all man has to do in order to reach his original perfection is to excise these corruptions and let nature take its course. Society, his thesis runs, is "natural," while government is an artificial construction of rational men to facilitate the ends of society. But when government "assumes to exist for itself, and acts by partialities of favor and oppression, it becomes the cause of the mischiefs it ought to prevent." The remedy for Paine is always to reduce the scope of government; the body of his work is devoted, in this sense, to a negative purpose, because he was always serenely confident

* "The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine." Collected and Edited by Philip S. Foner. Two Volumes. The Citadel Press. \$6.

JAMES P. WARBURG

presents the first concrete proposal ever put forward for the elimination of psychological warfare and for the organization of world-wide freedom of information—a freedom essential to lasting peace.

UNWRITTEN TREATY



MR. WARBURG states clearly the difference between information and propaganda; he studies Axis propaganda technique, and tells the inside story of Allied psychological counter-attack. His strong arguments in favor of psychological warfare disarmament, and detailed study of methods and techniques for accomplishing this purpose are causing provocative discussion everywhere.

NEW REPUBLIC: "Warburg is that rare and valuable combination—a fighting liberal with a flair for propaganda . . . He strikes out eloquently and vigorously against the 'failure of the United States to carry out its obvious mission' of liberal democratic leadership."

J. RAYMOND WALSH: "An admirable contribution to understanding. It challenges men to act either on its recommendations or on better ones of their own making."—N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE
BOOK REVIEW \$2.00

At all bookstores

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY

that the positive functions would take care of themselves. For example, "in those associations which men promiscuously form for the purpose of trade, . . . in which government is totally out of question, . . . we see how naturally the various parties unite." Paine believed that men were held together in human society for motives as simple as those that formed joint-stock companies, and no amount of experience with contentious Frenchmen or Americans could shake his conviction.

The neat simplicity of this thinking explains in part why Paine was effective as a political pamphleteer. He was the ideal spokesman in a time of hesitation, when issues needed to be crystallized, when the period of debate was closed and arms must decide the contest. Yet there was something more to Paine's achievement than mere simplification of issues. Jefferson put his finger upon it exactly: "No writer has exceeded Paine in ease and familiarity of style, in perspicuity of expression, happiness of elucidation, and in simple and unassuming language." Paine preached the doctrines of natural rights, social compact, and right of revolution in their classic simplicity, not only because he was incapable of more complex thinking, but also because he had a more pressing motive for preaching them than other theorists of the century. Actually, the doctrine was a learned production, best understood by men like Jefferson who could see through the cloudy style of John Locke and follow the demonstrations of Sir Isaac Newton; Paine was neither gentleman nor scholar. He was poor and self-educated; the theory of natural goodness and natural rights was not the amusement of his leisure. For him the debate was to be won not in the library

but among men. Above all, it had to be made clear to the mass of men. It is therefore as a popularizer that Paine must be estimated, not as a theorist. He was the man who could bring home the idea of the social compact to the meanest capacity in colonial America through the problem of building a log house on the frontier: "Four or five united would be able to raise a tolerable dwelling in the midst of a wilderness, but one man might labor out the common period of life without accomplishing anything." Or he could dramatize the political covenant in a single phrase: "Some convenient tree will afford them a State House." So also he was at his best when he ridiculed Burke's purple passage on the vanished chivalry of France which should have rallied to the side of a silly queen with his devastating epigram, "He pities the plumage but forgets the dying bird," or when he exposed Burke's perversion of the Glorious Revolution by declaring that the Parliament of 1688 might as well have enacted themselves to live forever as have made their authority to live forever.

But there was something else in Burke which Paine was unable to understand. For the polemical occasion, it is true, he did not need to examine the fundamentals of Burke's thinking; nevertheless, when he replied only by exploding Burke's rhetoric and by straightforwardly reasserting the rational doctrine, Paine betrayed a complete inability to grasp Burke's vision of society as organic and not contractual, Burke's concept of man as an emotional being and not a calculating machine. Paine could perceive that Burke's eloquence was a defense of the status quo, but he could not see that Burke understood some tendencies of human nature better than he, tendencies which even at that moment were carrying the French Revolution into directions that nullified the rational doctrine. It was Burke and not Paine who predicted Napoleon.

There is pathos enough in Paine's last years. Living in poverty, denied a vote by the righteous citizens of New Rochelle, he petitioned Congress again and again for some reward for his work in the Revolution, a reward that was altogether his due when it is remembered that he had taken no profits from the immense sale of his writings. And yet there is in these memorials a note of self-righteousness that interferes with our complete sympathy. He was reduced to quoting his own words to remind a heedless generation that those had been "the times that tried men's souls," and with all the tedious obstinacy of a man with the truth on his side he insisted, "I do not believe independence would have been declared had it not been for the effect" of "Common Sense." It is a sad spectacle, and a reproof to America. But it is clear also that Paine had outlived his time. The ringing words of 1776 or even of 1792 were no longer ringing. When Emerson called upon the young writers of America to treat the near, the low, the common, instead of the sublime and beautiful, to deal with the meal in the firkin and the milk in the pan instead of following the "cold and pedantic" style of Johnson or Gibbon, it did not occur to him to make an exception of Paine. Even the language of Jefferson's praise shows to what stylistic era Paine belonged, the age of "perspicuity" and "elucidation." With all his courage and selfless devotion Paine remained the single-minded doctrinaire. He was an artist and a writer first and

**The first complete, authoritative
survey of the Middle Eastern
powder-keg**



IRAN

By William S. Haas

Of the Iranian Institute and School of Asiatic Studies

An international danger spot, Iran is one of the most discussed and least understood countries in the world. Mr. Haas knows Iran, its people and its history, intimately. His book "reflects a great deal of information which has never before been published. Iran should receive great welcome from all those interested in knowing more of the actual problems of Iran."—Dr. Taghi Nassr, *Director, Iranian Trade and Economic Commission*. With 8 pages of photographs and a map.

At all bookstores • \$3.50

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS • NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

ATOMIC ENERGY for ENDURING PEACE

MEDICAL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY is the title of an article in the January Atlantic Monthly by Professor Robley D. Evans of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This institution was prominent in the development of atomic energy and the discovery of the atomic bomb.

Dr. Evans' article shows that through medical advances alone atomic energy has already saved more lives than were snuffed out by the bombs.

The subject of atomic energy reminds us that pupils in our schools have the right to study out of textbooks which tell of atomic development. Such textbooks can be found in Physics and in Chemistry.

Not only in Science, but in Geography, the Social Studies and Mathematics, young American pupils have the right to study from new books which have the latest developments in the subject. Such books are available.

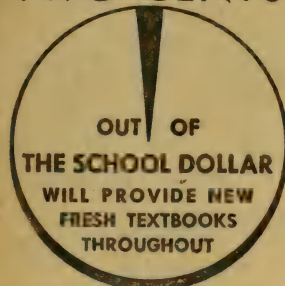
A complete equipment of new textbooks costs less than 2 percent of each school dollar. Pretended economies reducing textbook purchases save only a very small sum at the cost of impaired results for the pupils.

Textbooks and teaching are a team, each necessary to the other. Let us have the best of both.

Below are listed a few of the textbooks in the above-named subjects which are available to young pupils of America:—

Stull-Hatch Global Geographies
 Quinlan Basal Primary Readers
 Rainbow Readers, Adventures in Science
 Adventures in English, New Language Books
 Adventures in Language, Activity Notebooks
 Magruder's American Government in 1946
 Hughes' Building Citizenship
 Townsend's Our America
 Hughes' Making of Today's World
 West and West's History Series
 Global Geography for High Schools
 Wood and Carpenter's Our Environment
 A Complete Modern Science Series
 Brownlee's Elements of Chemistry
 Fuller, Brownlee and Baker's Physics
 Smallwood's New Biology
 Stein's Refresher Arithmetic
 The New Mathematics Series
 Edgerton and Carpenter's Algebras
 Chardenal Textbooks in French
 Smith-Thompson's First Year Latin

TWO CENTS



Allyn and Bacon

Boston New York Chicago Atlanta Dallas San Francisco

"Books that Live"

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY OF NEUROSIS

by Otto Fenichel, M.D.

Author of

OUTLINE OF CLINICAL PSYCHOANALYSIS

In Dr. Fenichel's new book, the reader will find a wealth of clinical material, and the 'general' theory of psychoanalysis presented in a systematic and comprehensive manner. Here is important, up-to-date information of great value to everyone interested in psychoanalysis. \$7.50

Other Important NORTON BOOKS

In the Field of Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis

OUR INNER CONFLICTS

*A Constructive Theory
of Neurosis*

By KAREN HORNEY
\$3.00

EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS OF LIVING

By O. S. ENGLISH and
G. H. J. PEARSON \$5.00

THE NEUROTIC PERSONALITY OF OUR TIME

By KAREN HORNEY
\$3.00

NEW WAYS IN PSYCHOANALYSIS

By KAREN HORNEY
\$3.00

SELF-ANALYSIS

By KAREN HORNEY
\$3.00

A HANDBOOK OF PSYCHIATRY

By P. M.
LICHTENSTEIN
and S. M. SMALL \$3.50

PSYCHOTHERAPY WITH CHILDREN

By FREDERICK H.
ALLEN \$3.50

FREUD'S CONTRIBUTION TO PSYCHIATRY

By A. A. BRILL \$2.75

COMMON NEUROSES OF CHILDREN AND ADULTS

By O. S. ENGLISH and
G. H. J. PEARSON \$3.75

A HISTORY OF MEDICAL PSYCHOLOGY

By GREGORY
ZILBOORG and
GEORGE W. HENRY
\$6.00

READING, WRITING AND SPEECH PROBLEMS IN CHILDREN

By S. T. ORTON \$2.50

THE PROBLEM OF ANXIETY

By SIGMUND FREUD
\$2.25

NEW INTRODUC- TORY LECTURES ON PSYCHOANALYSIS

By SIGMUND FREUD
\$3.25

At all booksellers

W-W-NORTON & CO. • 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11

foremost, but an artist within narrow limits. The man of the people could make the doctrine of the learned live for the people only so long as they would listen to the language of rationalism. And so the failure of nineteenth-century liberals to perceive that Paine had pleaded their cause in eighteenth-century language is comprehensible. To appreciate Paine today requires an exercise of the historical imagination, from which one comes away impressed on the one hand with his integrity and his courage and on the other with the limitations of his mind and the fatiguing insistence of his optimism. One comes away, also, with a renewed realization of the difficulties involved in presenting complex political issues on the plane of the people's understanding. The price of popularizing for contemporaries is temporary popularity.

"The Russian Adventure"

SOVIET POLITICS AT HOME AND ABROAD. By

Frederick L. Schuman. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.

ABOUT the difficulty of either writing or reviewing a book on Russia Professor Schuman speaks eloquently. "The Russian adventure," he says, "was nurtured on soaring aspirations and reared to a tough and efficient manhood amid the squalor of poverty, the excitement of vast adventures, and the grim necessity of a brutal fight for life. If the result does not lend itself to any description and analysis to which all informed and reasonable persons can subscribe, the difficulty scarcely lies in the complexity of the society observed. It is rather attributable to the absence among observers of any generally accepted norms and techniques for depicting the social dynamics of any contemporary community."

Most books on Russia manage merely to reinforce our previous prejudices and preconceptions, partly because these prejudices are deeply cherished and partly because the author himself is guided in the selection of his material by profound political and spiritual commitments. Let it be said immediately that Professor Schuman's basic convictions do not fit into the usual pattern of the Russophobes or the Russophiles, of those who regard Russia as the seat of vice or virtue in international relations.

He is profoundly convinced that in the absence of a world government—which for reasons he does not adequately explain he seems to regard as having been within the historical possibilities of our era—the peace of the world requires the closest collaboration between Russia and the Western powers and therefore the best possible understanding of each other's virtues and good intentions. There must be an increasing number of people in this country who, despite their prejudices, share this conviction because it is so inescapable.

Professor Schuman adds a new force to this conclusion by believing and proving that there is no more possibility of the liberal democratic creed conquering Russia than of the Western world overwhelming Russia in military conflict; and *per contra* that Russia can no more defeat the Western world than the Communist creed could become the means of salvation for a not too healthy Western

society. "Marxist dreamers of world revolution," he declares, "while wholly incapable of uniting the global society of our time, could yet shatter the hope of unity beyond repair if their dream should ever again become the guide of Soviet policy. Fortunately no such development is possible. The men of the Kremlin are realists."

Many of us are willing to entertain this belief or hope with Professor Schuman, but we are not quite as sure about it as he is. He assumes again and again that the Communist parties of the world have no real relation to Kremlin policy but are merely mouthing phrases which Russian policy has made obsolete. Quite a few lengthy quotations from Kremlin leaders in his own book contain strong ideological attacks upon Western democracy and capitalism, and none of them prove that Stalin's disavowal of Trotsky's plan of world revolution means more than the insistence that communism must be made secure in Russia first. It may be that dreams of world revolution will ultimately be completely disavowed. All we can say at the moment is that this ultimate hope of Marxism is held in abeyance in Russia, but not in such a way that the Kremlin is unable to use the groups in the Western world which cling to it as instruments of its policy.

Though he may have failed to be completely discriminating on such details, Professor Schuman's effort to support the necessary psychological disarmament between Russia and the West with an ideological disarmament is important and persuasive. He is not equally persuasive in analyzing the actual political realities in either Russia or the West.

In assessing the future of Western democracy Schuman

assumes, rightly I believe, that in the event of social catastrophe a middle-class society is much more likely to try fascist than Communist forms of escape from its problems. "The Soviet way can never be the way of the West," he says. He is rather scornful of the Socialist meliorists in the Western world, but his own program for the solution of our political problem is essentially theirs. "A new way," he declares, "combining in its design as much public planning as is needful for stability and as much private property and competitive enterprise as is possible of preservation, must be found if modern man is to escape self-inflicted annihilation. Any contention that such a union of public and private activities is impossible is a threat of death sentence upon Western culture." This way out is not elaborated beyond this single sentence.

In dealing with the political realities in Russia he begins with the basic and essentially correct proposition that the kind of planning which is done in Russia is incompatible with democratic or party government as we know it. Beyond this point he seems uncertain whether to regard the consequence as a dangerous destruction of democracy or as a new kind of democracy which will ultimately develop some more obvious characteristics of democracy. On the whole he is inclined to the latter view.

Perhaps a reviewer is merely betraying his own prejudices if he finds these democratic explanations of the absence of democracy in Russia unconvincing. But many of them seem unconvincing on Schuman's own grounds. A few examples are in order:

The greatest spy story ever told

**—AND
IT'S
TRUE!**

In a book that reads like an Eric Ambler thriller, these two young parachutists of O.S.S. tell the life-and-death story of the men who fought our secret war. Here are the agents who gambled with death and torture behind enemy lines—and often lost. Here is the human story of the Office of Strategic Services—the greatest undercover operation in history, told at last after years of utmost secrecy.

At all bookstores \$2.50

By Stewart Alsop and Thomas Braden

**The
O. S. S.
and
American
Espionage**

**SUB
ROSA**

REYNAL & HITCHCOCK

NEW BOOKS

THE UNITED STATES
AFTER WAR

By *Hansen, Hill, Hollander, Fuller, Briggs,*
and *Stoddard*. Introduction by *C. W. de Kiewiet*

The considered opinions and forecasts of six highly qualified Americans concerning problems of postwar development.

CONTENTS: Social Planning for Tomorrow by *Alvin H. Hansen*—Agriculture in the Postwar Economy by *F. F. Hill*—The Role of Organized Labor in the United States Economy by *Louis Hollander*—American Business After the War by *Walter D. Fuller*—Power Politics and International Organization by *Herbert W. Briggs*—Educating American Citizens by *George D. Stoddard*. \$2.50



THE WORLD'S HUNGER

By *F. A. Pearson* and *F. A. Harper*
New York State College of Agriculture,
Cornell University

A forthright discussion of the obstacles to an immediate improvement of the world's diet. Professors Pearson and Harper survey the food-producing areas of the world, and present a great many vital facts about food habits around the globe, the differing degrees of pressure of population on food supply, and prospects for upgrading the nutritional standards of the world's two billion people. \$1.50



ORDER FROM YOUR BOOKSELLER OR
CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS
ITHACA, NEW YORK

Schuman finds the adulation of Stalin disquieting, for "it recalls to Western democrats the ancient myth of the divine right of kings, the modern cult of charismatic despots, and every other image of arbitrary personal power." Yet he finally dismisses the extravagant appreciation of Stalin as not being due to personal conceit and as not having had the consequence "of isolating Stalin from his colleagues or causing him to suffer the atrophy of his critical faculties." This seems to me to miss the point that a political system which makes a leader immune to criticism inevitably results in extravagant appreciation of his powers and virtues and that this quasi-religious adoration in turn adds to his arbitrary power.

On the subject of the class structure of the new Soviet state, Schuman wisely recognizes that differentiation of function does create at least inchoate classes. But he is convinced that the Russian system will validate itself because it is practically impossible for a "leisure class" to arise. This assumes that the primary threat to justice is a functionless class which lives on the labor of others. Is not the primary threat an oligarchic class which holds irresponsible power? In a capitalist society such a class may vote itself undue privileges, including that of functionless leisure for its offspring. But it is dangerous to justice if it refrains from this privilege and exercises power which is not subject to review. There is such a class in Russia, though it is probably not yet self-perpetuating and may not become so.

On the question of the relation of freedom to literature and the arts Schuman thinks that the tremendous output of the Soviet men of letters validates a system which "gives scientists and artists economic security through regular salaries plus generous rewards for achievement through royalties, prizes, and numerous privileges. Since freedom is commonly viewed in the West as the sine qua non of productivity, the enigma of Soviet culture seems to many quite inexplicable." The difficulty here is that "productivity" is made the criterion of the adequacy of the artist.

All the inadequacies of interpretation seem to be derived from a lack of understanding of the fundamental value of freedom. We are told for instance that "freedom from want is the best guaranty of freedom of speech and religion." Actually it is possible to beguile men from seeking a more ultimate freedom by securing them against want. As Professor Schuman himself admits in another context, "a job without free speech may seem preferable to free speech without a job."

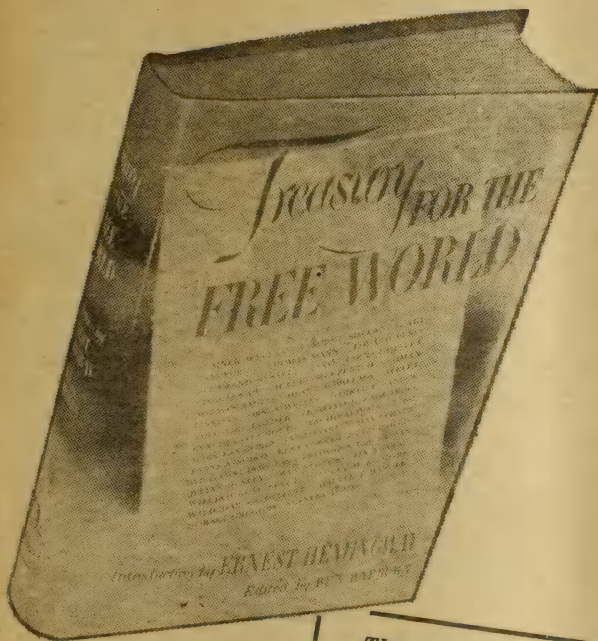
It must be admitted that Western civilization has not solved its economic problem within the framework of a free society; and it may not be able to. It may be that Russia has solved the economic problem. We ought at any rate to appreciate the real achievements of this great adventure. But if genuine liberty has been sacrificed for the sake of achieving its end, we ought to know about it. The world society is bound to embrace various economies and cultures. It is therefore important to mitigate prejudices against systems other than our own. But our tolerance need not prompt us to disavow what we have painfully learned about the relation of freedom to justice in ages of history.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE MEN NOW SHAPING THE FUTURE

give you the true meaning of what is happening now

*..and what will happen
in the years ahead*



*The momentous book about
the future
by the world's best informed men*

If you could sit at a conference table with many of the foremost thinkers and doers of our time, with men whose thoughts on the future will affect all of us and generations yet unborn. . . .

If, sitting in intimate council, you could ask them the questions that plague and bewilder you in these times. . . .

Would you not consider that a vital privilege?

TREASURY FOR THE FREE WORLD has been designed to provide exactly such a privilege.

Here you will find answered your most urgent questions about education, race prejudice, economics, politics, self determination, international relations, science, world food supply, world business — by men whose views are heeded with respect by governments and parliaments and by millions of awakening citizens of the world.

Among the contributors:

EDUARD BENES • HENRY A. WALLACE
JAN MASARYK • SUMNER WELLES
BERTRAND RUSSELL • VINCENT SHEBAN
ALBERT EINSTEIN • THOMAS MANN
LIN YUTANG • CHARLES DE GAULLE
HERBERT H. LEHMANN • TITO

—and many others

Treasury for the Free World

EDITED BY BEN RAEBURN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST HEMINGWAY

At bookstores everywhere . . . or use coupon

International Acclaim

"The **TREASURY** is the first universal book, giving invaluable facts and ideas about the foundations of a truly free world."

—HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

"If collections like this were published more often maybe the world would collect its wits sooner. A profound and important book for this profound and important time."

—NORMAN CORWIN

"**TREASURY FOR THE FREE WORLD** is utterly fascinating."

—TED THACKREY, Editor, N. Y. Post

"In these critical times every intelligent reader will find in **TREASURY FOR THE FREE WORLD** vital enlightenment —and reason — hope as well as reason to fight."

—FREDA KIRCHWEY, Editor, The Nation



ANCO PUBLISHING

Dept. 35, 480 Lexington Ave., New York 17

Please send me copies of **TREASURY FOR THE FREE WORLD** at \$3.50.

☐ I enclose \$ Send prepaid.

☐ Send C.O.D. plus postage charges.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY, ZONE, STATE

The Irrepressible Myth

THE SHELLEY LEGEND. By Robert Metcalf Smith, in collaboration with Martha Mary Schlegel, Theodore George Ehrsam, and Louis Addison Waters. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$5.

THE Shelley myth perhaps began when Trelawny snatched Shelley's heart from the funeral flames and, by making a present of it to Leigh Hunt, precipitated the quarrel between Hunt and Mary Shelley over the rightful ownership of the precious relic. Professor Smith and his collaborators do not call it a myth; they call it a legend and really mean a lie. The nature of the story they investigate, whether myth, legend, or lie, cannot better be suggested than by the fact that one of the most familiar portraits of Shelley—there are no wholly authentic portraits from the life—is a conscious copy of Leonardo's head of Christ with only a slight change of features. Students of comparative religion point out how the Dying God of the fertility rites, Attis or Adonis, was assimilated to the Christian Messiah. Professor Smith and his colleagues undertake to show how the Shelley who preached sexual freedom and freely practiced what he preached was turned into a figure acceptable to Victorian piety.

It has of course long been known that Mary Shelley wished to clear her husband of any taint of free sexuality. For one thing, she wanted to be known as the unique love of Shelley's life. Then, too, she hoped to obscure anything that might make the poet unacceptable to the strict morality of a later time, or that might bring embarrassment to their son, Sir Percy Shelley. To maintain her position as Shelley's only real mate she encouraged the vilification of his first wife, Harriet; she falsified her husband's relationship to her half-sister, Claire Clairmont, and she was inclined to represent as mere "platonic" whatever manifestations of Shelley's roving attention made her uneasy. Yet in point of fact neither Shelley nor Mary herself practiced the chastity she was later to prize. Professor Newman Ivey White, in his "Shelley," has shown that they planned to carry out Shelley's theory of sexual community by admitting Shelley's old friend Hogg as a third party to their marriage; now Professor Smith shows that this plan was actually put into effect. It is clear to Professor Smith, and he makes it pretty clear to the reader, that

Shelley was Claire Clairmont's lover and even that he was, what Professor White insists he was not, the father of a child by Claire, the mysterious Elena, of whose existence Professor White first made us aware. And it seems pretty certain to Professor Smith that Shelley was the lover and not merely the admirer of Jane Williams.

Although Mary Shelley is not a person of attractive character, much can be forgiven her natural pride and her impulse to protect herself and her son. Her daughter-in-law, Lady Shelley, is less forgivable and more interesting. Someone called her "a more temperate Lady Macbeth," and if we look at the matter with the novelistic eye it deserves, she is the great figure in the story. She was married not so much to Shelley's son as to Shelley's fame, and she devoted her life to establishing its spotlessness. She opened her long campaign by erecting the first Shelley monument, a dreadful statue of the drowned poet expiring in Mary's arms in the traditional posture of the Pietà. She established the Shelley shrine at Boscombe Manor and required that ladies remove their bonnets before coming into the presence of its relics. She rehabilitated Shelley at Oxford by bringing about the acceptance of a monument by the very University College that had expelled the undergraduate Shelley for atheism. She allowed her manuscripts to be used only by those biographers whom she could control, or thought she could; she excised passages from important documents; in order to clear Shelley of any blame for Harriet's suicide she accepted as authentic certain letters that she knew, or had reason to know, were forged. She established and largely manipulated the Shelley Society, where miasmatic minds demonstrated that Shelley was everything he was not. The very shape of Shelley's nose was a matter for her passionate supervision, and she fought against even the authority of Shelley's own description of it, for he had so far forgotten himself as to write of it as a "little turn-up nose."

A precise judgment of the conclusions reached by Professor Smith in all the questions he raises is beyond the competence and rather beyond the interest of this reviewer. Professor Smith's general view of Shelley's sexual conduct can surprise no one who is aware of the ease with which Shelley passed from theory to practice. That Shelley has been represented, in both his life and his thought, in an emasculated and sentimental way is certainly true, and it is useful and amusing to know how much conscious effort helped bring this about. If there is one major criticism to be made of "The Shelley Legend," a work of which the scholarship is precise to the point of querulousness, it is that its authors seem unaware of what is primary in the myth they deal with—that is, Shelley himself. "None of us was the same after Shelley's death," Trelawny said, and indeed to the little group in Italy Shelley irradiated some energy, or meaning, that made them more alive than they would ever be again. For good or bad, his poetry, which was always involved with his life, continues that irradiation. He was a mythopoeic man, a mythical personality. He saw himself as what we now call a culture hero, and he saw himself truly. Professor Smith and his collaborators, careful and literal people, see how the lies and perversions were contrived, but they do not see either the energy of the myth itself or its ability to absorb lies. Mary Shelley Creates the Shelley Legend is one of the book's

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE JEWS IN EUROPE?

An Appeal for

THE OPENING OF PALESTINE

and the rehabilitation of the Jews in Europe

Read: "IN PEACE AND DIGNITY"

The testimony of JUDGE JOS. M. PROSKAUER before
the ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Write for Your FREE Copy Today
Dept. "N"

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

chapter headings. But actually Mary, whatever she wished, did no more than make certain quantitative changes in the account of the hero's life. Neither she nor Lady Shelley made the legend or myth. What is important in a culture hero is the pattern of his conduct, and this they did not change. The charm of the myth of Shelley, for those who are charmed by it, is the paradox of strength in weakness, of duty in pleasure, of chastity in passion. This pattern Shelley established himself. Shelley believed that nothing he did was sinful or wrong, that his sexual passions were chaste no matter how indulged; Mary made out that he did nothing sinful or wrong, but although she omits the indulgence, she is careful not to destroy the paradox of his passion and chastity. Her version of the paradox was more easily accepted than the poet's own, but still it was the paradox that had meaning and appeal. Like any myth, the Shelley myth had to sink some of the terrors of reality before it could become available.

LIONEL TRILLING

VERSE CHRONICLE

MARSDEN HARTLEY'S collection of verse ("Selected Poems," Viking, \$3) shows observation, sentiment, humor, and indignation but no knowledge of how to organize and concentrate these into poems; the sympathetic magic that takes the place of knowledge he seems to have borrowed, with ungrudging and rather unreflecting admiration, from whatever passed as *lingua franca* among modernist poets in the '20's. If there were only some mechanism—like Seurat's proposed system of painting, or that projected Universal Algebra Gödel innocently believes Leibnitz to have perfected and mislaid—for reasonably and systematically converting into poetry what we see and feel and are! When one reads the verse of people who cannot write poems—people who often have more intelligence, sensibility, and moral discrimination than most of the poets—it is hard not to regard the Muse as a sort of fairy godmother who says to the poet, after her colleagues have showered on him the most disconcerting of gifts: "Well, never mind. You're still the only one that can write poetry."

This is so much the age of anthologies that it is surprising that poets still waste their time on books of verse, instead of writing anthologies in the first place. If you are about to print a book of poems, don't make up a few names and biographical sketches with which to punctuate your manuscript, change its title to "Poems of Democracy," and you will find yourself transformed from an old pumpkin, always in the red, to a shiny black new coach. For the average reader knows poetry mainly from anthologies, just as he knows philosophy mainly from histories of philosophy or textbooks: the "Complete So-in-So"—thousands of small-type, double-column pages of poetry, without one informing repentant sentence of ordinary prose—evokes from him a start of that savage and unreasoning timidity, that *horror vacui*, with which he stares at the lemmas and corollaries of Spinoza's "Ethics." Those cultural entrepreneurs, the anthologists, have become figures of melancholy and deciding importance for the average reader of poetry, a man of great scope and little grasp, who still knows what he likes—in the anthologies.

BARGAINS in BOOKS

UP TO 75% OFF FORMER PRICES

Offered by America's Oldest Mail-Order Book House

ORIGINAL EDITIONS—NOT REPRINTS

1. **BOUDOIR COMPANION.** Edited by Page Cooper. Illustrated. A lusty collection of uninhibited humor. The ideal companion for the privacy of the boudoir or bedroom. Many bits of wit and wisdom revealing the intimate thoughts of women about men. **\$.98**

2. **SORCERERS OF DOBU.** By R. F. Fortune. Illustrated. The fascinating study of the unmissionized natives living off the coast of New Guinea, written after months of intimate association with the superstitious aborigines. Richly illustrated and interesting to layman and anthropologist alike. Published at \$3.75. **\$1.29**

3. **THE TOOLS OF WAR.** By James R. Newman. Illustrated. A veritable encyclopedia of weapons used from the earliest times to the present day, profusely illustrated with hundreds of sketches, photographs and prints, a valuable source book. Published at \$5.00. **\$1.69**

4. **THE LOST BOOKS OF THE BIBLE and The Forgotten Books of Eden.** Two volumes complete in one large, fully illustrated volume. Handsomely bound, 562 pages. Only **\$1.98**

5. **THE GOLDEN BOUGH.** A Study in Magic and Religion, by Sir James G. Fraser. Index. 758 pages. "One of the greatest books of all time." Contains the wealth of the 12-volume edition published at \$30.00 and formerly published in this 1-volume edition at \$5.00. Only **\$2.49**

6. **FOREIGN LANGUAGE WORD CARDS.** Stephens Word Cards. The famous simplified self-teaching system of foreign language study, containing 512 cards and illustrations. By means of these cards anyone can acquire a basic vocabulary and a general familiarity with Spanish, French, German, Italian and even Esperanto. Put up in an envelope. All for only **\$1.29**

7. **CARPENTRY.** Craft Problems. By H. H. Siegle. With 700 illustrations. Index. Contains everything you want to know about carpentry. Only **\$1.98**

8. **A CENTURY OF MURDER MYSTERIES.** 101 Years' Entertainment. The Great Detective Stories 1841-1941. Edited by Ellery Queen. 599 pages. From Poe to Agatha Christie, Ellery Queen has selected 50 of the finest detective-mystery-crime short stories ever written. Only **\$1.98**

9. **10,000 TRADE SECRETS, RECIPES, etc.** Fortunes in Formulas for Home, Farm and Workshop. (Henley's Twentieth Century Book of Ten Thousand Formulas, Processes and Trade Secrets). Edited by G. D. Hiscox. M.E. Illustrated. Index. 888 pages. (Formerly published at \$4.00). Only **\$1.49**

10. **THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO.** Ed. by Manuel Komroff. The 13th century Venetian merchant's own amazing story of his world travels. The most spectacular travel narrative ever recorded. Only **\$1.98**

11. **IN AND OUT OF COURT.** By F. X. Busch. Illustrated. 306 pages. "As rare a collection of humorous courtroom incidents as has ever been gathered into one volume." Published at \$3.00. Only **\$1.29**

12. **MEN PAST FORTY.** By A. E. Niemoeller. A.B., M.A., B.S. Illustrated. "This treatise contains an immense amount of wonderful information about impaired vigor, the prostate gland, weak manhood, rejuvenation, etc." Special **\$1.49**

13. **THE OPERA LIBRETTO LIBRARY.** Contains all the words, and music of the principal airs of 33 great operas: 3-volume set containing 10 Wagner operas including the entire Ring. Tannhauser; 11 Italian operas including Aida, Pagliacci, Il Trovatore; 12 French and German operas including Carmen, Faust, Fidelio, Hansel and Gretel. Authentic original text with full English translation in parallel columns. 3 vols. **\$5.95**

14. **THE BORGIAS or, AT THE FEET OF VENUS.** By Vicente Blasco Ibañez. Were the Borgias worse or better than history has painted them? The famous author of "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" answers the question in a full-bodied novel that is at the same time a true description of the lusty passionate Borgias who typified this licentious period of Italian history. Published at \$3.00. **\$.93**

15. **ENCYCLOPEDIA OF FURNITURE.** By Joseph Aronson. 1,115 photographs, hundreds of drawings. The tremendous number of illustrations shows almost every kind and type of furniture ever made. For home decorators, collectors, antique dealers, architects, students, 424 pages. 8 1/2" x 11". Only **\$2.98**

Money-Back Guarantee

THE UNION LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

Established 1884

N-45

121-123 East 24th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Gentlemen: I enclose \$..... for which please send me the items I have encircled below, delivery charges prepaid.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

(Mark circle around items desired)

☐ Please send me FREE Bargain Catalog No. 345-N, containing hundreds of equally unusual Book Bargains—just off the press!

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

WHY has the Catholic Church

Supported

Mussolini
Hitler
Tiso
Franco
Salazar
Peron

?

Why did the Catholic church support Roosevelt's domestic policies and oppose his foreign policy?

Why is the Catholic church anti-Capitalist as well as anti-Communist?

What kind of a political, social and economic system is the Catholic church attempting to bring about?

How has this affected your life and how may it affect the lives of your children?

READ:

"THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND ECONOMICS"

by L. H. Lehmann

Third of an important series of articles which began in our January issue, describing aspects of the Catholic Church never before revealed.

In the March Issue of

THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC MAGAZINE

Edited by former Catholic Priests

Subscription only \$1.00 a year (10 issues)

Canada - \$1.25

Sample Copy 15¢

To make sure of receiving March issue return this ad with your order.

Agora Publishing Company, Dept. T-251

229 WEST 48th STREET

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

*Government regulation or
enforced free competition?*

INTERNATIONAL CARTELS

By Dr. ERVIN HEXNER

WITH over 100 case studies as ammunition, Dr. Hexner presents a broad and stimulating study of pre-war international economic agreements. This book is essential reading for all those who wish a solid, factual background for their thinking on one of the most perplexing economic questions of this era. \$6.00

At your bookstore

**The University of
NORTH CAROLINA PRESS**

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

And yet if you ask, "What do I need to become an anthologist?" it is difficult to answer, as one would like to answer, "Taste." Zeal and a publisher are the irreducible, and usually unexceeded, minima. The typical anthologist is a sort of Gallup poll with connections—often astonishing ones; it is hard to know whether he is printing a poem because he likes it, because his acquaintances tell him he ought to, or because he went to high school with the poet. But certainly he is beyond good or evil, and stares over his herds of poets like a patriarch, nodding or pointing with a large industrial air.

Anthologies are, ideally, an essential species of criticism. Nothing expresses and exposes your taste so completely—nothing is your taste so nearly—as that vague final treasury of the *really* best poems that grows in your head all your life, and that finds ambiguous and expedient utterance, if you are an anthologist, in the more "objective" anthology you send your publishers. Your readers will have to infer that taste mainly from the more unusual inclusions and omissions of your anthology. (You may leave out James Whitcomb Riley because you are afraid of being laughed at; but if you leave out Spenser you mean business.) It is a pity that Arnold's touchstones, which as they are remind one of the charm bracelets little girls wear, never evolved into an anthology. Nobody quotes better than Eliot—his quotations and preferences have helped generate two of the better modern anthologies, those of Charles Williams and Michael Roberts; it is a great pity that he has never made an anthology of his own instead of sticking to "Selected Poems." Even a highly idiosyncratic taste can produce charming and valuable anthologies of a more personal sort: imagine the "Moral Treasury" of Yvor Winters! And since anthologies are a part of criticism, there should be anthologies which explain instead of evaluating; which demonstrate, say, the rise and fall of a certain way of looking at the world, by reproducing its most typical, influential, or exaggerated expressions, not merely its most poetically successful ones. But I am talking about rare or non-existent anthologies, not the commercial conveniences one encounters in bookstores.

I am grateful to the editors of "War and the Poet," Richard Eberhart and Selden Rodman (Devin-Adair \$3), for two enchanting poems entirely new to me. One, called "The Maudling Soldier, or the Fruits of Warre Is Beggary," is a ballad written with extraordinary humor and command, quite worthy of being recited to the ghost of Falstaff. The other is the poem—the only one extant—of a predecessor of Dante's named Niccolo degli Albizzi. I wish that he had written as many poems as Southey; I am never going to forget the "black yellow smoke-dried visages" of the defeated, starving, and shamefaced troops "stumbling for hunger on their marrow-bones Like barrels rolling, jolting . . . their eyes, like hanged men's, turning the wrong way." He is the only poet I ever read who could have written, "Johnny, I Hardly Knew Ye," for he ends his poem:

Their arms all gone, not even their swords are saved;
And each as silent as a man being shaved.

Otherwise "War and the Poet" is not much. It is thoroughly topical in conception, though it appears, like the P-80, a little late for combat. Its editors have great enthusiasm,

moderate sensibility, and little judgment. After reading pref-
aces that are gushing and eccentric, notes that are random
and gossipy, and war poems that are sometimes good, some-
times bad, and sometimes not war poems at all, you know a
great deal about the emotions and ideals of the editors, but
you have no idea whether either of them can tell a good
poem from a bad one. Some of their judgments are hardly
normative at all: only chance or necessity could have led
them to include obviously bad or mediocre poems by Shae-
mas O'Sheel or Don Gordon or Kenneth Patchen or Timothy
Corseilis or Harry Brown, or such, while they were leaving
out "Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen" and Yeats's poems
about the Irish civil war; "Willie MacIntosh"; Owen's
"Miners" and "Exposure"; Gregory's poem about the dead
of the American Revolution or Tate's poem about the dead
of the Civil War; and many more. Often they pick the right
poet but the wrong poem: imagine representing Yeats by
nothing but "An Irish Airman Foresees His Death"! Imagine
picking from the Bible neither the 137th Psalm nor that
chorus of wondering exultation over fallen Assyria that be-
gins, "Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at
thy coming"—and that goes on, "How art thou fallen from
Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" There are good
poems in the anthology, but far too few to leaven a lump of
its size.

But there is one thing in "War and the Poet" that deserves
to be immortal. Its dust-jacket, after condemning politicians,
scientists, journalists, and "literary pundits" for their part
in the war, concludes: "Only the poets, inspired by a tradi-
tion of humanism that brooked no barriers of race or creed,
kept faith." Surely this is the most charitable conclusion
that anyone anywhere has ever come to.

RANDALL JARRELL

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents



MAURICE EVANS

In His New Production of Shakespeare's

HAMLET

Columbus Circle Thea. B'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Eves. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30

UP IN CENTRAL PARK

Book by HERBERT

Lyrics by

Made by

DOROTHY FIELDS

DOROTHY FIELDS

SIGMUND ROMBERG

BROADWAY THEATRE

B'way at 53rd St. Mats. & Sat. &
Sun. Eva. Incl. Sun. 2:30 & 8:30

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times

Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA

In JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4435.
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30 Sharp.

"THE GREATEST OF ALL MUSICAL COMEDIES"—Barnes, Herald Tribune
KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Musical by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd.

Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT.
ZIEGFELD THEA., 54th Street and Sixth Avenue. Cl. 5-3200.
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
88th ST.
near Loc.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
21st ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYON
Coney Island

Queens
Kath's
FLUSHING
Kath's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL

RKO NOW

"LEAVES YOU PUNCH-DRUNK WITH DRAMA"

—N. Y. World-Telegram

"HIGHLY COLORED TALE"—N. Y. Sun

DARRYL F. ZANUCK presents

'LEAVE HER TO HEAVEN'

By BEN AMES WILLIAMS

In TECHNICOLOR

GENE TIERNEY • CORNEL WILDE • JEANNE CRAIN

—Also—

"BE SURE AND SEE IT!"—Walter Winchell

'HITLER LIVES?'

"A MEANINGFUL DRAMA"—PM

**DICK POWELL
'CORNERED'**

—with—

WALTER SLEZAK • LUTHER ADLER

Story and Adaptation by JOHN WEXLEY

—and—

'MAN ALIVE' PAT O'BRIEN ELLEN DREW

PARAMOUNT presents
VERONICA LAKE SONNY TUFTS

JOAN CAULFIELD

"MISS SUSIE SLAGLE'S"

—with—

BILLY DEWOLFE • RENNY McEVOY

—and—

LILLIAN GISH

A Paramount Picture

NOW PARAMOUNT

—In Person—
DANNY KAYE

MISS

Georgia Gibbs

Tip, Tap & Toe

Bob Chester

AND HIS ORCHESTRA

—Featuring—

Larry Butler

TIMES
SQUARE

The Love Story That Will Live with You
Today . . . Tomorrow . . . and Forever!

International Pictures Presents

CLAUDETTE COLBERT

ORSON WELLES • GEORGE BRENT

—IN—

"TOMORROW IS FOREVER"

Released Thru R.K.O. Productions—Directed by Irving Pichel

Doors Open 9:00 A.M. **WINTER GARDEN** Broadway at 50th Street

Continuous Performances—Popular Prices

BUY BONDS—TO KEEP

Is the ENGINEER the HOPE of our CIVILIZATION?

Imagine that overnight all our material civilization is destroyed, all the works of man and his written records and even the memories of formulas and techniques; and that in effect we are returned to the stone age. Everything obliterated except in the minds of engineers and scientists their peculiar attitude, their scientific method.

It wouldn't take long as compared to the ages of man for engineers and their like-minded colleagues to regain our technical knowledge and reconstruct our world.

And it might be a differently organized world—a civilization free of wars and panics, poverty and disease. But it would not be if scientific workers again fell under the economic control of less objective thinkers. Remember that the scientific method came late in history. Superstition preceded and held sway over men; and still does in large measure outside the scientific group.

What manner of men are our scientists and engineers? What is their stake in society and their remuneration? How are they organized? And how can they bring to our social, economic and political problems the power and objectivity they have learned to apply to the problems of our physical universe?

You will find some provocative answers to these questions in

THE ENGINEER IN SOCIETY

by
**JOHN
MILLS**



Timely, readable,
significant.

At all bookstores after Febru-
ary 28. **\$2.50**

D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc.
230 Fourth Avenue New York 3, N. Y.

Drama

**JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH**

IN SAN FRANCISCO some years ago the late Sidney Howard was fascinated by the performance in a Chinese theater of a play called "Pi-pa-ki." This play, so we are told, has been extremely popular in China for five hundred years, though it was little known except by name in the Western world. After prolonged inquiry Howard located an obscure French translation and made from that an English version which, over a period of years, various producers considered and then gave up. Will Irwin reworked the text, and at last "Lute Song," as it is now called, reaches the Plymouth in an astonishingly prodigal production. There are lyrics by Bernard Hanighen and music by Raymond Scott; there are settings (very fine) by Robert Edmund Jones and costumes by Jones and by Valentina. There is choreography by Yeichi Nimura, and there is, finally, a large cast of excellent performers, including, among others, Mary Martin, McKay Morris, Helen Craig, and Augustin Duncan. Michael Myerberg, the producer, has been so lavish with talent as well as with money that the spectator has some difficulty putting it all together or taking it all in. He is likely to finish the evening more dazzled and bemused than quite sure just what judgment he wants to pronounce upon the whole.

To say merely this is no doubt to say that there is a possible ultimate success which the production does not achieve. But it does not, on the other hand, by any means imply mere failure or anything near it. As a play "Lute Song" is occasionally faintly puzzling, at a few moments a trifle languid, at certain other moments very beautiful and very touching. As spectacle, as movement and color and design, it is always absorbing, sometimes thrilling, even breath-taking. Raymond Scott's incidental music seemed to me to serve its purpose admirably, but his songs, though agreeable in themselves, struck me as not wholly appropriate. One of them, "Mountain High, Valley Low," is quite lovely and another, "Monkey See, Monkey Do," quite charming. But even these, though properly plaintive and without stridency, seem to carry both in the words and in the music a suggestion of the ragtime idiom which does not accord too well with either the text of the play or the atmosphere of the production.

Mary Martin reveals quite unexpected excellence as an actress in the role of the heroine, which is said to have been one of Mei Lang Fang's famous parts. The story concerns the long separation of a devoted bride and her young scholar husband, who is held against his will at the imperial court, and that story as well as the manner in which it is told resembles in a broad general way the very few other ancient Chinese plays I am familiar with. Some of the dramatic devices employed—for instance, recognition first by one alone of the two parties and finally by both—are those familiar also in the ancient classics of the Western world. On the other hand, there is an atmosphere, not of question, but of pity, tolerance, resignation, and ultimate serenity, which is not Greek and which may possibly represent something which can be achieved only by those who have been civilized longer than the Greeks ever had time to be. When one considers also the sly humor and a pseudo-naïve method of storytelling which is obviously beyond rather than not up to realism, one begins to wonder whether the Chinese drama is not in spirit rather closer to "Cymbeline" and "The Winter's Tale" than to any other Occidental drama.

Obviously the text of "Lute Song" has passed through too many hands before reaching the Plymouth for anyone unfamiliar with the original to know how many of its incidental features correspond to equivalents in the play as first written. I have, for instance, no way of knowing whether the almost Gilbertian figure of the imperial preceptor of morals, who unctuously delivers himself of such sentiments as "Life, I have observed, is a sovereign remedy for the disease of optimism," is what the Chinese playwright meant him to be. But even if he is not, I think it easy to see that the original author was a satirist as well as a poet, that there are serene mockeries of tradition as well as serene acceptances of it in his work, and since we are being lavish of comparisons, we may add that he is quite as much in the tradition of Euripides and Molière as he is in that of less protestant playwrights.

However that may be, it still remains true of the present production that the most unequivocally successful part is the visual, and I suspect that the majority of spectators will find the most unforgettable moments to be those of ritual, ceremony, dance, and procession. I assume that the scenery, the costumes, the choreography, and all the rest of

it are merely "on Chinese themes," but the whole is molded into a consistent and stunningly effective style. I think that my susceptibility to pageantry is rather less than more than average, but I have seldom or never been more thrilled by anything of the kind than by, for instance, one of the processions in which the crimson-coated guards are followed by the big drum born suspended from poles and sounded by the prancing figures who accompany it. I am sure that Mr. Scott's music contributed a great deal to the effect, and the fact that I was scarcely aware of it as a separate thing is no doubt a tribute to its excellence.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THIS year's water-color and drawing section of the Whitney Annual (through March 13) achieves a higher and more even general level than did the previous oil-painting instalment. Like the English, we have usually managed more successfully to extract the virtues of our defects in the lighter mediums than in oil. But the cost is only too often the absence of emphasis and vigor. The total impression of this show is less sad, it is true; yet it offers almost no occasions for real pleasure. Where the oils sinned by commission, the water colors and drawings do so by omission. And their extreme tepidness seems to furnish but more evidence of the broad-front retreat of American art at the moment.

But perhaps we have here the emergence of a new cultural phenomenon. Perhaps my excessive irritation at the Whitney's oil-painting instalment and the Pepsi-Cola show was misdirected—the result of taking them for something they were not, at bottom, intended to be. As Kurt List, the music critic, says, we may be witnessing the emergence of a new, middle-brow form of popular art that, while it exploits many of the innovations of avant-garde art, lowers their intensity and dilutes their seriousness in order to convert them into something calendar and magazine can digest—as if in answer to a public that is making new and higher demands on the art offered to it. Thus there is, for instance, the increasing practice on the part of commercial firms of having what in popular estimation are high-art artists illustrate their advertisements. (Usually, these painters

issue from the fanes of the Associated American Artists gallery, which plays a role as mediator between high art and *Kitsch* somewhat analogous to that played in literature by the *New Yorker* and *Harper's Bazaar*.)

The middle class in this country—though swelled by war prosperity with millions of new recruits who may be no easier to assimilate culturally than the previous 1918-1928 wave—is now surging toward culture under the pressure of anxiety, high taxes, and a shrinking industrial frontier. All this expresses itself in a market demand for cultural goods that are up to date and yet not too hard to consume. Such a demand, supported as it is by so much buying power, inevitably attracts and compels the serious and ambitious artist; he is tempted—most often unconsciously—to meet this demand by softening, sweetening, and simplifying his product. But what distinguishes the present situation is that the artist must not soften and sweeten too obviously, he cannot outrightly vulgarize—for the public still wants something that has the smell of high art.

This state of affairs constitutes a much greater threat to high art than *Kitsch* itself—which usually keeps the distinctions clear. The demand now is that the distinctions be blurred if not entirely obliterated, that is, that the vulgarization be more subtle and more general. Artists—who in this period have tended to be aggressively anti-intellectual—become reluctant to insist on preserving the distinctions, because the contemporary cultural élite, on whom high art presumably depends, can furnish them with neither intellectual and moral support nor markets. Given the temptations of attention and money, even the best of the artists find it difficult amid the present confusion of standards not to surrender to Mr. Luce or the Associated American Artists.

The future of art and literature will brighten in this country only when a new cultural élite appears with enough money and enough consciousness to counterbalance the pressure of the new mass market. The other alternative is socialism, of course—but right now who talks of socialism in America?

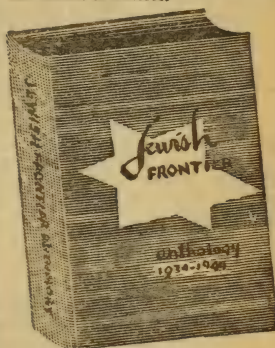
The sculpture instalment of the Whitney Annual, running concurrently with the water-color and drawing exhibit, is another story—perhaps because sculpture is slower to feel the pull and tug of public taste. The sculpture section shows on the whole a great improvement over former years.

CHARLES A. BEARD

calls it:—

"An informing document for all civilized persons now interested, of necessity, in what is called the Jewish problem."

Here are 576 pages of thoughtful, scintillating writing by the elite of the World of Letters.



THE JEWISH FRONTIER ANTHOLOGY

The selected gems of a great journal of thought. Articles by:—

Norman Angell
Dorothy Thompson
Leon Blum Carl J. Friedrich
David Ben Gurion
Justice Robert H. Jackson
Sholom Asch Hayim Greenberg
Jacob J. Weinstein
and many others

"The very highest standard in modern journalism... must appeal to Gentile no less than Jew."

Lewis Mumford
"A bright mirror reflecting the life of a decade." Martin Lowenthal

On sale only by the publisher

Cloth bound, 576 pages
Price—\$2.50, postage prepaid
Canada and Foreign, \$3

Jewish Frontier, Dept. 1 N
45 E. 17 St., New York 3, N. Y.

JEWISH FRONTIER
Dept. 1-N
45 East 17th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Kindly send me, POSTAGE PREPAID, _____ copies of THE JEWISH FRONTIER ANTHOLOGY. Enclosed is my check for \$_____ (at \$2.50 a copy; Canada and foreign, \$3).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Postal Zone _____ State _____

These men agree!

ERIC JOHNSTON President,
U. S. Chamber of Commerce

"Since the labor union is an American institution that is here to stay, it is vital that every citizen understand its structure and function. *The Truth About Unions*, admittedly a pro-union book, should be read by everyone—management or labor—who seeks to be well-informed on unionism."

PHILIP MURRAY Pres., C.I.O.

Leo Huberman has performed an invaluable service to the labor movement. His book is a simple, clear account of the reason for unions, their structure, their importance in our society. It should be read by every worker in the United States."

ROBERT S. LYND
Prof., Columbia University

"Those of us fortunate enough to know Leo Huberman know him as a hard, clean, all-out fighter for democracy. He knows at first-hand what democracy is, and isn't, inside and outside unions. A book like this is good news for democracy."

THE TRUTH ABOUT UNIONS

by **Leo Huberman**

Author of *The Labor Day Book* and *Man's Working World*

All rights reserved © 1941, 42

PAMPHLET PRESS

An abstract, skeleton-like piece in steel and bronze, "Transition," by Theodore Roszak, whose work has not been shown in public for several years, is the best thing in the entire museum. It expresses almost dramatically the composite character of its material—the tensile strength of steel and the fluidity of bronze—and at the same time conveys speed, directness, draftsmanship. David Smith's "Cockfight—Variation" shows inventiveness and animation, but seems too dispersed when measured, as it must be, against this artist's best examples. In Trajan's polychrome Keen's cement "Birth of Isis" I feel, as in most of this sculptor's work, a very genuine impulse that still fails to realize itself, dissipated in expressionist extravagance.

There is, as always, a great deal of false and cliché-ridden sculpture on hand at the Whitney, but the frequency of interesting pieces this year is surprising. Even work such as Isamu Noguchi's marble "Figure," a piece of contrived effect in inappropriate material, deriving from Picasso's "bone" period, and Martin Craig's "Lilith," coming from somewhere near the same quarter, elicits at least interest and hope. And two relatively academic statues, a bronze Lipschitzian "St. Christopher" by Nathaniel Kaz and a marble "Caress" by Oronzio Maldarelli (both, by some miracle, reproduced in the catalogue), overcome one's instinctive resistance enough to produce a definite pleasure—notwithstanding that the first is disfigured by a double anklet of bronze representing feet in water and the other's polished surface and stylized contours bring it very close to soap sculpture.

David Smith's work, David Hare's recent show, Theodore Roszak's return to activity, Calder's (somewhat undeserved) popularity, other signs—all point to the possible flowering of a new sculpture in America, a sculpture that exploits modern painting and draftsmanship, new industrial methods, and industrial materials. Certainly, of all arts, the new pictorial or constructivist sculpture relates best to American décor, understands it best, and would affect it most directly.

And—to return to the considerations touched on above—the new sculpture is protected as yet from public taste by its very novelty. This makes it rather hard, financially, for the sculptor himself, but he has the large or small satisfaction of knowing that his work will be bought for the right reasons in most cases. It still takes a certain independ-

ence of taste to invest in a Smith or a Hare.

Last but not least, the new sculptor has the advantage of working in a virgin medium, one in which even the proper and beginner can—as even gropers and beginners in naturalistic painting did in the fifteenth century—produce permanent works of art. Only a few hints are needed from the masters in Europe: Brancusi, Gonzalez, Gabo, the earlier Lipschitz, Pezner, Giacometti. . . .

Music

**B. H.
HAGGIN**

THE tendency to archness and cuteness was disturbingly evident in Lotte Lehmann's Town Hall series last year—evident in her choice of songs that were themselves arch and cute, and in her treatment of some that were not. But what went on at the Wolf recital of this year's series—what she did, and the way her audience responded to her every titillation—was something for a stronger stomach than mine. And a song like "Nun wandre, Maria" she spoiled with exaggeratedly pathetic inflections that compelled constant retardations and accelerations in what should have been the steady plodding onward of the piano part. But if the idea of the piano part contributing anything to a song of Wolf or of Schubert beyond the minimum of sound necessary as a basis for her singing ever occurred to Lehmann, it seems to have been rejected by her.

It is admirable of Columbia to issue a recording of Mahler's Fourth Symphony performed by Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony and Desi Halban, soprano (Set 589; \$6.50), and thus to make it possible for the public to get to know the lovely work from Walter's extraordinary performance of it. Fortunately, also, Columbia's engineers have achieved their best recording of the Philharmonic so far—one that makes the sound clear, bright, and agreeable.

Victor issued the Casals-Horszowski recording of Beethoven's wonderful Sonata Opus 102 No. 1 for cello and piano a number of years ago, but not the companion recording of Opus 102 No. 2, which Columbia now gives us performed by Piatigorsky and Berkowitz (Set X-258; \$2.50). The work is one of those in which there are the first manifestations of the characteristics of Beethoven's last sonatas and quartets. Its

first movement is abrupt and concise; the end of its slow movement is mysterious, strange, and remote; its concluding fugue is, for me, as inaccessible as parts of the "Grosse Fuge" and the concluding fugue of the "Hammerklavier" Sonata. The performers do well with the first half of the work; but are ineffective with the mystery and strangeness of the end of the slow movement, and seem to make no more sense of the fugue than I do. But this impression of their playing may be the result of recording which produces an extremely bad sound of the piano with the wide-range Brush pick-up or muffled confusion with the limited-range Astatic Tru-Tan.

On a single (12161-D; \$1) are the Overture and Allegro from the Couperin-Milhaud "La Sultane" Suite played by Mitropoulos with the Minneapolis Symphony, which I have compared with the Golschmann-St. Louis Symphony version (Victor 11-8238). Mitropoulos's performance of the beautiful Overture strains and distends for sonority and eloquence, whereas Golschmann's flows easily—with the result that Mitropoulos's breaks the piece, whereas Golschmann's completes it on one side. Then, while the recorded sound of Golschmann's performance is less sharply distinct, it has greater smoothness and refinement; and whereas everything in the Minneapolis performance is equally clear and near, in the St. Louis performance it is correctly placed in space: winds, for example, are heard from the back, strings from the front.

Bartlett and Robertson perform an Elizabethan Suite (Set X-256; \$2.50) of arrangements for two pianos of a number of pieces for virginals. Most of the pieces—Byrd's Variations on "John, Come Kisse Me Now," Farnaby's "His Conceit," "A Toye," "Tower Hill Jigge," Tune for Two Virginals, and "His Dreame," Peerson's "Fall of the Leaf," and Bull's "King's Hunting Jigge"—are no more than pleasant listening; but Byrd's wonderful "Earle of Salisbury's Pavan" is also in the volume. The pianists plays them with restraint; and their performances are well-recorded.

"Chopiniana" (Set 598; \$3.50) offers orchestral transcriptions by Dimitri Rogal-Lewitzky of Chopin's "Revolutionary" Etude, C minor Nocturne, Mazurka Opus 33 No. 4, posthumous E minor Valse, and Polonaise in A flat, performed by Mitropoulos with the Robin Hood Dell Orchestra. The orchestrations are dreadful (for example, the third section of the Nocturne, with

the melody played by violins and glockenspiel); the performances are Mitropoulos atrocities; and they are poorly recorded.

Harl McDonald is one of our most prolific writers of tripe, which his position as manager of the Philadelphia Orchestra enables him to have performed by the orchestra and recorded by whatever company has it under contract; and that is all that needs to be said about his Symphonic Suite "My Country at War" (Set 592; \$3.50).



LANGUAGE IS POWER

... Forge ahead, win special assignments, promotion, better job in global peace time opportunities through ability to speak a foreign language.

MAKING A NEW LANGUAGE quickly, easily, correctly by LINGUAPHONE

The world-famous Linguaphone Conversational Method brings voices of native teachers INTO YOUR OWN HOME. You learn the new language by LISTENING. It's amazingly simple; thousands have succeeded. ♦ ♦ 29 LANGUAGES Send for Free book, Call for Free demonstration

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
81 RCA Bldg., New York 20 • Circle 7-0830

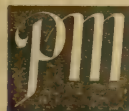
BOTH IN ONE BARGAIN OFFER...

America's Favorite Book

"UP FRONT"

By **BILL MAULDIN**

with



A NATIONAL LIBERAL NEWSPAPER that takes you behind the headlines for the real story of the strikes, the shortages and the high cost of living. The original \$3 edition of a best-seller . . . the wonderful cartoons and the personal story that has warmed and tickled millions . . . it's yours with this combination PM subscription offer.

Clip the coupon below and mail with \$6.50 (check or money order, no cash please) and you will receive PM by mail for specified periods with "Up Front" by Mauldin. Send to PM, Box 81, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

This is a New Subscription ☐

Extend My Subscription ☐

Daily and Sunday

Daily Only

Sunday Only

14 Weeks ☐

22 Weeks ☐

52 Weeks ☐

Name
(Please print)

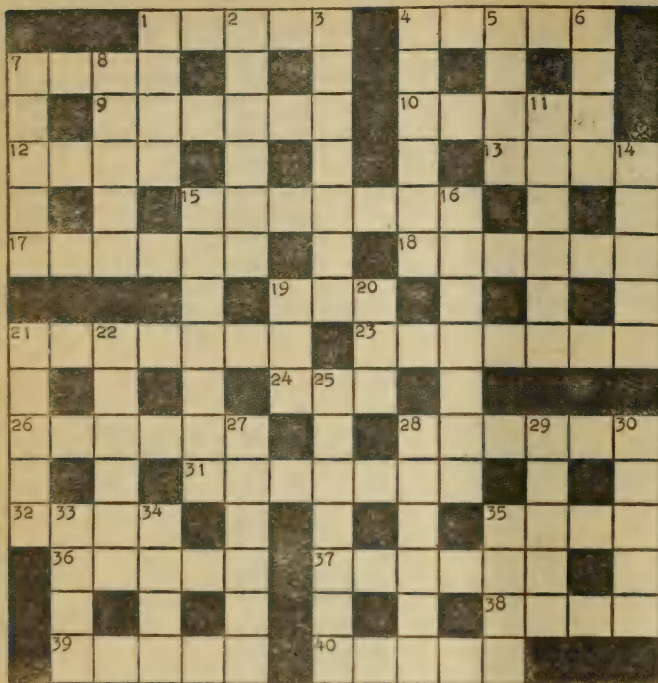
Street

City Zone State

Newsstand price, 5c daily, 10c Sunday. These rates apply only to the U.S.A. and possessions. No mail subscriptions accepted for New York City.
(M-NA)

Crossword Puzzle No. 149

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 High ----- with pen and inks
- 4 Where is he?
- 7 Do not confuse the prophet with anything so transparent
- 9 Third party in the dispute
- 10 Do this to meat, not to words
- 12 A Slav
- 13 In England, a cheap place of amusement
- 15 The outlook is wet, but suits the holiday guest (two words, 3 & 4)
- 17 In short, pens which write like pencils
- 18 Where the warriors never quailed (or if they did they concealed it)
- 19 A poem from P. G. Wodehouse
- 21 His Barber has been called "musical champagne"
- 23 To start the ball; but not the first step in the dance
- 24 An astringent
- 26 Some may be strikingly smart, and others smartly striking
- 28 "-----, stoic Cato, the sententious, Who lent his lady to his friend Hortensius"
- 31 Big guns greet "big guns" with these
- 32 Toppers
- 35 Tell me, what is "lobscouse"?
- 36 The Wild Men of Borneo
- 37 Casket chosen by the Prince of Morocco
- 38 A salty drop
- 39 Wood in which Rosalind bravely wore the breeches
- 40 A half-witted Barnaby

DOWN

- 1 Is this what makes the door stick?
- 2 Spreads by rumor

- 3 Pigeon-holed
- 4 The thought-bound Dane
- 5 "A wave of the ocean, a bird on the ----"
- 6 Free composition
- 7 Author of the Mosaic Law
- 8 Baldhead's nickname?
- 11 Card game, or where it may be played
- 14 A light matter
- 15 An involved argument
- 16 Sir Rupert Murgatroyd employed his leisure in persecuting them
- 19 Black gold
- 20 "A trainband captain --- was he"
- 21 Juno-esque
- 22 When "for cloth of gold you cease to care," up goes the price of this
- 25 We can never grow this
- 27 He accounted for 1,000 Philistines
- 28 Restored to health
- 29 May account for that faint chlorine odor in the air
- 30 Drink you may have cried for
- 33 Mr. Kremlin had only one, and that was wrong
- 34 The port is bespoke
- 35 Outdoor festivity

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 148

ACROSS:—1 DESOLATION; 6 BALL; 10 POPCORN; 11 DIABOLO; 12 SUPERMAN; 13 PROTH; 15 RUSSE; 17 NEOLOGIAN; 19 GODDESSES; 21 ELSIE; 28 LEAVE; 24 AVERSION; 27 ELUSIVE; 28 BUTCHER; 29 YEAR; 30 FOLDED ARMS.

DOWN:—1 DIPS; 2 ST. PAUL'S; 3 LOOSE; 4 TENEMENTS; 5 OLDEN; 7 AMOROSI; 8 LION HUNTER; 9 CALF-LOVE; 14 ART GALLERY; 16 EXEGESIS; 18 OYSTER BED; 20 DRACULA; 22 SMOTHER; 24 ALEDO; 25 SATID; 26 ARTS.

The NATION

RESORTS

Vacation Time Never Ends at

The Oaks

Pack your troubles away and come out a lively caper... at THE OAKS... the merry, year 'round vacation resort... only 50 miles from New York. Spend a vacation you'll long remember. For Fun, Frolic and Fine Food are the order of the day at this charming country estate.

Make Reservations NOW

ELBERON LONG BRANCH
NEW JERSEY 2433

INVITATION TO RELAX

Enjoy the scenery of Plum Point. Gorgeous countryside, roaring fireplace, delicious food—and fun. Only 55 miles from New York. MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY

plum point
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
Hill Windser, N.Y. Tel. Newburgh 4270

Shangri-La Farm

Welcomes you for the Spring and Summer Season. Accommodations for 10 at this lovely modern home. Enjoy beautiful countryside, delicious food and complete rest.

Rifton, N. Y., near Kingston Tel. Rosendale 2475.

HATHAWAY SKI LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 502-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces and private porches. Wind-inn Mountain Trails, Ski Tow, 700-foot Ski Slope. Delicious food. Easy transportation

Attractive Winter Rates
For reservations or further information write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone, Tannersville 290

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR Newburgh 4477
Delightful...skating on private lake. Open fireplace.
Different...the colonial atmosphere.
Delicious...our unexcelled cuisine.
Dancing...recordings for listening & dancing.
All this only 55 miles from New York City
A Resort for Adults Only

SUMMER RENTALS

COTTAGES summer, modern improvements. Lakewood Farm, Roscoe, N. Y. 70-acre private lake, elevation 2,400 feet. 114 miles George Washington Bridge. Brooklyn telephone NAvarre 8-5273.

COUNTRY HOUSE, 53 acres in Susquehanna County, Pa., for someone who requires quiet surroundings. Set 100 feet back among pine, maple and oak trees. Horse, cow. Gas light for comfortable reading, fireplaces, stone cellar, storm doors and windows. Write Box 1756 c/o The Nation.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

FOR SALE: 100 acres; 7-room stone cottage, fireplace; view; pines. Electricity available. Exceptional bargain to close estate. Asking \$7,500. Terms. Berkshire Farm Agency, Chatham, New York.

WANTED

PENNSYLVANIA LIBERALS! Help elect the next Governor of Pennsylvania. Defeat the reactionary political interests. Write P. O. Box 636, Reading, Pa.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 2, 1946

NUMBER 9

The Shape of Things

FRANCO'S EXECUTION OF CHRISTINO GARCIA and nine other Spanish Republican leaders who had fought with the *Maquis* against the Nazis represents a challenge to the democratic powers which they will ignore at their peril. In France, where the nature of that challenge is better understood than here or in Britain, the news produced a tremendous outburst of popular indignation. For the second time the Constituent Assembly voted for a diplomatic break with Spain, all parties, except for a minor rightist group, enthusiastically supporting the motion. Hitherto the continuance of relations has been excused on the ground that it made possible French intervention in behalf of Republican prisoners. The execution of the ten, however, in disregard of the repeated pleas of the French ambassador in Madrid, indicates the futility of the diplomatic approach. More than that, it appears as deliberate provocation of the French government, based on the assumption that France will not receive the support of Britain and the United States in any move against Spain. We hope this assumption proves ill founded. It ought to be clear by now that Franco is not perturbed by verbal spankings. Only a complete rupture of relations will sterilize this focus of fascist infection.

✱

WE HOPE FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN enjoys the rare distinction he conferred on himself by being the only one of the new cardinals from a non-fascist country to attend the state dinner given at the Franco embassy at Rome. The dinner was otherwise notable for the number of those who failed to attend. Of the thirty-two new cardinals, only seven showed up: the two Spaniards, the two Portuguese, the Vatican's Tedeschini, Spellman, and Antonio Cardinal Caggiano of Argentina. The other three new United States cardinals—Glennon of St. Louis, Mooney of Detroit, and Strich of Chicago—stayed away, as did James Cardinal McGuigan of Toronto. It is worth noting that, except for Tedeschini and the Iberians, none of the new European cardinals attended. Spellman's presence and the mild sensation it caused helped obscure an affair which constitutes a rather extraordinary rebuff for the Franco

regime from Catholic quarters. The new Brazilian, Chilean, Peruvian, and Cuban cardinals, by absenting themselves, showed a political discretion Spellman would do well to emulate. The United States government, as he knows, is about to issue a Blue Book showing how closely Franco worked with the Axis during the war. But Spellman not only paid the Spanish dictator the honor of attending his strikingly unsuccessful little party in Rome but plans to be his guest in Madrid on his way home. The New York cardinal makes his debut, knee-deep in anti-democratic politics.

✱

OUTBREAK OF CIVIL WAR IN MANCHURIA at a moment when the final solution of the Chinese political crisis seemed imminent is a serious matter. Manchuria is the one area in the world where American and Russian interests obviously overlap. For reasons none too clear at this distance, the United States has committed itself to transporting Kuomintang troops into Manchuria, while the Russians are obstructing Chungking's efforts to consolidate its rule even though they have formally recognized its supremacy in the region. If Russia desires, it can put up a strong case, based upon historic, strategic, and economic considerations, for special rights in Manchuria. The Yalta agreement and the subsequent Sino-Soviet pact recognized these claims by granting it half interest in the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian railways together with a naval base at Port Arthur and a free port in Dairen. Whether Russia has claimed under this agreement half interest in the Japanese industries controlled by the South Manchurian railway is uncertain. It might have some legal basis for such a claim, but the moral basis is dubious. China's claim to these industries, on the other hand, rests on the prior Cairo document which clearly stated that all of Manchuria was to be restored to China. Russia can scarcely deny, moreover, that it failed to withdraw its troops by February 1. The Moscow agreement commits both Russia and the United States to a prompt removal of their forces, but if peace is to be restored this action should be preceded by an extension of the Kuomintang-Communist agreement to cover Manchuria.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	245
The Fruits of Suspicion	247
India: Eleventh Hour	248
Ballot Without Bullets <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	249

ARTICLES

The Sins of American Liberals	
<i>Kingsley Martin vs. Max Lerner</i>	250
India's Passage to Freedom <i>by Alice Thorner</i>	253
German Casualties: New Evidence <i>by Saul K. Padover</i>	255
Atoms Won't Wait <i>by Louis N. Ridenour</i>	256
Bread, Bills, and Bevinism <i>by Aylmer Vallance</i>	258
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	261
The People's Front <i>by Del Vayo</i>	262

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

New Georgia <i>A Poem by Randall Jarrell</i>	263
Notes by the Way <i>by Margaret Marshall</i>	263
The Anglo-American Paradox <i>by Stuart Chase</i>	264
Briefer Comment	266
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	269
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	269
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	270

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 271

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 150

<i>by Jack Barrett</i>	272
------------------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:

Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellom Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental European Publicists, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Librarians: The Nation is Indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

THE WAR RECORD OF WESTBROOK PEGLER clearly qualifies him for his current role of veterans' adviser. True, he was not in uniform, but as a civilian he did a powerful job for national morale. His approach was subtle. To win the right-thinking people to the war effort, he had to attack the Commander-in-Chief and Mrs. Roosevelt. To help speed production he hammered away at the villainy of labor leaders. Lest the joint war effort endanger our post-war preeminence, he issued repeated warnings against internationalist and Communist trends in the administrative policy. His current attack on Charles Bolté and the American Veterans' Committee of which he is chairman is simply a continuation of Pegler's wartime mission. For AVC shows dangerous New Deal tendencies and there's a Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., on its planning committee. AVC takes a reasonable stand on labor issues. AVC is an active agitator for such elementary rights as jobs and decent houses. And AVC doesn't entirely endorse the American Legion. Pegler dislikes such doctrine; ergo, it must be Communist! Embarrassingly enough for Pegler, Communists don't like AVC either and have come out for the Legion. Pegler to the right of them, the *Daily Worker* to the left of them. Perhaps, after all, that's where American veterans who believe in the best of American democracy belong.

✱

THE WELL-GUARDED HALLS OF MONTEZUMA, long sheltered from the din of demobilization protest by a cagy Marine Corps discharge system and an iron Marine Corps discipline, have finally been invaded by an initial and nasty "incident." In Honolulu six NCO's were broken to private, and three of them brigged, for sponsoring a cable of protest to President Truman and others. Their petition—signed with 150 names—was a calm and discreet document, a model of tact among the many shriller outbursts current. It stated that marines have no information on demobilization policy, get no credit for service since V-J Day, and are under orders not to hold protest meetings. The merits of their first complaints may be debatable: the corps has been less concerned with policy than it has with practice, and its discharge record has not been bad. But there can be little debate over their third complaint or the action taken against them. This is the first publicized post-war occasion of a service flatly denying its men the right to get together and gripe—even denying a group of them the right of petition. As such it sets a bitter peace-time precedent. A marine spokesman explained that "a petition is regarded the same as an assembly, which was forbidden last month by General Geiger." The AVC, one of the recipients of the treasonable cable, has espoused the cause of the six marines; Mr. Pegler will no doubt find further evidence of Communist leanings in this defense of such an alien doctrine as the right of assembly.

BY THE TIME THIS ISSUE OF *THE NATION* appears on the stands, transportation in the city of New York may be crippled by a subway strike. The issue arises from the demand of the Transport Workers' Union that it be recognized as sole collective bargaining agent for subway workers. The T. W. U. is willing to submit to an election to determine its claim to represent the majority of these workers. Mayor O'Dwyer, buttressed by an opinion from the city's corporation counsel, John J. Bennett, refuses—as LaGuardia did before him—to recognize the T. W. U. as sole bargaining agent. *The Nation* believes that employees of a business operated by a governmental agency have the same rights of collective bargaining as any other workers. If Seattle, Boston, and other cities can bargain collectively with a transport union, so can New York. That Bennett advises otherwise is not surprising; his training and bias are on the employer side of the fence. An ideal and easy solution would be to apply the principles of the Railway Labor Act to New York City transit, protecting the public against strikes except as a last resort and after mediation, and at the same time giving transit labor the same rights enjoyed by railway labor. That Mayor O'Dwyer prefers a showdown to a compromise of this kind does not speak well for a public official who owes his job to labor support and calls himself a progressive.

✱

ONE OF THE FINEST PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS in the country, the Horace Mann-Lincoln School in New York City, has been sentenced to death by its parent, Teachers College. This Roman verdict has been given without regard to the fact that the school was never more flourishing. It has a splendid faculty, a capacity registration, a long waiting list, the enthusiastic support of parents, and an operating deficit twice covered by income from funds originally donated for its maintenance by the General Education Board. The administration of Teachers College, however, professes to fear that the school might become too heavy a financial responsibility in the event of a new depression; in addition, it desires to use the funds for experimental projects inside the public schools. Since these projects have only been outlined in the most general terms it is impossible to pass judgment on their probable value. The beneficial influence on teaching methods throughout the country of the work that the Horace Mann-Lincoln School has been doing for many years is, on the other hand, a matter of record. That so valuable an institution should be cut off in its prime seems incredible; or, perhaps we should say, would seem so if the administration of Dean William F. Russell at Teachers College, as James Wechsler wrote in *The Nation* of December 17, 1938, had not long been notable for "two continuing elements—internal autocracy and pandering to external conservative elements."

The Fruits of Suspicion

A FEW days after a pillar of fire had ushered in the atomic age President Truman remarked to the world in an offhand way that of course the atom bomb would remain exclusively ours. Political and scientific innocents took this observation for granted, as though a discovery that could blow the world apart was naturally to be regarded in the same light as a slightly improved howitzer. But everyone else knew that we had neither the moral right to exclusive control of a weapon that meant life or death to other nations nor the power to monopolize it even if we had the right.

To the Russians in particular, long nurtured on suspicion and generating it in turn, the Truman view made no sense. They were no more prepared to subject their future to the atomic power of the United States than we would be to throw ourselves on the mercy of the Kremlin. Viewed from this perspective, their attempt to pry loose some of the secrets of the bomb's manufacture is understandable. Were the situation reversed, such efforts by American agents would be defended from every sounding-board in the country as the highest kind of patriotism.

By the same nationalistic standards, Canada has every right and duty to prosecute its own citizens for selling or giving secret information to Soviet agents. One need not take seriously Russia's defensive and self-righteous protest that the whole affair is an elaborate plot in "retaliation for all the annoyance caused by the Soviet delegates to [Prime Minister Mackenzie] King's friends" in the United Nations Assembly. The Canadian informers must be more than creatures of a conspiratorial imagination, since the Russians themselves admit not only that "individual collaborators" did in fact turn over certain information to the Soviet military attaché, but that the Soviet government viewed the matter seriously enough to recall the attaché "in view of the inadmissibility of the activities of these collaborators." Canada, be it noted, made no attempt to round up Russian agents but confined itself to arresting its own nationals. Would the Soviet government have done less? The question is purely rhetorical.

What emerges, then, from this bitter episode, given the *national* approach to control of the atom bomb, is that the Russians were right in attempting to spy out its secrets, that the Canadians were right in trying to frustrate the Russians, that suspicion and fear are fast freezing into a fixed hostility, and that the whole insane progression toward an atomic war threatens to become as inevitable as the spinning out of a Greek tragedy.

It is for President Truman and Congress to decide whether the national approach is worth that price. They can break the cycle of suspicion, defense, and retaliation

by placing the atomic-bomb formula in the hands of the United Nations Security Council, with the proviso that its manufacture by any member state be forever outlawed and a requisite system of inspections established. But the time for this act of supreme statesmanship is running out. Once the Russians have acquired or developed the knowledge for themselves, it will be too late. We may be frantically eager then to bury the horror in the vaults of the UNO, but the Russians may be less enthusiastic about surrendering their hard-won prize. They will know then that we are doing out of fear what we lacked the vision to do when we had the strength.

India: Eleventh Hour

THE decision of the British government to send three senior Cabinet Ministers to India is an impressive gesture, but at this late hour gestures, unless accompanied by positive steps for meeting Indian demands for independence, are useless and even dangerous. For the land to which the mission is going is a land seething with unrest and threatened by disastrous famine. Strikes, riots, and most recently a naval mutiny are signs of a mounting tension. Not many more sparks of this kind are needed to set off the whole powder keg.

Unfortunately, in the face of this situation, the British government does not appear to have selected the strongest possible team for its Indian mission. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the septuagenarian Secretary for India who is to lead it, is a worthy but rather dull parliamentary veteran whose mental arteries have long since hardened. He is noted chiefly as a financial authority, and his only qualification for his job appears to have been his membership of the Round Table Conference in 1931, which paved the way for the last instalment of Indian reform. A. V. Alexander is a leader of the cooperative movement who has gone nautical. He is serving his third tour of duty as First Lord of the Admiralty, that is, civilian head of the navy, whose mannerisms and, we fear, prejudices he has thoroughly assimilated. The third member is Sir Stafford Cripps, still to some extent under the cloud of the failure of his previous mission to India in 1942. That failure was partly due to the nature of his instructions from Mr. Churchill, but his own character may have been a contributing factor. With all his great qualities, Cripps combines a Wilsonian inflexibility—a definite handicap in delicate negotiations.

What is the British policy which will inspire this mission? In essence it does not seem to have changed since 1942. Then the British government announced that it stood for a completely self-governing union of India with dominion status optional, the right of non-accession to the Union secured to dissentient units, a con-

stitution drawn up by a specially created body representing all Indian interests. Or as Prime Minister Attlee said in the House of Commons when announcing the mission, "It is our intention to set up machinery in agreement with the Indians whereby the Indian people themselves will decide their destinies."

There does not appear to be an unbridgeable gap between this prescription and Nehru's demands as formulated in an interview reported on page 253. But the "right of non-accession" may be an obstacle to building that bridge as it has been in the past. For the official organ of the Moslem League, while offering cooperation to the British mission, has declared that the Moslems will never "surrender their right to autonomous, sovereign homelands in the Northwest and Northeast Provinces." Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the League, has stated in recent interviews that the principle of separation between Moslem India and Hindu India must be conceded prior to any discussion of constitutions. Despite Jinnah's threats of revolt if this demand is refused, we think the British representatives should make it clear that the right of secession is a question for Indians to settle themselves and must therefore be discussed in an all-India Constituent Assembly.

It must be recognized that the result might be a boycott of negotiations by the Moslem League and a new deadlock. Nehru, however, has suggested that this difficulty could be overcome if the British agreed to negotiate, not with a committee made up of the different party leaders, but with a conference composed of representatives of the Provincial Assemblies, which, despite the narrow franchise, are the most popularly elected bodies in the country. Such a plan might prove feasible provided Jinnah fails of his ambition to capture at least three of the eleven provincial legislatures in the elections now in progress.

The Moslem-Hindu schism is perhaps the biggest lion in the path of Indian independence, but there are others almost as formidable. Little has been heard lately about the problem of fitting the "independent" princely states—some six hundred of them—into a free, united, and, we hope, democratic, India. The semi-feudal rulers of these states, whose privileges are protected by treaties with the British crown, expect to be represented in any constitution-making body by their own nominees. Leaders of the All-India Congress take the stand that delegates from these states should be elected by the people inhabiting them. Unless the British recognize that the very existence of these states is an anachronism, even though a few of them have been modernized, and take measures to modify their treaty rights, the princes can wreck all negotiations simply by sitting tight.

Whatever concessions Britain makes, it cannot hope to liquidate its centuries-old imperial adventure in India and leave everyone content with the new era. It cannot

afford to wait until a smooth transition to independence can be made. For that would postpone action indefinitely, and one thing we can be sure of—the longer the birth of Indian freedom is held back, the greater the turmoil with which it will be ushered into the world.

Ballot Without Bullets

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

Buenos Aires, February 24

AS I write, the polls are closing throughout Argentina; the nation's most critical election has ended. All day I have toured through the streets of the capital and the industrial suburb of Avellaneda, one of Perón's chief strongholds. I must have passed a hundred polling places. I used my military pass to go inside one of them and watch the voting. Nowhere did I see a hint of disorder. The army guarded the streets and the polls. Soldiers, rifles unlimbered and bayonets fixed, were stationed everywhere. The police were on hand too, but the army's electoral command was in full control. Long queues of voters stretched along the block outside of each polling place. They were calm, sober, business-like. At Radical Party headquarters, reports were coming in from other districts. They were all the same—quiet, no signs of coercion.

To all outward appearance, these have been free elections—at least as free as elections can be after years of intimidation and police control. The fact is astonishing enough to demand explanation.

Credit must go first of all to the people. The Democratic Union, slow to get under way, hampered by the state of siege and the provocations of Perón's strong-arm squads, developed immense strength as the campaign went on, so much strength that its victory seemed certain if the elections were free. Until recently, few expected free elections. The army had guaranteed them, but the people did not trust the army. Why should they? They knew that while Perón's support among the officers had diminished owing to intrigues and conflicts within the clique, he could still count on a strong following there. The army had done nothing since June, 1943, to inspire confidence in its democratic intentions; it had been a faithful instrument of dictatorship deeply imbued with Nazism.

But within the last couple of months the attitude and behavior of the army have begun to change. Even high officers of known Nazi sympathies like von der Becke, who has charge of the elections, reiterated their intention to guard the balloting. Democrats with whom I have talked attribute this change to a variety of causes, chiefly to professional pride. The prestige of the military had sunk so low among the people that many officers left

off their uniforms when they went into the streets. Meanwhile the future of Perón became more ambiguous; the nation's position both in the pan-American regional set-up and in the UNO was obviously deteriorating; the Blue Book drove home the point that any regime headed by Perón would be fatally compromised by his proved Nazi connections and his fascist methods. For these reasons, apparently, the controlling elements in the army decided to live up to their commitment to guard the elections. Cynics believe that the commitment was made when it seemed certain that Perón could walk into office in spite of ostensibly clean elections—through his demagogic appeal to the masses, his use of public funds, propaganda, the effective machine built up in the Department of Labor and Social Welfare, and above all through constant intimidation and violence. They believe that by the time the Democratic Union developed its full strength it was too late for the army to back down on its promise.

This may be true or partly true. It is certain that the power of the democratic people of Argentina, fully awakened to the meaning of the choice confronting them, aroused as never before to their duty as free men and women, was the greatest single factor in forcing a fascist government and army to allow a free election.

This much they have won; whether they have also won the election will not be known certainly for several weeks, although some indication of the result may be available within five or six days. Most of the democratic leaders believe that victory is certain. Many also believe that Perón is finished, that he cannot risk an attempt to seize power in the face of the army's attitude and the democratic triumph, but skeptics are not ready to count their chickens so soon. They argue that the record of the army in Argentine politics offers no reason to believe in its permanent conversion to constitutional practices. They feel even more certain that Perón and his clique will not accept defeat and obligingly disappear without a fight. The Perón machine is an instrument of force. He did not build his military police and arm his rowdies in order to hand over power to a democratic elected government. So they argue, speculating whether he will move as soon as he sees how the vote is swinging or whether he will hold off hoping for the disintegration of the Democratic Union and a new chance to seize power. The worst contingency any of them can imagine is Perón's election. Few believe this possible in view of today's peaceful balloting, but the chance is there. The election of Dutra in Brazil was almost as unexpected. The result of an apparently legal victory for Perón would be disastrous for the anti-fascist forces in Argentina. Its international effect would be even worse. At the very least it would mean a bad defeat for the democratic inter-American policy supported by Mr. Braden.

The Sins of American Liberals

Letter to an American Liberal

[The following letter by the editor of the *New Statesman and Nation* (London) appeared in that weekly on January 19. The *Nation* asked Mr. Lerner to reply in its pages.]

DEAR MAX LERNER: I enjoyed your article in *PM* on General Morgan. I usually enjoy your writing, and on this occasion you fairly let yourself go. It must have been fun to compare the General with Goebbels and to represent him as a Yahoo who regretted that Hitler had not succeeded in exterminating all the Jews. It so happens, as this journal said last week, that the General was guilty of indiscretion, not of Yahooism or anti-Semitism. How did so experienced a journalist as yourself come to make so violent an outburst on the basis of ambiguous phrases quoted out of their context? Surely you cannot have become one of those American liberals who join forces with Colonel McCormick whenever there is a chance of putting Britain in the dock.

Please understand that, this outburst aside, I have no quarrel with you or *PM*, which is an outstanding example of a good paper fighting for good causes against long odds. You yourself have fought valiantly on the right side; you did your best to persuade Americans that it was "later than they thought." Nor do you stand alone among American liberals. I recognize friends and allies every week in the *New Republic* and *Nation*. But some of the tendencies of American liberalism are disturbing. American criticism seems to me oddly subjective, as if it arose less from the facts criticized than from some internal conflict. There is still a strong Puritan strain in the United States. Perhaps the effect of living in so much comfort in a world so near starvation is to generate a sense of guilt, coupled with a fear of the wrath to come. And then, I cannot help thinking that the collapse of Germany and Japan has left you without an external object of vituperation. The devil has his uses, and those who are not prepared to fit the U. S. S. R. into the diabolic role find the British Empire the most satisfying substitute.

Let me pursue the example of Palestine. After the last war the British, partly for reasons of strategic interest and partly from genuinely humanitarian motives, offered the Jews a national home in Palestine. They were attacked for imperialism in doing so, just as they are attacked now for imperialism because they don't suddenly promise to put several million Jews into an Arab country in less than no time. I think the British might

have done more to fulfil their promise if they had taken a more definite line at an earlier stage, but American attacks seem really to ignore the existence of the Arabs altogether. It would have been better, in my view, if the Jews had been content to leaven the cultures of other nations, where they have always played a most distinguished role. However, I well understand why they want a home of their own, and why, after the unique tragedy of the last years, with only a remnant saved from Hitler's slaughter-houses, you are impatient to see them in a land which is not associated with these terrible events. I agree with you that many of them find little hospitality in Europe, mainly, I think, because the Nazis have disposed of all their property to other people, many of whom paid for it in the legal way and naturally do not want to give it up.

But do you know how many of these unfortunate survivors of a tortured race really want to go to Palestine? Is this small and disputed country surrounded by enemies really attractive to most European Jews? I don't know. I am hoping that the Anglo-American Commission will tell me. The only definite statement I've seen is that many of them would prefer to stay in Europe if we can design tolerable conditions for them there, while the majority of those who want to emigrate would prefer America to Palestine.

Whatever happens in Palestine, the number of Jews who can go there is limited, and I can't help wondering why you do not advocate that some of the Jewish refugees who arrive in the crowded and hungry British zone should be taken over by the Americans, whose zone is little devastated and comparatively well fed. And why should not many of them emigrate to the United States, if only on the German quota, which I presume has not been taken up during the war? You could write a magnificent article demanding the right of Jewish entry into America—which flows with milk and honey, even if it is not the original Promised Land.

Such a suggestion, which seems so obvious to us, must come from American rather than British pens. It might savor of criticism, and the British are too polite to criticize America. We know that Americans—for some reason that it would be worth while to analyze at length on another occasion—assume that it is good for the British to be attacked in unmeasured terms, while British "interference in American business" is said only to do harm, worsening relations and making things more difficult for American reformers. That puts a very considerable responsibility upon you. A socialist like yourself, Max, knows that America is not in fact streamlined

in chromium from Hollywood to Fifth Avenue, but is a nation with poverty (I've seen your share-croppers literally starving in Arkansas and Mississippi) as great as any in Poland or Hungary; you know that to millions in the United States freedom means freedom to be unemployed; that the racialism you rightly condemn in its most extreme form in Nazi Germany, as you do in its milder forms in the British Empire, is the accepted basis of society throughout your Southern states. American liberals love writing articles about this effete little island, which in fact fought Germany for a year by itself; they do not even dare to tell the American public that British casualties in the war were higher—not relatively, but positively—than those of America, which has three times our population.

You know all these things and you understand clearly enough the conflicts inside the United States. Are you not a bit out of date in bothering so much about British imperialism, which is in retreat even in India, Greece, and Indonesia? What about your own racialism? And if you are really worried about imperialism, let me call your attention to the aspirations of some of your own generals and your business tycoons.

By all means preach to us in your spare time; to do so is always the privilege of those who have bomb-proof pulpits. But I am not sure, if you once get to work on your own complex problems, that you will have much leisure left over for preaching about ours. We built our Labor Party during a period of British imperialism because socialists were no longer content to be a mere adjunct of the Liberal Party. But except in two states an American socialist still has to choose between voting Democrat or Republican. Will this choice content you in the Presidential election at the end of Mr. Truman's term? How far will you be able to defend your liberties if American business decides that the best way out of its present economic mess is to beat the imperial drum and maintain a huge program of national armaments and a policy of foreign adventure? I know today America is rushing back to civilian life and free enterprise; but the contrast between strikes and labor crises today and booming profits during the period of war-time discipline carries a lesson that may not be lost on American capitalists. If they fail in their present trial of strength with the C. I. O., some of them may get round to the notion that an American Duce could make trains run on time.

These are only questions thrown out to you across the Atlantic; but they do need answering. For I cannot avoid the conclusion, as I read the violent diatribes of American liberals against Britain, that they are born less of knowledge of British sins than of a sense of frustration in your own country, of uneasiness about its future, and of guilt about its share of responsibility for the world's misery.

KINGSLEY MARTIN

Answer to a British Laborite

DEAR KINGSLEY MARTIN: What strikes me hardest about your letter is the curiously nationalist level on which it is written. I know you are a socialist, but in this instance you do not write as one. You write rather as an Englishman writing to an American—quick to resent any criticism of British policy on Palestine, defensive about the Empire, insistent that the British be given credit for their war losses, caustic about the "bomb-proof" position of the Americans, invidious in comparing the internal problems and positions of the British Labor Party and of American liberals, to the decided disadvantage of the latter. It is a mote-and-beam letter you have written me. I do not take it personally. If I read it aright, it is directed less to me than to American liberals as a group, uncohesive though we are. My piece on General Morgan merely touched off an ammunition charge which had evidently been accumulating for some time in your mind. But what troubles me in your letter, as it troubles me in the fiery speeches of your Foreign Secretary, is that you should dwell so much on patriotic resentment when the deep maladies of our time require a socialist analysis and humanist outlook.

Let me start with some simple questions of humanism, and then go on to the more complex questions of socialism.

The General Morgan incident was of importance partly because it lit up for a brief revealing moment not only the tragic plight of the Jews but the corrosion of the democratic conscience. Try to remember what the past two decades should have taught us about how fragile is the heritage of human decency and how thin the veneer that separates us from the beast crouching in the jungle of the human instincts. That is the central lesson of the fascist adventure, a terrifying lesson that goes beyond Germany and the Germans. Seven million Jews were killed in Europe, under conditions that underline the great moral fact of our time—the atomizing of the human conscience, the deadening of human sensibilities. Try to see the Morgan incident within this context. You say that General Morgan was "guilty of indiscretion." This can only mean that he spoke the truth but was tactless about it. I welcome the truth, and I don't care about the discretion: in fact, I recoil from the notion that this is anything to be discreet about.

I agreed with the General about the Jews wanting to get out of Europe, but I asked whether the desire to get away from what is a cemetery of their people was a crime to be charged against them. I agreed that others were helping them, but I asked whether it was not Goebbelsesque to call their help a "secret Jewish force" and a "world conspiracy." And when the General was quoted as saying—I have seen none of these phrases denied—that the Jewish refugees were the "hard core" that contained the "seeds of the third world war," I saw in his

words an ironic reversal by which the pitiful remnants of Hitler's victims had become not the accusers at the bar but the accused in the dock. And in this reversal I found—and still find—that atomizing of the democratic conscience that can only lead to Yahooism.

We had cherished some hopes that on the question of Palestine the British Colonial Office was not speaking the mind of the non-office-holding members of the Labor Party like yourself, but your letter dashes those hopes. You speak scornfully of putting "several million Jews into an Arab country in less than no time." Doesn't that beg the question of the historical claims of the Jews and the legal commitments to them? And wasn't the issue a matter not of several million Jewish immigrants but of a hundred thousand to start with? And is it fair to say "less than no time," considering the long successive delays over immigration? You ask why the Jews of Europe are not "content to leaven the cultures of other nations." Surely you will not disagree that they are economically excluded from the Eastern Europe which was their home, and that any leavening they would do there from now on would be with their blood and their humiliation.

You ask whether they "really want to go to Palestine," whether it is "really attractive to them." The most recent testimony we have is from Bartley Crum, an American member of the Joint Inquiry Commission, who has seen these people and reports not only that they are almost unanimous in wanting to go to Palestine but also that they are on the point of mass suicide. You ask why I do not write an article "demanding the right of Jewish entry into America." The answer is that I did exactly that—a week before I wrote on General Morgan—in a PM piece called Shall America Be a Closed Country? And in another piece three weeks before that, called Cant, I attacked our Congressmen for complaining of British policy in Palestine when "not a single one of these champions of the despised and rejected has dared suggest in Congress that the gates of America should be opened to new mass immigration."

I say all this only to get the record straight. Any argument about whether American racism—toward both Jews and Negroes—is worse than British imperialism, or vice versa, is a fruitless argument, and for socialists it comes close to being infantile. For myself I write not as an American or a Jew but as a democrat and socialist who cares more deeply about the strengthening of human decency and integrity than about anything else in the twelve corners of the world. It is these human values that are at stake, Kingsley—not just Jewish hopes or Arab resistance or British power or the American sense of guilt.

When it comes to the question of working for a socialist democracy, we in America are in many respects the pupils of your British Labor movement. If we believe

that there are "two nations" in England, we have the massive authority of Disraeli to back us up; and we know there are also two nations in America. This knowledge is what should cement us to you in a common struggle. We have uniformly made the distinction that the Labor writers have taught us to make in their pamphlets—K. Zilliacus, for example, in foreign policy and Aneurin Bevan in domestic—between the acts of the Tory rulers in the past and the deepest wishes of the British common people.

We have admired and supported the people of Great Britain, as against their ruling class, from the beginning of the world crisis. I am sorry that you should speak of my "bomb-proof pulpit," and complain that we do not tell the American people about British casualty lists. The American liberals supported the cause of the British people from the war's beginning, not out of any Anglo-philism but because we knew their cause was mankind's as well. If we now attack the foreign policy of the British government, it is not out of any Anglophobia, or even—though I hate to spoil your psychiatric probings—out of a sense of our own guilt, but because that foreign policy deserves attack for humanist reasons. And if I read the Parliamentary reports correctly, and also the *New Statesman* and the *London Tribune*, there are members of your own party who attack it in the same strain. What was reactionary policy when practiced by Churchill and Eden does not become, by some curious alchemy, socialist policy when practiced by Attlee and Bevin.

But I would give a false picture of my views if I dwelt on this phase at any length. I think the American liberals try to see the whole British picture in perspective. We regard with envy the starts you are making in nationalizing the mines and electric power, and in housing and social security. We know something about the economic losses you have suffered, as well as the loss in lives, and the difficulty of your economic position. We have given every energy to overcoming Congressional opposition to the pending loan, and from the beginning we asked that its terms be more generous. I say this not out of defensiveness or a desire to make a conspicuous display of virtue, but again to set the record straight on how the vast majority of American liberals feel.

It is not preaching, however, to make a sharp analysis of the conditions of socialist success. Neither the Labor Party in England nor the New Dealers in the United States have thus far been successful in achieving a democratic socialism. If you are closer to the goal than we, you are approaching it under a heavier burden. We have to cope with the tenacity of capitalist power and with an outworn party set-up. But you have the terrible burden of somehow trying to equate the retention of a colonial empire with a socialist society. We in America believe you must make the choice between colonialism and so-

cialism: we do not believe that the two are compatible. And we are dismayed when, in your efforts to hold on to imperial power—in Palestine, Indonesia, India—you not only endanger your socialism but come very close to betraying the simplest human values. I don't pretend that

the fight is an easy one: it is easy neither in England nor in America. But in the struggle for a socialist democracy, as in everything else, to acknowledge the mistakes and face the tests is the beginning of wisdom.

MAX LERNER

India's Passage to Freedom

BY ALICE THORNER

During the war analyst of Indian affairs in the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission

New Delhi, January 19

THE issue in India today is no longer one of interim arrangements and war-time expedients. Indians want a final settlement that will put an end to British rule, and they want it now. Yesterday, in a special interview for *The Nation*, I asked Jawaharlal Nehru, who has been preaching this doctrine to enthusiastic multitudes the length and breadth of the country, just how the Indian National Congress proposes to achieve independence.

The background for his answer is found in the bitter history of the past three and a half years, beginning with the leaderless, incoherent uprising of August, 1942. At the very time when popular forces all over the world were gathering in the great tide that finally crushed fascism, India's national leaders were in jail and its people sunk in apathy. The failure of the Simla conference last June completed the disillusionment of the newly released Congress leaders about achieving any satisfactory agreement with the government without a display of strength. Simla also embittered them against the Moslem League, whose demand for a politically autonomous Moslem homeland they vehemently rejected. In September the All-India Congress Committee revived "Quit India" as a fighting slogan. Since then the Congress has been busy mending its political fences with a view to a showdown with both the government and the league in the provincial elections. By April, when the balloting will be completed, Congress confidently expects to have received an overwhelming popular mandate as the chosen instrument of India's deliverance.

The league has similarly concentrated its energies on the coming poll with the aim of proving that India's 100,000,000 Moslems will be satisfied with nothing less than partition. Already it is clear that the vision of an independent Pakistan, comprising three provinces in the northwest and two in the northeast, has won the support of a considerable section of the Moslems. Thus the contention between the two great parties can be reduced to whether there shall be one or two free Indias.

Food shortage, land rents, debt reduction, labor strikes,

unemployment, economic planning, caste barriers, civil liberties, simply do not exist as election issues. Non-violence, although again confirmed by the Congress Working Committee last month, is alien to the temper of the times. Congress leaders nourish anti-government feelings on memories of the ruthless stamping out of the 1942 agitation. Congress election rallies thrill to glowing accounts of the "Indian National Army" which Subhas Chandra Bose, a former Congress president, organized in Japanese-held Malaya with the avowed purpose of driving the British out of India. Mahatma Gandhi's spiritual prestige is today overshadowed by Vallabhbhai Patel's grip on the Congress machine, Sarat Bose's control of his brother's old stronghold of Bengal, and Jawaharlal Nehru's unmatched popularity.

This week in Delhi crowds are besieging the house where the Congress high command confers on election strategy, hoping to catch a glimpse of Jawaharlal. Everywhere is a feeling that after the stalemate of the war years the Indian people are again on the move. Outlining his program for the transfer of power, Nehru said:

In essence the Indian problem is simple. Britain must decide on the recognition of India as an independent country, and on a freely elected Constituent Assembly having full authority to frame her constitution. Once this is done, the rest becomes fairly easy, although no doubt many hurdles will have to be got over.

He was particularly concerned to avoid a repetition of the deadlock which wrecked the Simla conference, when the Congress and the league were unable to agree on what constituted legitimate Moslem representation:

The easiest and fairest way to proceed is *not* to deal with parties as such, or with religious or other groupings, but with the provincial legislatures after they are elected. It is unfortunate that their franchise is a limited one. Nevertheless, we shall have something which does represent the people.

What subjects, I asked, should be referred to these provincial assemblies, and how could they be consulted?

The first two questions that will arise immediately after the elections will be the convoking of a Constit-

uent Assembly and the formation of a new central government to function as a "caretaker" until the new constitution comes into effect. In the solution of both of these problems the newly elected provincial legislatures should have the dominant voice.

The eleven legislatures, he explained, could select delegates from among their members to form a preliminary conference. This might possibly develop into the constitution-making body, and would in any case lay the ground for it.

Would the Moslems agree to take part in such a conference? Nehru's reply was that Congress would spare no effort to assure them a fair voice in the proceedings. The delegates from the provincial legislatures, he suggested, could well be elected by the proportional system to allow minority groups full representation. Or, if they preferred, the Moslem members of the legislatures could get together and elect their own delegates. Nehru thought it very unlikely that any provincial legislature as a whole would refuse to cooperate. He explained that Congress, as either the majority party or the largest single party, expected to form ministries in eight of the provinces; there would probably be coalition governments in the other three. If a Moslem League ministry came to power in one province and would not join with the others, he imagined it would be possible to go ahead without that province and see what would happen later on.

I asked him about the recent statement of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that Pakistan could be achieved only through a civil war. Nehru answered:

No question arises of any civil conflict. It is already agreed that the largest possible autonomy should be given to the constituent units of the federation. Ultimately if any particular area wants to walk out, it can do so, provided it clearly expresses its decision on a specific proposal. But if any attempt is made to force areas to remain outside the federation against their will, as Mr. Jinnah suggests [Nehru refers here to Hindu and Sikh populations within the borders of the provinces claimed for Pakistan], then inevitably there will be conflict.

It must be remembered that there can be no absolute self-determination anywhere. There are some overriding considerations, such as those of defense, which cannot be ignored. This is especially important in view of the situation developing in the Middle East.

He predicted that when Moslems were faced with the actual economic and political problems involved in separating predominantly Moslem areas from the Indian state, they would lose their present enthusiasm for Pakistan.

What, I asked, would be your criterion of the good faith of Britain in the course of these preliminaries?

The Labor government [he replied], if it is at all sincere, should recognize the Constituent Assembly as having final authority. If it is treated merely as a consultative body, then nothing gets going at all

Pandit Nehru was also anxious to make clear to American readers the importance of Asia in all world calculations and the key place of Indian independence in the stability of Asia:

Asia is likely to play a far greater role in the future than in the past few hundred years. If there should be, unfortunately, another world war, Asia is likely to be a bigger center of it than Europe. In any consideration of war or peace in Asia, India is crucial both for the Middle East and for Southeast Asia. I have little doubt that if India had been given an opportunity to cooperate in the war as a free country, the struggle might have ended a year or two earlier and millions of lives might have been saved. If India gains its independence soon, far-reaching changes will follow in the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and new and peaceful groupings will develop in certain present-day danger spots.

Although Nehru contends that there is no final solution for the world except a federation of free nations, his attitude toward the UNO is wait and see. He raised questions about the recent policies of Britain and Russia and had a warning for the United States:

The events in Indonesia have been bitterly resented all over Asia and especially in India because Indian troops have been used there. What is happening in Iran has also disturbed people here. I recently referred to the United States as to some extent underwriting the British Empire. I did not mean that American policy as a whole was committed in that direction, but there were certainly some trends which I considered dangerous. I can well understand how in the world context today America wants to help Britain in many ways. That is necessary and desirable. But the point is that there must be a distinction between helping Britain and helping the British Empire. To do the latter is really to weaken Britain in the long run as well as those who support her. And the long run is likely to be a short run.

The essence of Nehru's belief is that a strong, free India is indispensable to the peace of the world. He calls upon Britain in its own best interests to hand over the reins of power to whomever the Indian people choose as their representatives. He maintains that once the principle of independence is granted, Moslem demands can be settled within the framework of the Congress program. He hinges his whole formula on British willingness to leave final decisions on all constitutional matters to an elected Constituent Assembly. In effect he has stated the terms on which the Congress will undertake to insure a peaceful transition period. Whether the program he outlines can succeed will depend on the relative bargaining power of the Congress, the league, and the government at the close of the elections, the intensity of the desire for Pakistan, and the extent of an aroused people's patience with protracted constitutional procedures. The next few months will show whether India's passage to freedom can be a smooth one.

German Casualties: New Evidence

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

Historian and political scientist; during the war a member of the Psychological Warfare Division

GERMANY, said a famous German general whom I interviewed at the time of the Nazi collapse, "is through as a military power. We have lost at least five million men and we shall not be able to recover. We are *kaput*."

The General had been the chief propagandist of the Wehrmacht, and I wondered whether his statement was not the beginning of a new propaganda line. I recalled that when peace came in 1918 many people were convinced that Germany could not easily recoup its terrible losses in man-power. Almost three million Germans had died for the Kaiser, and nearly twice as many more had been disabled. Yet twenty years later, when Germans who were boys then had grown up, the Reich furnished Hitler a mightier army than it had Wilhelm.

Today as in 1918 German sympathizers, not necessarily Nazis, are saying that the fantastic number of men killed in this war has permanently crippled the Reich, and that we need no longer fear its military might. The argument obviously depends upon the number of casualties suffered by Germany in World War II. What are the facts?

No reliable official figures of German losses exist. To the best of my knowledge, even the Allied governments have only estimates, not accurate data. The Nazi leaders undoubtedly knew the truth, but they kept it to themselves. Casualties were published for the purposes of political propaganda. In the latter part of the war Hitler exaggerated them in order to incite the German people to their utmost efforts. In effect, he said: You have already made such a colossal investment in blood that you cannot back out now; millions of men have died and more must be sacrificed in order that it shall not have been in vain.

This explains why such wild statements about German losses are current today. Two months before his end, Hitler told the people that the Reich had suffered 12,500,000 casualties, of which number half were killed. Just before the surrender Berlin raised the figure to 16,000,000—3,500,000 in one month—6,000,000 of them killed. Astronomical figures were also circulated by the Russians, who for their own political reasons made gigantic claims concerning the number of Germans they had slaughtered. These imaginary statistics spread through the world, reaching new heights with each retelling. Recently, for instance, a Swiss periodical, the *Nation*, reported that Germany had lost no fewer than

8,500,000 in killed and 6,300,000 in wounded. If this were true, it would mean that around 40 per cent of all Germany's males, including male babies, boys, youths, middle-aged men, and old men, were dead or disabled—a preposterous assumption, as everybody who visits Germany can perceive.

To arrive at an approximation of the truth, a colleague and I investigated the matter experimentally in a number of German towns. The conclusion we came to was that German losses in this war were not so great as in World War I. Our experiments were of course limited and therefore liable to error, but here is the evidence we turned up. The figures are at least honest and precise, not estimates colored by politics.

In considering how to attack the problem, I recalled the ingenious techniques employed by historians to obtain light on population, wealth, and trade in the ages before public records were kept. One of their methods was to consult the church records of births and burials. I decided to search out the number of German casualties in the same way.

The first town we chose as a sample was Breinig, near Aachen. It was a typical small town of three thousand inhabitants, and fortunately its church records were intact. The parish priest cooperated gladly. He explained that the community was nearly 100 per cent Catholic and that the people worked in factories and on farms. There was no great wealth and no great poverty. The most important thing for our purpose was that the priest had kept a complete record of all the men of Breinig who had fallen in battle. His "*Liber Mortuorum*" was a thick, meticulously kept volume which contained in Latin the names, ages, and parentage of all his parishioners who had died. With his help we made a list of the casualties.

The record covered exactly five years of war, from September, 1939, to September, 1944. During this period 600 men of Breinig were taken into the German armed forces. Of these, the priest said, "an enormous number were wounded," twenty were missing (many of them probably as prisoners in Russia; with no Red Cross contact between Germany and the Soviet Union, no reports of prisoners were received), and sixty-four were killed. If we assumed that half the missing were dead, the number of killed became seventy-four, or 2½ per cent of the town's population.

The Breinig record also gave interesting information on where and when the men were killed. An eloquent

story of Germany's war fortunes could be read between the lines of the "Liber Mortuorum." For the first two years of the war, until Hitler's invasion of Russia, Breinig had only three men killed, one of them at sea. This checks with the larger picture; the Germans seized Poland, overran the Low Countries, and crushed France with a minimum of cost to themselves. It was only after Hitler slashed at the Soviet Union that the curve of losses began to mount sharply. About three-fourths of all the dead of the Breinig parish were listed as killed on the Russian front.

The next town we visited was Bardenberg, which had a population of 4,100. Like Breinig, its inhabitants were Catholic factory and farm workers. Records kept by the church were not so complete as in Breinig, but the priest was able to fill in some of the gaps from memory and by inquiry among his parishioners. Between September, 1939, and September, 1944, Bardenberg lost 90 men killed—2.2 per cent of the population, compared to Breinig's 2.5 per cent. The difference may be accounted for by the gaps in the Bardenberg record. The majority of the men of Bardenberg also fell in Russia.

Two other towns yielded similar percentages. In Fischeln, near Krefeld, where the deputy mayor kept the town records, we learned that 200 men had been killed out of a population of 9,000. Fischeln, too, was a Catholic community with a small-business and working-class

population. Here the percentage was 2.2 per cent, the same as in Bardenberg. In World War I, Fischeln's dead had numbered 252, and the population had not changed. The fourth town, Frecheln, a Rhineland community of 16,000, lost 400 men, or 2.5 per cent of the population.

If we assume that this percentage is typical of the country as a whole, and apply it to the German population of roughly 75,000,000, we get 1,875,000 as the number of German killed. My figures, however, cover only the first five years of the war, up to September, 1944. Between October, 1944, and May, 1945, the Allies probably killed another 500,000 Germans, which gives a total of 2,375,000. If to this we add the 500,000 civilians who, according to the United States bombing survey, lost their lives in Allied air raids, the grand total is 2,875,000.

I am presenting these figures with the warning that they are based upon limited records. But I believe that in the absence of reliable statistics they deserve consideration. If the Germans lost less than three million men, the war, in terms of human life, was for them a cheap one. They had directly or indirectly caused the death of an estimated twenty to twenty-five million human beings in Europe. They had also subjected most of Europe to dangerous undernourishment while they themselves remained reasonably well fed. Biologically, therefore, the Germans cannot be said to have lost the war.

Atoms Won't Wait

BY LOUIS N. RIDENOUR

Professor of Physics, University of Pennsylvania; during the war expert consultant to the Secretary of War and member of the Radar Committee of the Combined Chiefs of Staff

THE two billion dollars spent on the atomic bomb gave us more than a weapon of unparalleled effectiveness. They gave us a new power technology, which may become revolutionary but cannot be fully exploited now because operation of an atomic power plant involves the manufacture of atomic explosives on the side. These explosives can be separated from the uranium fueling the power plant and used for atomic bombs if bombs are wanted. A nation's total installed atomic horse-power measures its capacity for making atomic bombs; experts say the change-over time would be short. In this difficult situation the United States is awaiting the development of enforceable safeguards against the improper use of atomic energy before revealing the important features of its atomic technology. Although this policy will inevitably delay the development of atomic power, there is little disagreement about its wisdom.

Unfortunately, the veil of secrecy which it has been decided shall continue to cover much of the war-time work of the Manhattan Engineer District is being ex-

tended to cover it all. This rule seems unnecessarily sweeping. Secrecy about the medical knowledge gained in the atomic-bomb project cannot possibly be considered desirable. Yet though the great nuclear chain-reacting piles at Hanford, Washington, are ceaselessly producing radioactive substances of tremendous importance to clinical medicine and medical research, the many hospitals, universities, and industries which have applied to the army for radioactive material have so far been consistently refused. Let us examine the technical background of the question.

Fifty years ago this month Henri Becquerel launched the science of radioactivity in a paper read before the Academy of Science in Paris. He reported his observation that compounds of uranium emit rays which can affect a photographic plate, even through materials opaque to ordinary light. Only three months earlier Roentgen had announced his discovery of X-rays. Early workers in radioactivity and X-rays often suffered fatal burns because the serious effect of these rays on living tissue was not

understood. Means were later developed for the measurement and exact control of radiation dosage, and safety standards were established. An overdose of radiation is now rare.

Intensities of radiation produced in the work on the atomic bomb were fantastically higher than any ever produced before. Much of the radiation consisted of neutrons, which were first discovered in 1932 and whose physiological effects had been investigated only in a preliminary way before the war. Sharp attention was paid to health problems raised by these intensities. In addition to radiation hazards, the medical experts had to deal with the danger of ingestion or inhalation of the various radioactive or toxic materials handled, many of which were substances not occurring in nature and possessing unknown properties. An enormous amount of work has been done on these and other problems. The results, and their extension by every qualified research agency, are clearly of the greatest possible importance to a world entering its atomic age. Yet the only official summary of them available is that contained in Professor Smyth's report. Quoted in its entirety, it runs, "Extensive and valuable results were obtained."

Even before the work on the atomic-bomb project we had been able to add to the forty or so different kinds of radioactive atoms occurring in nature some three hundred new kinds. By the end of 1939 every one of the chemical elements was represented by at least one type of radioactive atom. These new types were created in the course of the atomic transmutations that men were learning to cause and control.

The great practical importance of these radioactive specimens of the common chemical elements arises from our ability to use the sensitive techniques of radioactivity research to detect extremely small quantities of them. By mixing a tiny quantity of radioactive iron with a sample of ordinary iron we can tag the sample for future identification. No matter what complicated chemical or physical changes may occur in it, the tagged sample can always be surely recognized by its radioactivity.

The value of such a tag can be illustrated by its use in a typical investigation. The problem was to find a preservative for whole blood which would permit it to be stored for some time before use. The donors of the blood to be treated with the preservative under test were fed small quantities of an iron compound containing radioactively tagged iron; their red cells took up some of this iron and were thus themselves tagged. After the transfusion a small blood sample was taken from the patient. The red cells from the stored blood could be identified by their radioactivity, and their number was a precise indication of the effectiveness of the preservative.

Similar techniques are valuable in other fields—in physics, chemistry, botany, metallurgy. To exploit them, we must have artificial radioactive elements. These can

be and are being made by the bombardment of suitable targets in a cyclotron. But only small quantities of radioactive material can be made in this way, and all but a few of the working cyclotrons in the country are in the hands of the Manhattan District. The greatest source of most of the known types of radioactive atoms are the huge piles now producing atomic explosives. Some radioactive atoms occur as the atomic fragments resulting from the fission of uranium—the process which keeps the piles running—and are thus true by-products. Others can be made by inserting targets of suitable material into the piles, where an intense neutron bombardment changes stable atoms of the target into radioactive ones. The piles can produce radioactive examples of some elements whose intensity of radiation rivals that of all the refined radium in the world. Artificial radio-elements can be used as a substitute for radium or X-rays in therapy and in medical and industrial radiography. But these radioactive by-products are now being stored underground and allowed to decay, and targets are not being inserted into the piles for any purpose except to further the army's investigations.

Until three months ago the army was perfectly justified in refusing to arrange for the equitable distribution of radioactive by-products to competent and worthy research agencies. It expected to be promptly relieved of the entire problem by the passage of the May-Johnson atomic-energy bill, which provided for the appointment by the President of an Atomic Energy Commission with plenary powers; the army did not wish to circumscribe these powers by previous policy decisions. However, widespread objection to certain features of the bill made it clear that proper legislation on so complicated and vital a subject demanded much more consideration than it had been given. Accordingly, a special Committee on Atomic Energy was set up under Senator McMahon to hear testimony and to "report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date by bill or otherwise" on matters relating to the development, use, and control of atomic energy. Pending the passage by Congress of a law governing these matters, the army is still the proprietor of the atom.

Since no atomic legislation is likely to be passed in the near future, it would seem desirable for the army to act now on matters about which a future commission could hardly have a different opinion. The most urgently needed steps are the immediate clearance of all the project's medical and biological work and the distribution of artificial radio-elements to the proper agencies. The latter could be arranged by selecting a responsible organization, say, the National Academy of Sciences, to receive and coordinate requests for such material and report its recommendations to the army. It is now six months since the explosion over Hiroshima—and high time for a realistic appraisal of the degree of secrecy we actually need to preserve.

Bread, Bills, and Bevinism

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

The Nation's *London* correspondent

London, February 11

IF ONE accepts G. K. Chesterton's poetic version of British social history, in 1649—when a king lost his head—"a few men talked of freedom, while England talked of ale." In these days of 1946 England's leading conversational subject is not the problem of supposedly liberated Europe and Asia but dried eggs. Their abrupt removal from the nation's diet, coupled with the halving of the meager lard ration and reversion to war-time "high-extraction" flour for bread, has come as a hard psychological blow to the public, particularly since there is an uneasy feeling that we have not yet seen the full extent of this renewed enforcement of austerity. The Tory press, delighted with the chance to canalize popular resentment against a Labor government, is doing its best to build up an atmosphere of political crisis, with talk of back-bench revolts and ministerial failures. This is a gross distortion of realities: the British housewife and her husband find the food cuts a bitter pill, but they are swallowing it philosophically, in the knowledge that, so far as cereals and fats are concerned, it is a question of over-all scarcity in an interdependent world, and that Britain is still better off than most European countries.

Criticism of the government on this issue will center in two points. Why were Parliament and public left so unprepared for decisions which the Cabinet must have foreseen long before Sir Ben Smith's Christmas visit to Washington? And why were the Ministers of Agriculture and Labor so slow to adjust their departmental strategy in accordance with their Food colleague's appreciation of coming needs? There is an uncomfortable impression of faulty staff work, imperfect collaboration, and a Micawberish clinging to hopes of something "turning up." The present stoppage of imports of dried eggs was evidently determined on last September on the supposition—hardly warranted by the Washington Combined Food Board's crop estimates—that poultry feed in 1946 would be more plentiful here. But far from reinsuring against grain scarcity, the Minister of Agriculture, by cutting the 1946 wheat subsidy from \$16 to \$8 an acre, allowed farmers to put much land back to "roots" and grazing; and only last month the Minister of Labor announced the prospective call-up of 8,000 young agricultural workers for the services. This lunatic misdirection of man-power has now been hurriedly canceled, use of much more German prisoner-of-war labor on the land is planned, and larger wheat subsidies are likely to be enacted in haste. It is late in the day, however, to ex-

pect farmers to change their spring-sowing plans, and war-time bread means fewer millers' waste products for feed. Making due allowance for the recent worsening of the world crop outlook through drought in India and South Africa, the government will not find it easy to answer the charge that it either was caught napping or has been guilty of the cardinal sin of not taking the public into its confidence soon enough.

Meanwhile, if the loss of those dried eggs leaves a bad gap in the family menu, the Parliamentary plate is piled high. Coal nationalization, comprehensive social insurance, investment control, housing subsidies, and the repeal of the 1927 Trade Disputes Act—all these measures have been launched on their legislative voyage since the House reassembled three weeks ago; and hard on their heels are bills to establish a national health service and to deal with "development value" of land. The government should have little difficulty in pressing forward its heavy program apace. The Opposition—with Churchill sketching the Miami water front and marketing his great, once "secret," war speeches to Mr. Luce—is sensationally ineffective; and so far as domestic legislation is concerned, the snipers of the left wing are unlikely to use obstructively the license to speak and vote freely which was accorded by last month's revision of party-standing orders.

In briefest terms—for this congeries of bills is too overwhelming to review in detail—Mr. Shinwell will get what is really a blank check to finance and organize a New Deal in the coal mines. In committee the mine owners' Tory spokesmen will haggle over the elaborate details of compensation: they hate the idea of payment in non-marketable government bonds, and they will fight the inclusion of the profitable coke ovens and by-product plants in the assets to be taken over by the state. But in the case of coal the battle for private ownership has been lost; shots from the retreating Tory rear guard will be perfunctory. They will reserve their fire for the one-clause bill repealing the 1927 Trade Disputes Act. This bill's passage, which they dare not use their majority in the House of Lords to prevent, will restore the right of civil servants to belong to unions in the T. U. C., will replace "contracting-in" by "contracting-out" as the basis of collecting contributions to unions' political funds, and will make a general strike as legal (or illegal? It was never judicially settled) as it was in 1926. Here, the Tories will proclaim, is the threat of red ruin. In truth there is a bare chance that some unions may

allocate their increased political funds to the Communist Party, but save for nervous old ladies and retired colonels in Bournemouth nobody is going to get excited over the removal of pains and penalties attaching to this or that form of strike. If conditions ever recur here which lead to a general strike being declared by our constitutional-minded T. U. C., there will be a revolutionary situation in which acts of Parliament are "scraps of paper."

Needless to repeat, British Labor today is not thinking in terms of revolutions; it is thinking of social security à la Beveridge and of housing. Aneurin Bevan has introduced a bill providing a minimum subsidy of \$88 a year for working-class dwellings built by local authorities. This should enable municipalities to go ahead quickly with their building schemes, which are still in many areas hanging fire, and it will bring rentals down to a manageable figure. But for every 100,000 houses built it will mean an annual cost of \$8,000,000 to the Exchequer and of \$2,500,000 to the local ratepayers. By this time next year, when the subsidy is to be reviewed, Bevan will have to get the present inflated costs of building down substantially, or the ultimate financial burden of the whole national program of 4,000,000 new houses, including the expense of necessary slum clearances, will be staggering.

Future cost figures, too, are a debatable element in the National Insurance bill which Mr. Griffiths is piloting smoothly through its first stages. So far as its basic principles are concerned, the measure is practically non-controversial and derives, except in minor points, from Coalition agreement. The contributions are going to make a sizable hole in wage packets, but the benefits, in unemployment, sickness, and old age, are good value. From the left there may be criticism that for unemployment, in contrast to sickness, the principle of the hated means test attached to "extended benefit" is not wholly discarded, though it is not to be applied in the immediate future. The Opposition's line will be to stress the rising cost of the scheme to the Exchequer through the prospective growth of expenditure on the \$6.50 weekly pensions in an aging population. In thirty years' time the insurance account, notwithstanding a yearly contribution by the Exchequer of over \$900,000,000, will be "in the red" to the extent annually of \$1,800,000,000, which the taxpayer will have to find; and this takes no account of the coming cost to the Exchequer of children's allowances and the national medical service.

The scheme which Aneurin Bevan has devised for this service has not yet been presented to Parliament, but its outlines are pretty well known. Hospitals, except those attached to universities as teaching centers, will be nationalized under the control of regional boards; local authorities will be required to promote public health centers where all will enjoy free medical treatment from a pool of state-salaried doctors; doctors who prefer

to go on working from their own surgeries will draw official salaries for their "public" work—that is, attendance, gratis, on nationally insured patients—but will be allowed to have private fee-paying patients, if they can find any when practically the whole population is entitled to free doctoring. This is an odd, typically British transition from professional private enterprise to *étatisme*, but it may work—provided always that the state salaries are liberal and sufficiently up-graded in poor industrial districts to correct the present tendency of doctors to settle, naturally enough, in well-to-do districts.

To complete this legislative *tour d'horizon*, there is also the Investment Control bill—not a very constructive measure. As forecast in this correspondence, it perpetuates in the main the "negative" restrictions on new issues of share capital exercised during the war by the Treasury. The Chancellor will have power to guarantee interest and principal on "development" loans up to a maximum of \$200,000,000 a year. This is an innovation, but the sum is clearly inadequate to offset capitalist underinvestment in a slump. We are still a long way from having a National Investment Board as the main provider of new capital. Labor back-benchers were disappointed by the bill, but it has to be recognized that so long as such a big sector of the national economy is in the hands of private enterprise, the provision of capital exclusively by a public board would be illogical and difficult to work.

All in all, it is fair to say that the government's legislative program is regarded by its supporters both in Parliament and in the constituencies as a satisfying installment of pledges fulfilled. The increased Labor majority at the Preston by-election points to general public approval of domestic policy. It is in respect to foreign policy that there is increasing bewilderment and dismay. Concern was loudly voiced from Labor back benches last week when the Foreign Office selected Cadogan and Peterson for the United Nations' headquarters and the Moscow embassy. There is a widespread feeling that we are maintaining as our diplomatic agents in a score of capitals the type of man who is temperamentally and by training quite unfitted to speak for a British Labor movement or to gauge realities in the post-war world. But these criticisms are only a reflection of general labor uneasiness over Bevinism in the approach to foreign affairs.

Your correspondent would plead with readers of *The Nation* to be fair in their judgment of the British Foreign Secretary. He was utterly sincere when he told his party last summer that he thought of foreign policy in terms of the economic needs of the common man. That is still his real way of thinking, and during this session of the Assembly in London he worked hard to get the UNO to turn its attention from diplomatic sparring over sovereignties and prestige to the practical issues of food

scarcity and the repairing of a shattered world economy. He can hardly be blamed for "standing up for his rights" against Vishinsky in the unedifying squabble over Greece. Having decided, as well they might, to raise the Greek issue as a *tu quoque* retort to British criticism of their "interference" in Iran, the Russians spoiled their case and played into Bevin's hands by asking the Security Council to convict Britain of planning deliberately to use Greece as a base for warlike operations. The real case against British policy in Greece—that we have in fact aborted a revolution and temporarily buttressed in power a reactionary, chauvinistic minority—never had to be answered. Bevin got, in effect though not in form, the "not guilty" verdict he wanted.

This, however, settles nothing—least of all the future of Anglo-Russian relations either across the stricken body of Germany or in the tangle of Middle East tensions. The real count against Ernest Bevin is that he is losing sight of the economic needs of the common man in his passionate determination that Britain shall take the lead in selling the world social democracy in competition with the Soviet version of socialism. Pursuit of that aim is leading him far in the gentle art of making enemies—by "toughness" toward the governments of

Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Poland ("I look forward to the end of these police states" will be long remembered) and by clinging to the continuity of Churchillian policy in Athens, to say nothing of Indonesia. And it is getting him involved with queer friends—monarchists in Greece, General Anders and his émigré Polish army in Italy, the discredited ragtag and bobtail of underground oppositions in Central Europe, all dreaming of a third, anti-Bolshevik, world war under the flag of the Vatican.

There is still hope that Bevin will see where his attitude is taking him. In any case, he and his Cabinet colleagues are likely to be brought sharply up against the hard facts which stand in the way of Palmerstonian policies when they meet trade-union executives at a conference on man-power schedules in early March. The unions will emphasize that if domestic reconstruction and vitally needed exports are not to be crippled by the shortage of labor, Britain's armed forces must be reduced from their present 3,000,000 to something like the pre-war figure of 500,000. The cost of foreign commitments must be cut according to the cloth available; and Foreign Secretary Bevin, be it noted, is also still chairman of the Cabinet's man-power committee.





EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



Distributive Justice

IN ONE of the most striking passages of his statement to the House Banking and Currency Committee on February 18, Chester Bowles said: "Let me say at the outset that there is probably far more fairness of income distribution in our economy today than at any previous point in our peacetime history. Let me say further that if we strive now to work out all the unfairnesses which remain we shall only succeed in blowing up our entire anti-inflation program with resulting disaster to everybody."

Mr. Bowles went on to substantiate these remarks by examining in detail the position of the various producer groups. Labor, he pointed out, had suffered a sharp decline since V-J Day in take-home pay, and "it is take-home pay that buys the groceries and pays the rent." In most cases the new wage increases do not fully compensate for that setback and certainly do not give "a new advantage to labor. . . . They are designed rather to maintain something approaching the balance we had in war time." As for business, said Mr. Bowles, only a fraction of industry was seriously disturbed by reconversion difficulties, and with an unlimited demand for goods the outlook was very bright. He noted as significant the maintenance of dividends in the fourth quarter of 1945 at the same level they reached in the fourth quarter of 1944 and the fact that managerial salaries have suffered no cut-backs. The farmers also have fully held their war-time gains in the past six months. Contrary to expectations, there has been no falling off in the demand for farm products, prices have risen rather than declined, and allowing for seasonal adjustments, farm cash income in December was 2 per cent higher than in August.

All this seemed to me a well-reasoned and convincing plea for sharing the income pie as equitably as possible. Naively perhaps, I was therefore somewhat shocked to find the *Wall Street Journal* bursting with editorial indignation at Mr. Bowles's concern about a fair distribution of income. Snatching from its context the first of the two sentences I have quoted above, the paper commented: "Here, we think, is the story of Mr. Bowles and price control. He seems to conceive it is its function to operate so that income distribution will meet his ideas of fairness. . . . Mr. Bowles is chattering the language of the cult that wants to clamp on the country a managed economy and to distribute income according to its own preconceived pattern of justice. In other words, it is not price control from which the economy suffers; it is the attempt to use price control to reshape the social system."

Any unprejudiced reader of Mr. Bowles's words would agree, I think, that they afford not the slightest evidence to support the charge that he is out to change the social system. On the contrary, since his whole emphasis is on stability and balance, he appears to be seeking to save the social system from the strains that would be put upon it were the pattern of distribution to be violently disturbed, rewarding some

groups in the community while penalizing others. It is the *Wall Street Journal*, the National Association of Manufacturers, et al. who are the real revolutionaries. They want to sweep away all controls; they want prices to be determined by what the traffic can bear; they want to cash in on the greatest sellers' market in history.

Of course they don't put it so baldly. They say that the way to bring about a balance between supply and demand, and so to restrain inflationary pressures, is to lift the controls that thwart the burning desire of industry to produce. Abolish price ceilings, they urge, give business the stimulus of increased profits, and goods will pour into the market. True, the cost of living will rise, but in the long run competition will correct the situation.

If the supply-demand situation were perfectly elastic, so that each rise in price of a commodity acted both to increase its supply and to cut off a further segment of demand, this argument would have greater validity. But such a situation exists only in old-fashioned textbooks on economics; in real life there is always some "friction" to prevent this smooth working of the market mechanism, and today that friction is a very potent factor. For one thing there is a world shortage of many commodities the supply of which cannot be rapidly enlarged no matter how high prices are raised. On the demand side, too, high prices may well prove a very inefficient brake on consumption. There is in this country a huge reserve of liquid assets in the hands of individuals; so that potential purchasing power is far greater than current income. Rising prices would cause some people to draw on their savings in order to maintain their standard of living. Others, alarmed at the declining value of their savings in terms of goods, would rush to buy whatever they could lay hands on regardless of cost.

The result would be that accumulated war-time reserves, which might play so important a part in stabilizing the future economy, would be largely transferred to those who owned the supply of goods and could exact scarcity prices for them. Eventually, of course, demand would be checked, not because consumers were satiated but because they had exhausted their ability to buy. Then there would be an appearance of abundance; plenty of butter in the stores, perhaps at \$3 a pound, but none on the bread of millions. At this stage we would expect prices to begin to fall, but since falling prices discouraged production, employment would decline also. Factories would shut down, profits would be diminished, but business, particularly big business, would not be seriously harmed, for it knows how to reap a harvest from scarcity of jobs as well as scarcity of goods. It would have its liquid funds accumulated during the inflation, and as the depression deepened and prices collapsed, it would have the satisfaction of knowing that the purchasing power of those funds was being steadily enhanced.

This is the situation which Mr. Bowles is seeking to prevent, and business men who can see farther than next year's balance sheet would be wise to help him. For if they take the short view, if they insist on grabbing while the grabbing is good, if they join the editorial sages of *Wall Street* in crying, "To hell with distributive justice," they may find *retributive justice* awaiting them at the bottom of a not too distant depression.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

Paris, February 21

BEFORE we landed in France the passenger list of the S. S. Argentina had given us some advance indication of the kind of Europe we were going to find. With the tourist season on the Atlantic not yet open, there was scarcely a person aboard who was not traveling on a special mission: members of relief organizations who had already been in Austria, Poland, and the Balkans and told frightful stories of the misery they had seen there; Allied officials, more alert to the danger of a fascist revival than I had expected but with no idea of what to do about it; diplomats exchanging choice bits of international gossip; French business men angrily berating their government for too much Socialist planning and for not allowing them to invest all their dollar assets in private—and profitable—commercial ventures.

But the travelers who captured my imagination were two young Latin Americans, a writer and a painter, bound for Paris. They awakened in me memories of the day when, just out of college in Spain, I too had set out for the intellectual center of the universe. Throughout the war I had stubbornly maintained that, despite reports to the contrary, Europe was far from finished and would still astonish the world by its revolutionary, creative capacities; now I found the enthusiasm of these young artists refreshing and encouraging. Perhaps they were not as familiar with the actual situation in Europe as some of the others aboard who had all sorts of data at their fingertips about the food shortage, the lack of transport, the increase in infant mortality, the spread of crime and vice. But they had a deeper and, I believe, a truer insight into the Europe that is emerging out of the great disaster.

The first paper I bought in Le Havre headlined the results of the Belgian elections. Though the Christian Socialists won 93 of the 202 seats in the new Chamber of Deputies, the Socialists and Communists together still outnumbered them. The Communists registered a considerable gain, nearly tripling the representation they had in the 1939 Chamber. But it is not by number alone that the Belgian elections must be judged. Actually they mark a strengthening of the left's position against the return of King Leopold; moreover, it is almost certain that out of the present ministerial crisis will come a government again based on collaboration between Socialists and Communists with a popular mandate to continue the policy of nationalization begun by the Cabinet of the Socialist ex-Premier, Achille van Acker.

In Paris the future status of the press is the subject of heated discussion these days. The omission of the traditional phrase, "the freedom of the press is guaranteed," from the draft for the new constitution's chapter on the rights of man provoked furious debate, but not a single voice was raised

openly in defense of the old 1939 concept of a free press. The right is attempting very subtly to sabotage the Constituent Assembly's efforts to end the scandal of pre-war years when the big dailies, in the name of freedom of the press, were selling out their country for whatever price big business or Nazi agents were ready to pay. The France of today is not so easily deceived by eloquent lip-service to the rights of man. Rights, yes, but not the right to destroy freedom, not the right of fascists to reconstitute their press and spread their poisonous ideologies again. It is interesting to watch the more conservative papers making skilful use of the argument that any restriction on freedom of the press will create an unfavorable reaction in the United States and make Léon Blum's mission more difficult. "If you go left," they intone day after day, "you will get no financial support from America; France will be condemned to starve." Yet in the face of their dire warnings, France, and with it all Europe, is moving steadily left.

Confidence in Europe's recuperative powers does not imply ignorance of the indescribable difficulties that must be overcome. The road to economic and political recovery is still a very long and a very hard one. Two world wars have stripped Europe of most of its wealth; what is much worse, they have wiped out 80 per cent of its young, strong, able men. The losses have been so enormous that the most determined efforts to repair them seem to leave the gaps as big as before.

The French miners, for instance, have done a remarkable job since last fall, and Maurice Thorez can speak with justified proletarian pride, as he did yesterday, about "winning the battle of coal." But despite the extraordinary feat of production accomplished by the underfed men in the pits, France still lacks two-thirds of the coal needed to carry out its plans for reconstruction. The food situation has, on the whole, improved in the last eight months; however, in the six weeks since the devaluation of the franc, the black market has shown a fresh burst of activity, and prices, figured even on a dollar basis, have soared to a new high. The lack of foodstuffs is so acute that even if supplies were increased as much as 100 per cent, the improvement would scarcely be noticeable.

In addition to the material difficulties, there is the ever-present anxiety about the ability of the Allies to work together in the years to come and the clear conviction that without Allied unity every major problem of reconstruction will become infinitely more complicated. In that regard the outcome of the first UNO session in London has had an encouraging effect in France. The French had been so disheartened by the failure of the Foreign Ministers' conference that the simple fact of seeing the United Nations Organization beginning to function makes them breathe easier.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS and the ARTS

NEW GEORGIA

Sometimes as I woke, the branches beside the stars
Were to me, as I drowsed, the bars of my cell;
The creepers lumped through my blanket, hard as a bed
In the old ward, in the time before the war—

In the days when, supperless, I moaned in sleep
With the stripes of beating, the old, hard, hampering dream
That lay like the chains on my limbs; till I woke
To a world and a year that used me, when I had learned to
obey.

By the piece with the notch in the stock, by the knife from
the States,

The tags' chain stirs with the wind; and I sleep
Paid, dead, and a soldier. Who fights for his own life
Loses, loses: I have killed for my world, and am free.

RANDALL JARRELL

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THOSE who were present during World War I will remember the shock of the news that the Library of the University of Louvain had been destroyed. Today, having lived through World War II, they will find it hard to believe that Louvain was the only major library destroyed between 1914 and 1918.

This fact is noted at the beginning of an extraordinarily interesting—and sobering—article in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* for January 5 on The Devastated Libraries of the World, in which Milton Edward Lord and Kenneth R. Shaffer present a survey, necessarily incomplete, of the destruction of The Book since 1933, when the Nazis lit their first literary bonfire. As the authors point out, the second destruction of Louvain in 1940, with its 900,000 volumes, was only an incident in World War II. In Poland 70 per cent of all libraries were destroyed, and here is a description, taken from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, of the end of the great Jewish Theological Seminary Library in Lublin.

For us it was a special pride to destroy the Talmudic Academy, which has been known as the greatest in Poland. . . . We threw out of the building the great Talmudic Library and carted it to the market. There we set fire to the books. The fire lasted for twenty hours. The Jews of Lublin were assembled and cried bitterly. Their cries almost silenced us. Then we summoned the military band, and the joyful shouts of the soldiers silenced the sound of the Jewish cries. . . .

The irony is that the Nazi bonfires marked the beginning of a saga of destruction in which, in the end, all nations became involved. The publishing area of London was almost totally destroyed in 1941—with its millions of volumes and, more crucial, priceless plates and matrices from which new

printings might be made. In 1945 another great publishing center, Leipzig, was virtually wiped out by Allied bombs. And this sequence of deliberate destruction and inevitable counter-destruction was repeated throughout the world.

In many cases libraries which were evacuated to "safe" places "were destroyed as completely by rain, mold, rats, mice, and insects as they ever could have been by bomb or artillery fire." The authors cite the story of the desperate and futile attempt of the Reverend James Edward Haggerty to save the books of two libraries in Mindanao; and the fact that it was a small and remote collection makes the tale the more significant. First the books were taken to a rectory in a mountain town, where a third of them were destroyed by Japanese bombs. The rest were thereupon conveyed by pack animals and sledges to a wooded canyon and stored in bamboo houses built for the purpose. For two years two boys tried to protect them from the elements. Later, because dampness was taking its toll, the books were placed in three bamboo houses constructed on drier ground. In July, 1944, Mr. Haggerty walked more than two hundred miles to inspect his precious hoard. Japanese patrols had found and burned two of the scattered houses. The third had collapsed from the weight of the books, and a month of sun and rain had completed their ruin.

The authors make the statement that the destruction of books and libraries in World War II probably exceeded by many times that of all previous wars and catastrophes. That statement should be inscribed in a prominent place in the permanent meeting hall of the UNO.

THE SENSE OF AMERICA, in all its variations, geographical and other, seldom rises in one's habit-dulled consciousness without a strong direct stimulus. Some years ago a friend brought me a piece of sagebrush straight from my native West. Its smell and texture evoked, with a vividness no mere memory could induce, a life and landscape so alien to the life and landscape of New York that I ended by wondering which, if either, was real.

A young relative from Iowa who blew in the other evening stirred up similarly unsettling vibrations of wonder, amusement, and mild despair. We have forbears in common and therefore a strong family feeling. For the rest we are as many worlds apart as our forbears were before they somehow got together in Western America. The fact that our family history duplicates, except for names and places, that of most Americans only makes it all the more a tall tale which will continue to seem tall and strange, I suppose, until the American consciousness has assimilated its wild assortment of heritage and history.

The young relative, who has been in the army half a year, told me with disarming gusto that his pals, whom he had momentarily deserted to pay me a visit, had never heard of *The Nation* and had bet him fifty cents that there was no such magazine. I furnished him with proof, and I hope he spent the fifty cents wisely.

What gave the encounter its final fillip was the news that this young soldier, who must be eighteen but looks much younger, who has had six months of basic training and orientation and speaks of both in exactly the same unengaged tone, was on his way to occupy Germany. He is bound to have a personal success; the children in whatever German town he invades will find his gifts and his good-will irresistible. He has a quite unconscious air of self-confidence, despite his youthfulness, and at the same time a readiness to be accommodating and friendly which may have their incalculable effects on Germans old and young. Still it doesn't seem quite enough.

I WAS VERY HAPPY to have a letter from a 'teen-ager seconding my remarks about mass-production entertainment in the issue of February 9.

I wish you to know that I am grateful to you for writing the article. I am only seventeen, but for the past year I have been increasingly exasperated with the condition of American culture of which you speak. . . .

Somerset Maugham said somewhere that when a writer has something bothering him, writing about it helps, and maybe that works vicariously. Anyhow I'd like to thank you again for writing the article. I was beginning to think I was a picayune snob.

Perhaps I can make a bloc with the youngest generation.

by Ella Winter

I SAW THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

"HERE are the questions one asks about Russia, and some living and personal answers."

—*San Francisco Chronicle*

"A report minus special pleading . . . she reports with camera-like fidelity what she saw of the Russian people . . . Hers is the sort of book we need most desperately."

—*New York Post*

At all bookstores • \$3.00

LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY • BOSTON

★ Buy Bonds—To Keep ★

SEVERAL PEOPLE, I'm told, have called up the publishers of "Forever Amber" and tried to order a copy of "Always Opal," the book referred to in Elmer Rice's new play, "Dream Girl." One stone, I suppose, is as nourishing as another. . . . I am further informed that salesmen in drug-stores are occasionally asked for one of those pink tooth-brushes. Advertising is its own reward.

The Anglo-American Paradox

RIVAL PARTNERS: AMERICA AND BRITAIN IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. By Keith Hutchison. The Macmillan Company. \$2.

ECONOMIC theory," says Mr. Hutchison, "is one thing; the economic facts of life are another. They include habits, conventions, psychological attitudes, and political pressures." He then proceeds to give us as clear and lucid an account of the facts of life governing the relations between Britain and America as one would ever care to see. Mr. Hutchison is in an especially favorable position to do so because he was born and educated in Britain, lives in America, is married to an American, and has two children—one British, one American. A better-balanced diet for objective reporting would be hard to find.

First he outlines the very fair degree of cooperation between the two great powers during the war. Had Roosevelt and Churchill not formed such a mutual-admiration society, would cooperation have been so good?

Then he describes with a minimum of theory and a maximum of fact the economic shape of post-war America and post-war Britain, pausing only briefly to sideswipe Professor Hayek. While the amount of state intervention and control is perhaps equally advanced in the two countries—although along somewhat different lines—the Americans feel sinful about it, and the British do not. To believe in what one is actually doing is always an advantage. The British big business man is pretty well up to date on the facts of life; among American tycoons there is a cultural lag of a good twenty years. To talk in the same day to a member of the National Association of Manufacturers and then to a member of the Federation of British Industries is an experience suitable for study in a psychological clinic. The British have been bombed. We have not. Maybe that accounts for it.

Britain is a country poor in natural resources, and she must indeed export—to pay for goods for her people, and raw materials for her factories—or die. She drained her wealth far more heavily in the war than we did. The necessity for planning her economic future is a little more immediate—but not much more. We are accustomed to even gaudier depressions.

All these comparative matters Mr. Hutchison looks into with a great deal of acumen. He makes few generalizations without cases to support them, thus keeping his communication line to the reader always clear. He then describes the post-war areas of conflict between the two countries. They are many and complicated, including rivalries over air lines, merchant marine, oil, cocoa, and other commodities. Each item is packed with dynamite.

Mr. Hutchison gives one of the clearest expositions of

LET'S SETTLE THE **GM** STRIKE BUT NOT BY **HUNGER**

THESE ARE ACTUAL CASES—

PONTIAC, MICHIGAN: There are seven children in the family of this striking General Motors worker. Sickness has depleted his savings. He faces foreclosure of his home. There is no money for food.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA: A widowed mother of three needs \$10 for shoes for the children, and a minimum of \$8.50 a week for food.

FLINT, MICHIGAN: An expectant mother, wife of a veteran, was refused entrance to a hospital till \$56 was paid.

200,000 employees of General Motors have been on strike for more than eleven weeks. Day-to-day expenses — food, rent, medicine — are eating up their savings and their war bonds. 40,000 families have already exhausted every penny they had put by. —The need gets bigger every day. These people must have help just to live.

WHY CAN'T THE UNION HELP THEM?

William H. Davis, ex-chairman of the War Labor Board, and ex-Economic Stabilizer, told the Senate why on January 16th. No union, he said, can support families during a mass strike. \$10 a week to 200,000 men means \$2,000,000 a week. The union doesn't have it.

DON'T THE MEN GET GOVERNMENT RELIEF?

In 95.8% of the cases — NO. The few communities that allow relief pay about enough to feed the children — no more. Nothing for emergencies.

WILL YOU HELP US?

Will you help in care for emergency cases such as the ones described here? Experienced social workers will administer the funds you give us, direct to the hardest-hit families.

We want to see the strike settled. But starvation never settled anything. There's a human need that must be met. Help us meet it!

GM workers will receive their first pay check three weeks after they return to work

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

HAROLD ICKES, Chairman

COL. EVANS CARLSON
RUSSELL DAVENPORT
LEON HENDERSON
DR. FRANK KINGDON
FREDA KIRCHWEY
SENATOR ROBERT LA FOLLETTE
HENRY R. LUCE
ARCHBISHOP ROBERT E. LUCEY

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE
BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.
DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR
BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM
BISHOP EDWARD L. PARSONS
SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
BISHOP WILLIAM SCARLETT
BISHOP BERNARD J. SHEIL
HAROLD E. STASSEN
SENATOR GLEN H. TAYLOR
WALTER WANGER
WALTER WHITE
RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE

ELIZABETH JANEWAY, National Secretary

L. G. ROSS, Treasurer

National Committee to Aid Families of General Motors Strikers
212 EAST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

I agree that **HUNGER MUST NOT BE USED AS A WEAPON AGAINST AMERICAN WORKERS.**

Here is my contribution of \$..... to the emergency fund to feed the wives and children of the 200,000 General Motors strikers.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY ZONE STATE

Director of Internal Revenue has ruled that contributions may be deducted from your Federal Income Tax.

Bretton Woods that I have seen. He shows how this instrument is *not* a return to nineteenth-century free-trade principles, that by raising government control to an international level many of the valuable characteristics of multilateral, three-corner trading can hopefully be recaptured.

He brings us right to the threshold of the British loan, now before Congress. All the relevant background for the loan is sketched in. The final terms unfortunately did not come out before the book went to press.

Will the loan, if it goes into force, be successful? Many doubt it, and Mr. Hutchison gives the reasons. Many Britons are afraid—with some reason—that it will do Britain more harm than good. Many Americans are afraid—with less reason—that it will be throwing good money after bad. There is a great paradox involved which may be insoluble.

The paradox is this: In exchange for the loan the British agree to leave the protection of the sterling bloc, give up bilateral deals and blocked pounds, and return to multilateral trading. In one sense they are glad to do this, for the British invented free trade. But in a realistic sense they are scared stiff. If the United States falls into a deep depression, world trade is bound to shrink seriously, leaving the British high and dry. London, watching the antics of the N. A. M., is terrified that after a brief boom depression will surely come. It seems that "while the idea for full employment is making progress, it remains a political football in Washington." (Witness the fate of S-380, the Murray full-employment bill.)

Many Britishers might not be too bitterly disappointed if

Congress threw out the loan. The *Economist* might even rejoice, judging by its recent comments. Then Britain would not lose the shelter of the sterling bloc when the storm came. She would insulate herself from a depression to a degree. We would not be able to export unemployment to her shores—as we can do under the loan.

Mr. Hutchison cannot resolve this paradox. Only history can do that.

STUART CHASE

BRIEFER COMMENT

Van Doren's Dryden

ONE OF THE FEW PIECES of definitive literary criticism written in this country during the present century, Mark Van Doren's "John Dryden: A Study of His Poetry" (Holt, \$3), is now reprinted twenty-five years after its original publication. The author has taken advantage of the resetting to remove the "clichés of qualification" which it seemed to him discreet to employ when the work was first composed as a doctoral dissertation. His enthusiasm for Dryden as a poet of power remains as strong or stronger than ever. Indeed, Mr. Van Doren implies that an appreciation of Dryden is a test of a sound appreciation of poetry in general, and that only when men turn away from the humanities and allow poetry to decline into a plaything of cults will Dryden be neglected. His extended discussion of all aspects of the poet's art goes far to validate his contention. He demonstrates, not that Dryden was a faultless writer, since his failings are sometimes spectacular, but that he was a great writer in that his conception of poetry began with a professional concern for the craftsmanship of verse. The artist is known by his love of the instrument. Dryden possessed among other capacities a fine ear for melodious numbers and used his command of verbal music as a source of poetic power. Out of sweetness came his strength, a strength essentially masculine.

Mr. Van Doren has explored the bases of Dryden's power with an industry steadily illuminated by good sense. His book is packed with ordered information, none of which is superfluous to his intention. An impressive number of thumbnail dissertations could be drawn from his pages on such topics as seventeenth-century aesthetics as illustrated in poetry, painting, and music, "characters" in literature, oratory and poetry, English Pindaric odes, the art of translation, poetic diction, and the like. His critical judgments tend to take the form of felicitous metaphor, as Dryden's also are apt to do. Thus in comparing the two masters of Augustan verse he remarks with neat discrimination: "Pope lurks behind his poetry; Dryden stands well forward, flush with his page and speaking with an honest voice if not always with an honest heart."

On the first appearance of this assured masterpiece of criticism T. S. Eliot declared: "It is a book which every practitioner of English verse should study." The poetry of the last quarter-century has been the poorer in that his advice has not been taken. Had it been heeded we might now be rediscovering the lost dignity of narrative verse and the lost art of poetic melody.

GEORGE F. WHICHER



H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

"CRUX ANSATA—An Indictment
of the Roman Catholic Church"

An historical summary of the Catholic Church's
political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the
Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis.

Cloth Binding \$1.75

Paper-covered \$1.25

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS" by L. H. Lehmann

A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist
collaboration.

Cloth Binding \$1.75

Paper-covered \$1.00

COMBINATION	Both Cloth Bound Books	\$3.00
OFFERS	Both Paper Bound Books	\$2.00

New Pamphlet

"VATICAN POLICY

IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

48 pages of Documented Facts 25¢

Free to those who return this ad with their order
for the above books

Order From:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 351

229 WEST 40TH STREET

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

The Realists and Peace

IT IS ALWAYS A PLEASURE to come across the work of Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean, Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association. "The Four Cornerstones of Peace" (Whitlsey House, \$2.50) is not merely competent but distinguished in thought and style. This is an ideal compendium for the citizen—not necessarily a student of world politics—interested in security and justice. It gives a very clear and sober account of the meetings at Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta, Chapultepec, and San Francisco. Nearly one-half is devoted to the official text of the main documents.

But no book on such a subject can be wholly objective. Mrs. Dean pleads with the American voter to support a policy of peace through international organization. I agreed with her long before she was born, and every year confirms me in the faith. But the work reflects the tragic confusion of the liberal mind at the present hour. Yalta was not "a cornerstone of peace." Justified as an act of war, as part of the Allies' grand strategy, it was secret diplomacy and power politics of the most outrageous kind. If we must leave the atomic bomb behind, so must we also transcend the method of Yalta, continued at Potsdam. Between the two San Francisco appears in an ambiguous light.

The American public will not indefinitely submit to "secret covenants secretly arrived at." When we rebel, Russia will justly claim that it has been double-crossed. The sequel is easy to forecast.

Mrs. Dean uses as an epigraph a stanza from the famous "People's Anthem," by Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn Law rhymers. A hundred years ago the masses, represented then by the Chartists, wanted a "people's peace," open, fair, and fraternal. The realists had their way. The masses still feel the same; the governments and most of the intelligentsia are still realistic. Mrs. Dean properly urges us to fight on. What she does not tell us is that one of the things we have to fight and destroy is the spirit of Yalta and Potsdam, and whatever trace of it may be found in the San Francisco Charter.

ALBERT GUERARD

Tennessee Williams

"27 WAGONS FULL OF COTTON" is a collection of short dramatic sketches by Tennessee Williams (New Directions, \$3.50). Like his first Broadway play they reveal an indisputable but very tentative talent which so far has proved unequal to the task of solid construction on any extended scale. "The Glass Menagerie" depended for its effect almost exclusively upon one substantial portrait study, and the short pieces in the present volume tend to be monologues made to look like plays by the simple device of providing the speaker with one or more listeners or "feeders." Considered merely as portraits, several of them—notably "The Last of My Solid Gold Watches" and "This Property Is Condemned"—are quite striking, but there is little evidence of any ability to develop a real story or to reveal a character through action. Mr. Williams seems to have an especial fondness for setting his scene in hovels, cheap boarding-houses, or brothels and for choosing as his principal figure some character just on the point of ultimate dissolution. The

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE Nation

- ☐ with Harpers Magazine . . \$6.50
You Save \$2.50
- ☐ with Consumers Union . . \$7.00
You Save \$1.50
- ☐ with Harpers Magazine
and Consumers Union . \$9.00
You Save \$3.50
- ☐ with Free World . . . \$7.50
You Save \$1.50
- ☐ with Saturday Review . . \$8.50
You Save \$1.50

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION by itself

- ☐ One Year \$5 ☐ Two Years \$8 ☐ Three Years \$11
- ☐ Servicemen's Rate \$3 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra



SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy, but you will make a considerable saving in money over the newsstand price.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
814 ST.
80th ST.
823 ST.
837 Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL

RKO NOW

A thousand thundering thrills!

ERROL FLYNN

ALEXIS SMITH

'SAN ANTONIO'

IN TECHNICOLOR

— and —

'DICK TRACY' MORGAN CONWAY
ANNE JEFFREYS

"LEAVES YOU PUNCH-DRUNK WITH DRAMA"

—N. Y. World-Telegram

"HIGHLY COLORED TALE"—N. Y. Sun

DARRYL F. ZANUCK presents

'LEAVE HER TO HEAVEN'

By BEN AMES WILLIAMS

IN TECHNICOLOR

GENE CORNEL JEANNE
TIERNEY • WILDE • CRAIN

— Also —

"BE SURE AND SEE IT"—Walter Winchell

'HITLER LIVES?'

PARAMOUNT presents

BING BOB
CROSBY HOPE
DOROTHY
LAMOUR

— In —

"ROAD TO UTOPIA"

MIDNIGHT FEATURE NIGHTLY

NOW **PARAMOUNT**

— In Person —

BENNY GOODMAN

His Clarinet and
Orchestra with
The Famous Sextet

— Featuring —

MEL
POWELL
PAT
HENNING

TIMES
SQUARE

The New Statesman and Nation

England's Leading Weekly Review

may now be obtained through

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Yearly subscription \$6.50 including postage

SPECIMEN copy on request

result is not only a certain monotony but also a strong suggestion of that romantic pessimism which revels in disease and degradation spiced with sexual depravity. If the pieces in this volume were written before "The Glass Menagerie," then he may be said to have made some progress in the direction of substantial achievement. If they are recent work, then there seems grave danger that his talent is merely a minor one.

JOSEPH WOOD KRAITCH

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents



MAURICE EVANS

In His New Production of Shakespeare's

HAMLET

Columbus Circle Thea. B'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Eves. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30

UP IN CENTRAL PARK

Book by HERBERT Lyrics by DOROTHY FIELDS Music by SIGMUND ROMBERG
& DOROTHY FIELDS
BROADWAY THEATRE B'way at 53rd St. Mats.: Sat. & Sun. Eve. Incl. Sun. 2:30 & 8:30

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Reuben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
with John Raitt • Eva Wilbers
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Effie Afton
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Reuben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
In JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4636
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30 Sharp

"THE GREATEST OF ALL MUSICAL COMEDIES"—Barnes, Herald Tribune
KERN and HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Music by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2d.
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT.
ZIEGFELD THEA., 54th Street and Sixth Avenue, Ol. 5-5200.
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Buy All the Bonds You Can...

Keep All the Bonds You Buy

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

ANTIGONE" (Cort Theater) is adapted from the adaptation made by Jean Anouilh, played in Paris during the occupation, and more or less put over on the German censors. Though acted in modern costume, the scene was left in ancient Greece, and little essential change was made in either the action or even the motives. In Sophocles's original the conflict is already that between the individual and the state, or, more precisely, between the laws decreed by a supreme secular authority and those of God and of nature. To transform it into a fable for the times, little more than a mere modernization of the terminology was necessary. Make Creon a rationalizing fascist dictator who justifies himself by arguing the need for an established order in the turbulent Greek states, make it clear that Antigone's insistence upon burying her brother springs from her conviction that necessity, the tyrant's plea, is never superior to the claims of fundamental human decency, and you get a play which the Germans could not and obviously did not fail to recognize as a discussion of the current situation.

Lewis Galantière's obviously skilful version—it is not called a translation—is acted by Katharine Cornell and Cedric Hardwicke in modern dress upon a stage bare except for its draperies and in one continuous act, which runs for a bit over an hour and a half. Horace Braham, serving as narrator-commentator, is the chorus compressed into one person, the dramaturgical method is Greek, not modern, and, indeed, even the order of the incidents follows fairly closely that of the Sophocles original; so that what one gets is something perhaps even closer to the Greek in form than it is in thought.

On the whole most of the reviewers seem not to have been very greatly pleased, and "Antigone" got a rather poor press. I find myself agreeing with many of the specific strictures made, but I seem to have been more interested and more moved by the whole than those of my colleagues whose reviews I have read. It is true, I think, that to make the guards neither like Greeks nor like S. S. men but like simple-minded American tough guys is probably a mistake. I agree that though Miss Cornell's performance is excellent—especially and as usual with her, pictorially excellent—

acting honors probably go to Hardwicke, whose portrait of the icily reasonable dictator is a genuinely memorable one. Moreover, even at the risk of seeming pedantic, I might add that the modern playwright actually outdoes the Greek in decorum, since though of course Sophocles permits no deaths upon the stage he does have the body of Haemon brought in, and I wonder, difficult as such things are to manage properly, if some such presentation of the bodies might not have added the final scene which the play as it now stands does need. But all these are relatively minor matters. I found none of the play, except perhaps some of the very earliest scenes, uninteresting, and I found the interview between Creon and Antigone, which takes up perhaps a third to a half of the entire running time, both absorbing and moving. One of the boldest of the author's modifications of his text, that in which he makes Creon confess that he is using the dead brother merely as a politically useful scapegoat, seems to me very effective, and Antigone's retort at the climax of the debate is conclusive and tremendous. Creon has launched into a characteristic rhapsody in praise of vitality and the will to live. "Ah," interrupts Antigone, "if men were only animals, what a king you would be!"

Since the German censors could not have failed to recognize that the play was intended as a commentary upon the current situation one wonders why they permitted it at all. One wonders also if they would have permitted a revival of Shaw's "St. Joan," in which the same problem is discussed and in which, though the very presence of Jeanne d'Arc might have been thought intolerable, the claims of the central authority really come off rather better than they do in the American version of "Antigone." Obviously the Germans decided that they were willing to risk their case on the effectiveness of Creon's presentation of it, and a note in the present program helps make it understandable that they should have done so. The play as we now have it is not quite the play that was performed in Paris during the occupation. No Frenchman, Mr. Galantière assures us, could have come away feeling that Creon's argument was stronger than Antigone's, but, so he implies, a German might have felt otherwise, and in the American version Antigone's case has been somewhat built up, "not by taking anything away from M. Anouilh's Creon, but by adding something to his Antigone, his chorus, and

his Haemon." Since a part of the interest in this American production is documentary and historical, I am not sure that Mr. Galantière would not have been wiser to give us the argument precisely as it was given in the French version.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

ANYONE who wants to make creatively interesting movies in this country today gets stuck in one of three, or at the outside four, ways, all of them too familiar to require more than mention. If he works in Hollywood, it is unlikely that he will get more than a fraction of his best ability on to the screen; and that is not to mention the liability of resignation to compromise, and of self-deceit. If he works on his own, he is unlikely to get his films distributed or even sporadically shown; and that is not to mention either the difficulty of getting the money and equipment to make the movies or the liability of self-deceit in the direction of arrogance and artiness—the loss of, and contempt for, audience, which can be just as corrupting as its nominal oppo-

SOON EVERY DAY WILL BE SUNDAY

By Charles O. Leff

As a result of many years of research about politics and political conditioning, the author, a physician, has a most interesting bear by the tail.

The political idealist and realist meets a new challenge. A new primer for the perplexed citizen, a guide to the politician and a functional approach to a universal problem. 214 pages, \$3.00

Publication Division
Leff Research Institute
South Orange, N. J.

site. If, on the other hand, the would-be artist goes abroad to work, he is likely to find, in future, that the advantages are not so clear by a good deal as they were in the past; and unless he is a very specialized—and perhaps also a very limited—artist indeed, he is certain to suffer as profoundly by a change of country as he would, if he were a writer, by a change of language. The fourth possibility is paralysis, or resignation to the practice of some more feasible art. Either of these is perhaps preferable to literal suicide, but not practically so as far as the movie artist and the movie art are concerned.

Maya Deren and Alexander Hammid have made three short films on their own. These are getting no kind of formal distribution, but they were shown recently in New York at the Provincetown Playhouse, and presumably will be shown again when and as that is possible. I can only suggest that those interested keep their ears open.

Of the three films one, which I have not seen, is called "A Study in Choreography for Camera." The other two, "Meshes of the Afternoon" and "At Land," can be roughly classified as "dream" films and also approach, as Parker Tyler has said, "a type of personal expression in cinema analogous to the lyric poem." Their quality seems to me to be impaired by Miss Deren's performance in the central roles, which strikes me as showing the emotional characteristics that make so much of "modern" dancing, for instance, not only unifying to watch but radically mistaken and hostile in its relation to the nature of good art. There are many satisfactions of mood and implication and image in the movies, of kinds which are the unique property of the movie camera, and which are hardly even hinted in studio productions. Yet I cannot feel that there is anything really original about them—that they do anything important, for instance, which was not done, and done to an ill-deserved death, by some of the European avant-gardists, and especially by the surrealists, of the 1920's. At worst, in fact, they are solemnly, arrogantly, distressingly pretentious and arty. Nevertheless, I think they are to be seen, and that there is a good deal in them to be liked, enjoyed, and respected. I don't at all agree with Miss Deren that "reality," in its conventional camera sense, cannot be turned into a work of art without being turned also into a fantasia of the unconscious; but if you have to believe that in order to try to do it—which I

doubt—then I am glad that she does. For I certainly believe that it is worth doing; and I know of nobody else in films, just now, who is paying any more attention to that great universe of movie possibility than to make safely conducted little tours of the border villages.

I must again postpone comment on several current films because none of them interest me as much as these. Meanwhile, with degrees of fervor ranging from able to take nourishment to unlikely to last out the night, I can recommend "Three Strangers," "Scarlet Street," and "Road to Utopia." I don't think there will be any trouble finding them.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THERE is, by now, a fair amount of understanding of what W. J. Turner calls the ambiguity of Mozart—the tensions in those delicate musical forms, the intensity and passion that are implicit in them. But there still is no comparable understanding of what might be called the duality of Schubert—the iron-like power that alternates with the relaxation. No work of Schubert is more familiar than the "Unfinished" Symphony; nothing is more obvious than the compactness and force of its first movement, the fact that it is one of the most extraordinary and effective pieces of large-scale construction in the symphonic literature; yet this does not result in as much as a qualifying clause in the prevailing idea of him as a lyricist without sustained constructive power, whose large forms are mere garrulously diffuse successions of pretty tunes. The occasional slackness and diffuseness certainly are part of the truth about Schubert; but there is little appreciation of the occasional integration and force that are the rest of that truth.

Tovey may write that the first movement of the C major Symphony has "more than Schubert's usual concentration" and its "development is conspicuously free from redundancy or digression," and that the conclusion of the work "is one of the greatest in all symphonic music." Ralph Bates, in his excellent book on Schubert, observing that "the symphony largely achieves its effects by sheer intoxication of persistent rhythms," may point out that in the first movement the opening subject liberates "a steely, racy rhythm," and "there must

be no slackening of pace in pulseless transitions"; that in the scherzo "the second subject is introduced breathlessly, and at once its externals are stripped off, so that already in bar 41 the naked, scintillating ardor of string timbre is swinging up and down with enormous power," and "even this rhythmic form is later simplified so that the music rises and falls with immense suggestion of a shining piston crosshead and rod driving an exultant music through time and space"; that in the conclusion of the work "there is no slackening of pace as the triplet figure begins to create one of the most astonishing splendors of music," and "it is as if we were borne up on that pulsating atom of rhythm, above the world and out from its limits over the cold purity of universal space, as if we beheld the circling of worlds and the laws they manifest." And Toscanini may reveal similar perceptions in his performance of the work. But the prevailing notion of it is the one expressed by Brockway and Weinstock in "Men of Music": "But alas! it was again on the rock of development that Schubert foundered. After proving conclusively that he could write page after page of great symphonic music, he seems to have unfocused his attention on the extremely difficult business on hand, and to have lapsed into . . . irrelevant garrulousness. Thus, the C major concludes on a maundering, inconsequential note . . ." And Toscanini's performance has been criticized for its lack of Viennese relaxation.

An extraordinary example of the duality in Schubert's music is the first movement of the Piano Sonata Opus 78. Its tranquilly, spaciouly meditative opening statement in G major establishes the mood of the entire exposition, which, after some increased liveliness and force, quiets down to last D major references to the opening statement that give implications of complete finality to the meditative tranquility. We are, then, entirely unprepared for what happens now in the development: the meditative opening statement, with the power it acquires now from being *ff* in G minor, from the tensions this creates in its rhythm, from the tensions in the imitations of this rhythm by bare octaves in the bass, from the eruptions of these octaves that carry the passage to a proclamation tremendous in its *fff* sonority and its sustained distentions. The tension is relaxed in a quiet interlude, only to be built up again in the same way to the same climax, and to be relaxed again in the same interlude; then

the rhythm of the interlude is hammered out by treble and bass octaves in imitation with increasing intensity to a point where the music subsides into a long and poignant transition to the opening statement in G major, which re-establishes the mood of meditative tranquility for the recapitulation. And what is extraordinary about this example of the Schubert duality is the power in the development that is created out of, and resolved into, the tranquil meditation of the exposition and recapitulation.

Webster Aitken's recent performance of this movement realized its duality with magnificent effect: there were the proper quiet, spaciousness, plasticity, and grace in the exposition and recapitulation, the right power in the development; moreover—to consider Aitken the pianist as well as the musician—there was the beauty of the sound that he produced from the piano, whether in the subtle gradations from *p* to *f* of the exposition and recapitulation, or in the *ff*'s and *fff*'s of the development. As for the subsequent movements, I will repeat what I said when Aitken played the work a couple of years ago: I feel them to be more relaxed in pace than he does; but though I have this different conception of them I can enjoy what he makes of them in accordance with his own conception, and the evidence in this of his great musical intelligence and mastery of his instrument.

What started me on the long train of thought about Schubert's duality was this paragraph in Jerome D. Bohm's *Herald Tribune* review of Aitken's recital: "His discourse of Schubert's G major Sonata, one of the composer's most poetic products, and one which demands a blend of inwardness, tenderness, and ingratiating charm for convincing realization of the composer's message, was planned on too austere monumental a scale, so that the music's inherent qualities were all but obliterated by the top-heavy dynamic gamut utilized."

CONTRIBUTORS

STUART CHASE is the author of "Where's the Money Coming From?" "Democracy Under Pressure," and "Tomorrow's Trade: Problems of Our Foreign Commerce."

GEORGE F. WHICHER, professor of English at Amherst College, is the author of "This Was a Poet," a critical biography of Emily Dickinson, and "Walden Revisited," a centennial tribute to Henry David Thoreau.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

On Purchasing Power

Dear Sirs: "The General Motors Reply to U. A. W.-C. I. O. Brief" is interesting. It asks innocently enough, on page 39, "... how can more purchasing power be created simply by taking it away from business and investors and giving it to factory workers?" "Such a transaction," it says, "simply accomplishes a shift in purchasing power, not an expansion."

Mr. Anderson does not seem to realize that an expansion in purchasing power is accomplished only by a shift from those who have it but wouldn't use it to those who would use it if they had it. That shift is accomplished only by higher wages. Dormant purchasing power in the hands of business and investors is no purchasing power at all, whereas when it gets into the hands of workers, it not only becomes active but also acts as a stimulant to business expansion and investments.

DAVID DIAMOND

Detroit, February 15

Congratulations

Dear Sirs: May I congratulate you on Richard Neuberger's article, *What Do the People Think of Truman?* in *The Nation* for January 19.

I believe that Neuberger's evaluation of Truman's standing with the people is very sound. I was glad to see him point out that the source of Truman's strength continues to lie with the same people who elected Franklin Roosevelt as President four straight times. It is refreshing that the common people continue loyal to the liberalism of the New Deal.

The Nation would do well to keep Mr. Neuberger actively mixing with the people and reporting their thoughts on the great problems of the day.

E. W. MILL

Mt. Rainier, Md., February 8

They Must Live to Build

Dear Sirs: Franco may be nearing the end of the road—but unfortunately so are 120,000 Spanish Republicans in France. They are all that is left of approximately half a million persons who crossed the Pyrenees in 1939. What happened to the 380,000 who are missing? They died fighting fascism wherever

they could. In Narvik alone, of 1,200 Spanish volunteers who landed with the French and British forces, 800 were casualties. Spanish Republicans fought in North Africa, Italy, and France; 15,000 Spanish Republicans were in the ranks of the French *maquis*.

Today the survivors, veterans of a ten-year war, are the most destitute of any group in Europe: 45 per cent of the Spanish Republicans who applied to the International Rescue and Relief Committee for aid during a two-month period were partially disabled by tuberculosis or other diseases, had lost an arm, leg, or eye, or were suffering from neglected wounds; 26 per cent were seriously maimed or disabled, or had severe chronic diseases such as advanced tuberculosis. They need money, food, clothing, medicines, to live. They must live to build and guarantee a free democratic republic in Spain. More than half of the I. R. R. C. French budget is spent each month for cash relief for Spanish refugees in France. In addition the I. R. R. C. distributes thousands of packages of food and clothing a month. A special department in the committee's Paris office is devoted to Spanish Republican relief.

The I. R. R. C. wants to do twice the job it has been doing. It can, if American liberals support its program. These people acted as we hope we would have acted if we had been there. Their lives are in our hands. Help the cause of Spanish Republican relief by joining the International Rescue and Relief Committee, 103 Park Avenue, New York 17. Send clothing and food packages to the I. R. R. C. warehouse, 130 Orchard Street, New York 2.

L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD,
Chairman, International Rescue
and Relief Committee

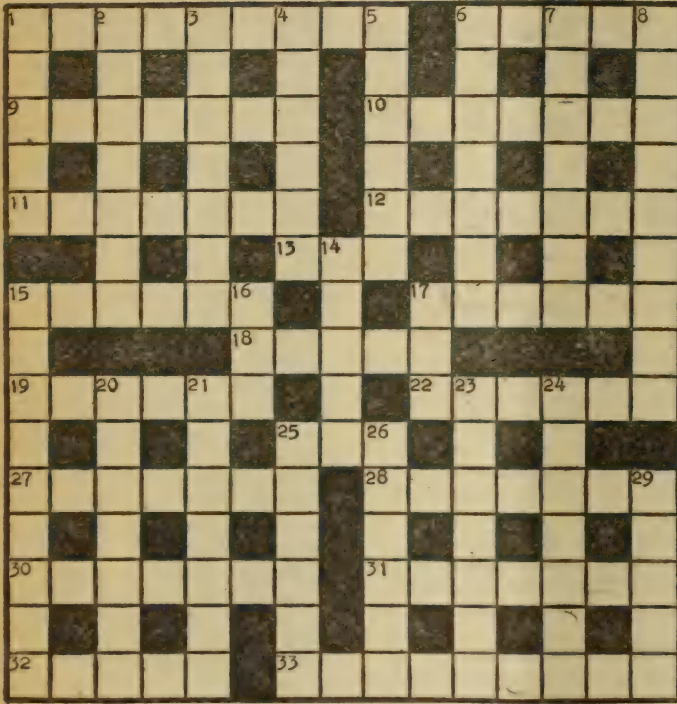
New York, February 1

To Study Health Agencies

Dear Sirs: The National Health Council, with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, is embarking upon an ambitious five-year program for which it is anxious to arouse public support and community action. This program stems from an extensive study of the voluntary health agencies of the nation, issued by the council last September, which disclosed considerable unevenness and weakness in their accomplishment.

Crossword Puzzle No. 150

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 American political party which makes a coster mad
- 6 The filer produces a weapon
- 9 Birds wedded to Art
- 10 The card game for spinsters (two words, 3 & 4)
- 11 Tillers (anag.)
- 12 English philosopher with a heart of copper
- 13 "I'm glad to --- you well," as the caller remarked to the oculist
- 15 Crayon made from petals
- 17 So we go for a place in New York
- 18 He often departs by wings
- 19 A story in color
- 22 Poet William Bryant's middle name
- 25 "With a smile and a song" (hidden)
- 27 It is mean to behead a big peer
- 28 Not natives of Essen
- 30 Runs second to Waldorf in the hotel business
- 31 "The ----- round, the common task, Would furnish all we ought to ask"
- 32 Oil wells of a sort
- 33 An insincere politician perhaps, but a popular leader

DOWN

- 1 Rough sketch of a structure large enough to keep 500 afloat
- 2 What worn-out gloves tend to become
- 3 Heroine of *La Dame aux Camellias*
- 4 Female donkey? That's fine!
- 5 In a word, man and wife

- 6 Bird which literally leaves no stone unturned (hyphen, 3-4)
- 7 Intended
- 8 Duck for cover
- 14 One of the movie crowd
- 15 Part is answered, but only the first part
- 16 Kid
- 17 Denizen of the deep
- 20 What a big gun Thomas has become! (two words, 4 & 3)
- 21 Goes on board, where there's a bar amidships
- 23 Can't use 6 Across until you this it
- 24 Between flights
- 25 Every time the King played an ace he would trumpet
- 26 Bone in your throat? No, in your nose
- 29 Loves to clear up the mystery

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 149

ACROSS:—1 JINKS; 4 HEWER; 7 MICA; 9 UMPIRE; 10 MINCE; 12 SERB; 13 GAFF; 15 SEA VIEW; 17 STYLOS; 18 TITIPU; 19 ODE; 21 ROSSINI; 23 KICKOFF; 24 LYE; 26 GLOVES; 28 HEROIC; 31 SALUTES; 32 LIDS; 35 FOOD; 36 DYAKS; 37 GOLDEN; 38 TEAR; 39 ARDEN; 40 RUDGE.

DOWN:—1 JAMB; 2 NOISES; 3 SHELVED; 4 HAMLET; 5 WING; 6 REEF; 7 MOSES; 8 CURLY; 11 CASINO; 14 FLUFF; 15 SORITES; 16 WITCHES; 19 OIL; 20 EKE; 21 REGAL; 22 SHODDY; 25 YOUNGER; 27 SAMSON; 28 HEALED; 29 OZONE; 30 CIDER; 33 IDEA; 34 SAID; 35 FETE.

It is clear that teamwork is required. Accordingly, the National Health Council, with the generous support of a Citizens' Planning Committee of twenty-five public-spirited leaders, has just entered upon a program to weld our health societies more closely on the national, state, and local levels, and to bring about a greater unity in their health-planning and fund-raising efforts. A primary move will be to stimulate the organization of health councils in every city, representing an affiliation of all the voluntary societies doing health work in the community. This effort will be carried on in cooperation with the Community Chests and Councils.

We are anxious to reach the large number of your readers who work in or contribute to our voluntary health agencies. We shall succeed only as an informed and aroused public opinion will put through the needed changes.

LOUIS I. DUBLIN,

Chairman, Committee for the Study of Voluntary Health Agencies

New York, February 19

Atomic Parables

Dear Sirs: The conversation on the subject of atomic-bomb control seems to revolve around two points which in turn revolve about each other, neither ever arriving at any destination. These points, the value or otherwise of UNO and the search for "middle ground" between world government and national "sovereignty," are reminiscent of two very old stories which I should like to tell you, leaving the conclusion for you to draw.

Two Irishmen were witnessing their first airplane flight. Says one, "Dinny, now how would you like to be way up there with that flimsy thing?" To which Dinny replied, "A domb sight better than to be up there without it."

A Southern Negro was sent to deliver a mule a few miles away. Since it was already dark, the owner of the mule said, "Now, Sam, if you see a light coming down the road, you drive off to one side until it goes by." The next day after diligent search and inquiry, Sam was located in a hospital undergoing heavy repairs. The owner asked, "Sam, why didn't you do as I said, and drive off to one side until that light went by?" To which Sam offered, "Ah intended to do dat, Boss, but thah was two lights, and ah took aim for the middle."

H. R. HADFIELD

Los Angeles, February 2

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 9, 1946

NUMBER 10

The Shape of Things

THERE'S A WAR ON. HUNGER IS THE CRUEL and ruthless aggressor. And once more, so far as America is concerned, it is a case of "too little and too late." Surely the experts knew months ago—a great many non-experts did—that the world must be fed and that we must make up any deficiency. Yet with a light-hearted and light-headed irresponsibility that becomes more appalling with every day that passes and with every undernourished child that dies in Europe or Asia, controls were lifted and Americans were told in effect that they could eat, and waste, as much as they pleased. At last President Truman has called a conference of "civic leaders," and we are informed that an "aggressive" campaign will be waged to persuade Americans to use substitutes and eliminate waste. Ordinary Americans are more than willing, but one wonders whether the speculators and the hoarders are. Marquis Childs points out that a thousand wheat elevators in the Northwest are full to bursting, while Secretary of Agriculture Anderson has announced that commitments of wheat for Europe were short 150,000 tons in February and will be even shorter in March. Factors in the situation are the poor coordination of box-car facilities and the grain lobby's desire for higher profits and an end of price control. We hope Secretary Anderson is right in his stubborn insistence that a voluntary program will suffice. But the public should be prepared to accept rationing again when and if it appears necessary. The question is whether the necessity will be recognized by President Truman and his advisers.

✱

THE BALD ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE MOSCOW radio that Soviet forces will be maintained in northwestern Iran "until the situation is elucidated" has not, as we go to press, been followed by any official explanation. Presumably the Soviet government has some very cogent reason for taking this action, which on the face of it is a flagrant violation of the Anglo-Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1942. For this treaty provided for the simultaneous withdrawal from Iran of British and Russian troops six months after the war, a date subsequently fixed by mutual agreement as March 2, 1946. Moreover, when at the end of last year it was suggested that earlier evacuation would be desirable, the Soviet government declared

that it intended to move out on the appointed day, neither sooner nor later. Now it is reported that the British troops have all gone while Red Army units are remaining in Azerbaijan, the province where a "democratic" party enjoying Russian patronage has set up an autonomous administration. This news has, not unnaturally, greatly disturbed the State Department and the British Foreign Office, and provoked bitter protests in the Iranian parliament. On the other hand a spokesman for the Iranian government in Teheran has greeted the Russian action as a sign of friendship, which suggests that the Iranian delegation now in Moscow has signed, or is about to sign, a new treaty providing for concessions or other privileges for the Soviets in northwestern Iran. In the unlikely event that such a treaty were ratified by the Iranian parliament, it might offer some legal color for continued Russian occupation. But it would strengthen rather than weaken the case for a strong British protest since the 1942 treaty was a *tripartite* agreement designed to maintain Iran as neutral ground between Russia and Britain. Any unilateral action to change this position must upset the Middle Eastern balance of power and increase international tension.

✱

BY NAMING J. A. KRUG AS SUCCESSOR TO Harold Ickes at the Department of the Interior, the President has made a respectable appointment which shines by comparison with some of his recent choices. Mr. Krug has an unblemished personal reputation; he is able and energetic. Trained at the University of Wisconsin, a school which has produced many of our finest public servants, he entered his career under excellent auspices. David Lilienthal employed him on the Wisconsin Public Service Commission and later made him chief power engineer for TVA. There his reputation grew as an administrator, a keen negotiator, and a firm supporter of public power. Called to Washington in 1940 to integrate power resources, so that the heavy war load could be handled, he carried out his assignment with great efficiency. Later he was pulled out of the navy to take charge of the War Production Board after the Nelson-Wilson row. There, however, his work afforded far more satisfaction to the dollar-a-year men than to the progres-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	273
An End to Appeasement!	275
Enter Morality	276
Argentina in Suspense <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	277

ARTICLES

Germany's Hidden Assets <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	278
Franco's Zero Hour <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	279
The Four Germanys <i>by Vera Micheles Dean</i>	281
In the Wind	283
Deadline in India <i>by David Martin</i>	284
The Menace of Rheumatic Fever <i>by Martin Gumpert</i>	286
Middle Eastern Munich <i>by Eliahu Epstein</i>	287
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	289

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Three Poems <i>by Mark Van Doren</i>	290
Class and Color <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	290
Briefer Comment	291
The Camera's Glass Eye <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	294
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	297

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 299

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 151
by Jack Barrett 300

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:*

Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 518 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

sives in his department, who charged that he gave too free hand to big business. Certainly he pleased the industrial crowd after V-E Day when he encouraged the rapid demobilization of material and other controls. This record has raised the question whether at the Department of the Interior he will stand up firmly enough to the many pressure groups he will encounter there. His job requires more than personal integrity; it calls for toughness and vigilance in defending the national estate from persistent and ingenious poaching by private interests. We hope Mr. Krug's administration of his department will prove that he has these qualities and that he will live down the acclaim his appointment has elicited from Arthur Krock, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Daily News*.

★

ARE WE CREATING OUR OWN "IRON CURTAIN" while protesting the barriers erected by other nations? The refusal of a visitor's visa to Tom Wintringham, the distinguished British writer on politics and military affairs, appears to set a dangerous precedent. No reason for this action has yet been given but it is clear that the Departments of State and Justice regard Mr. Wintringham as "undesirable" because he was once a member of the British Communist Party and fought in Spain as commander of the British battalion of the International Brigade. The fact that he left that party in 1938 is apparently treated as irrelevant, as are his services in the recent war when he helped to found the famous Osterley Park Training School for the British Home Guard, and wrote books on tactics which were used by both the British and American armies. We are certainly entitled to know why a man of his caliber should be excluded from this country and to have a clear ruling on the admissibility of foreign Communists and ex-Communists. If all such are to be barred a large number of European officials, including members of the present British government, will be shut out. On the other hand, if this important matter is to be left to the whim of a handful of Washington officials, what becomes of our boasted "government of laws not of men"?

★

PROSPECTS FOR UNITY IN CHINA WERE materially brightened last week by the signing of a Kuomintang-Communist agreement for reorganization of the Chinese army. Under the new plan the men under arms in China will be reduced within eighteen months from approximately six million to slightly more than one million. Of the sixty divisions in the new force, fifty will be drawn from the present Kuomintang army and ten from the Communist troops. While the Communists will continue to have most of their soldiers in North China, some will be stationed in the Yangtze valley and in Manchuria. Communist and Kuomintang divisions will in many instances be combined in joint

armies, some under Communist and some under Kuomintang commanders. Expert American military observers are convinced that if the new plan can be put into effect, it will greatly reduce the danger of continued civil war. While the Kuomintang appears to have gained the upper hand in the allotment of troops, these observers point out that the tremendous area to be policed will leave it no surplus for offensive action. General George C. Marshall, whom the Kuomintang negotiator called the "midwife of Chinese unification," deserves major credit for the new management. Technically, the responsibility for carrying it out rests with a tripartite group set up at Peiping to enforce the truce; actually, all acute disagreements and problems will undoubtedly be referred to our ambassador for settlement. There may be need for General Marshall to stay on the job much longer than was originally contemplated.

✱

AUSTRIA, THE BIG-THREE POWERS AGREED at their Moscow meeting in October, 1943, was a victim of Nazi rape who, even though she had welcomed her fate with too much enthusiasm, should be given a chance of rehabilitation as a respectable member of the society of free nations. Their statement declared that they wished "to see reestablished a free and independent Austria and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves . . . to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace." Nine months after liberation Austrians are still pondering the meaning of these words. It is true that they have been allowed to participate in free elections and that a representative government has taken office, but the Allied Control Council representing the four occupying powers remains the supreme authority. What makes this intolerable is that it is an impotent authority unable to transact more than routine business because of its rule requiring unanimity. According to dispatches in the *New York Times*, this rule has been used by the Russian representative to block all measures to improve the economic situation, for instance, by restoring free movement and trade between the different occupation zones. Meanwhile, it is charged, the Red Army has seized control of most large industrial enterprises in eastern Austria. At Potsdam it was agreed that Russia was entitled to reparations from "German assets" in this area. The Red Army appears to have stretched this formula to cover everything that the Nazis confiscated in Austria, which means the major part of the country's scanty resources. In addition, it is reported that Russia has asked for 70,000 acres of farmland to provide its army with food, even though Austrians are being barely kept alive by UNRRA aid. We should like to know the reasons for this policy of squeeze, which seems inconsistent with Soviet ideals, long-term interests, and international engagements.

An End to Appeasement!

PERHAPS our State Department has not moved far from the position it held during the Spanish war. But it has moved. The Byrnes note calling for the three-power declaration on Spain indicates a weariness with the fascist dictator and a desire to see him out of the way. The lessons of the war are being slowly learned.

The Byrnes proposal, of course, did not carry that firm ringing note we like to hear. And it is quite possible that Franco will interpret it as the verbal reprimand he has become accustomed to expect from victorious democracies whose foreign policies are curiously tainted with past appeasement. We state that no overt steps will be taken against Franco. We speak of an interim government and make no mention of the lawfully constituted Republican government in exile. We warn that the change should not involve violence. In other words, while expressing our sharp displeasure with Franco, we give the Spanish Republicans inside and outside Spain no real assurance that we are determined to dispose of the unfinished business of European fascism. And it is precisely that assurance we should give.

Our gingerly approach to the matter of liquidating the Franco regime obviously does not spring from our fear of this faltering bully, nor yet from our concern for the Spanish people. It betrays rather the tensions and the confusion in our own official mind and in the official mind of Britain. It is part and parcel of that fatal attitude of regarding status quo reaction as safer than popular revolt. It is linked to our fear of Russia and to our belief that the challenge of Russia can be met better by bolstering shaky reactionary regimes than by strengthening the vital forces of genuine democracy. In the case of Spain, it means that we actually give serious consideration to rebuilding a throne so that we can seat thereon a Bourbon monarch and thus set the stage again for the long and bloody drama of revolution and civil war.

Our action on Spain should be determined simply by an appraisal of the Franco record and the present character of the Franco regime and by our declared war objectives to end fascism and strengthen democracy. Last week *The Nation* Associates, in cooperation with a group of seven other organizations, issued a memorandum calling upon President Truman to end relations with Franco Spain and recognize the Spanish Republic. (Copies of the text may be obtained by writing to *The Nation*.) The memorandum was signed by Reinhold Niebuhr, Raymond Swing, Philip Murray, William L. Shirer, Henry A. Atkinson, Frank P. Graham, Jo Davidson, Elmer Benson, and Freda Kirchwey. It gave a summary of the Franco record from the beginning of the civil war on July 18, 1936, down to the present time. It stressed particularly the role Spain had played in the Axis war as an arsenal of fascism and as a base for Nazi espionage. It

quoted a recent report issued by the Enemy Division of the Foreign Economic Administration that placed Spain at the head of the list of countries in which Nazi Germany had captured an important economic foothold and which, like Argentina, could be used as a base for Nazi revival. The report states:

German technicians know Spanish trade secrets and in many cases control the policies of various companies. Notwithstanding a Spanish law limiting the employment of foreigners, German personnel continues to be firmly entrenched in Spanish industry. Most of the equipment recently purchased by Spain has come from Germany. Naturally, German technicians supervised its installation and often remained as technical managers.

Spain shows no sign of altering its character. Only last week it carried out a brutal execution of ten Spanish Republicans, one of whom had given gallant service against the Nazis in the French *maquis*. Spain today is an armed camp, with a standing army of 600,000 to 700,000 men and 50 per cent of the government expenditure going for military purposes. Franco's statement that the closing of the French frontier was part of an international Communist plot was a solemn echo of his late master's voice as he let loose the full flood of Nazi terror on Europe.

This man is the same kind of fascist we have been waging war against at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives and billions in wealth. He and his regime must be destroyed just as completely as fascism was destroyed in Germany and Italy and Japan. It is the grimmest sort of irony to suggest that he be replaced by a monarch who, as Alvarez del Vayo points out elsewhere, is utterly unwanted by the Spanish people and who during the civil war ardently espoused Franco and his cause. The only alternative to the present regime that meets the requirements of world security is a democratic republic.

It has been suggested that the present Spanish Republican government in Paris is not strong and that its members are out of touch with and consequently not representative of the Spanish people. Both suggestions contain a degree of truth, but they must not be used as pretexts for refusing recognition. First, let us have a definite break of diplomatic relations with the Franco regime. Then let us recognize as a provisional government of Spain until such time as free elections can be held the legally constituted government in exile—if need be, reinforced by other democratic elements. Then let the issue go, as France has suggested, to the Security Council of the UNO for such action and sanctions as are called for in dealing with a serious menace to world peace.

Franco's power today rests almost entirely upon our uncertainties and confused purposes. If we take a firm stand and forget the double talk we shall be surprised to see how quickly the end of Franco will come.

Enter Morality

WHEN antagonists as far apart as Senators Pepper and Wheeler hurry to shake the hand of a colleague for his discourse on foreign policy, it may be assumed that the speaker has struck a rich vein of prevailing sentiment. That is what happened when Senator Vandenberg finished reporting on the state of the United Nations in a speech that called for "candor" on our part "as firm as Russia's always is," for a fixed limit on "compromise," and for our assumption of "a moral leadership which we have too frequently allowed to lapse." When the Republican Senator's remarks were followed the next day by an address in which the Democratic Secretary of State took precisely the same tack, the world had notice of something close to political solidarity in this country concerning American-Soviet relations.

The bedrock of this popular approach is that everything possible should and must be done to prevent the crack in these relations from widening into a disastrous breach, but that "everything possible" does not include a continuing toleration of Russian expansion through unilateral violations of either the letter or the spirit of the undertakings on which the United Nations Organization rests. Echoing Lieutenant General William Bedell Smith, our new ambassador to the Soviet Union, Vandenberg says that "the United States is willing to go a long way in meeting its international associates, but that it must be watchful of its own vital interests and 'hold to the line beyond which compromises cannot go' . . . even if we once crossed that line under the pressures of the exigencies of war."

The speeches of Vandenberg, Byrnes, and Smith are widely held to be a turning-point in American policy—and we believe they are. In the game of power politics the United States has come off none too well, and it is returning now to its historic role of moralist to the world. We are only too glad to note this reentry of political morality on the big-power level, and we rejoice over what appears to be an end to the policy of winking at Russia's didoes in Eastern Europe in exchange for Russian toleration of Anglo-American mischief elsewhere.

At this point, however, it is fair to ask whether the standards of the new integrity are to be applied only to the Soviets. Secretary Byrnes has laid down several unimpeachable principles, each of which raises a pertinent question:

1. "We [the great powers] will not and we cannot stand aloof if force or the threat of force is used contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter." We hope and imagine that the Secretary is referring to the Soviet threat to Iran; we hope, but do *not* imagine, that he likewise has Indonesia and India in mind.

2. "We have no right to hold our troops in the territories of other sovereign states without their approval and consent freely given." Here again we trust Mr. Byrnes refers to Russian troops left in Iran despite the solemn promise to clear them out by March 2. Does he also refer to American troops left in Iceland despite President Roosevelt's categorical promise to remove them on the cessation of hostilities?

3. "We must not conduct a war of nerves to achieve strategic ends." We believe, with Bevin, that the Russians have been conducting just such a war against Turkey, and we think it needed to be said. But was there ever in history so colossal a war of nerves as that which we are waging by the exclusive manufacture of a weapon that gives us the power of life or death over any other nation on the globe?

In short, we favor the principles set forth by Vandenberg and Byrnes—so much, in fact, that we want them universally applied. If we lavish all our conscience on the Soviet Union, saving none for ourselves, the Byrnes-Vandenberg turning-point will merely mark a change from power politics taken straight to power politics with a morality chaser.

Argentina in Suspense

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

Buenos Aires, March 3

LAST Monday and Tuesday the active democrats of Argentina indulged in a spree of optimism. The ugly, bloody campaign was over; the election against all probability had been orderly and apparently fair; a fair election meant a sure democratic victory. Almost everyone I talked to from Tamborini and Mosca to their least important followers expressed unqualified confidence. Tamborini thought the Perón machine would "evaporate." The army was showered with democratic appreciation, official and popular. Because the election itself was carried through without fraud, the flagrant fraud of the campaign itself was generously disregarded. Confident of victory, few democrats felt like raking up past grievances. Reports were circulated that the Radical Party had reached an "understanding" with the army before the election, guaranteeing it against reprisals in return for order and an honest vote. Whether this rumor is true or false, it was evident that friendly relations had been established. Tamborini deprecated the very idea of a purge of pro-Nazi officers. Reconciliation was in the air. Only a handful of the many democrats I talked to admitted such doubts as I reported last week, and they were looked upon as over-skeptical and rather cantankerous. Even the Peronistas seemed to accept the general verdict. Their headquarters were dark and almost deserted the night after the election. Perón himself warned his fol-

lowers to be prepared to "accept the results" whatever they were.

Today the change of atmosphere is sensational. Although only about 10 per cent of the vote has been tabulated, the unmistakable trend toward Perón has thrust the democrats into a depression as black as their hopes were bright. Tamborini and Mosca may win, but they will face an almost certain Perón majority in the Congress and Peronista governments in many provinces. This will mean a legislative deadlock and all kinds of trouble.

In Argentina the executive has great power: in certain circumstances—as we saw during the Castillo regime—he can declare a state of siege, dismiss Congress, and call for new elections—or postpone them. But the state of siege has been one of the chief targets of the democratic campaign. A radical President can hardly initiate his administration by dissolving a Congress chosen in elections he and his party and the whole Democratic Union had officially pronounced fair and free. Even if he wishes to, the President could act only if he knew he had the support of the army. In spite of its recent good behavior the army is predominantly pro-Nazi. Few people believe it would back a democratic President against an anti-democratic Congress, and it could marshal the best of democratic excuses for refusing to do so. On the other hand, a Perónist majority in Congress would block all measures except its own and so bring government to a standstill. The only possible outcome of such a dilemma would be a new and even more bitter struggle for power, with the democratic forces in an inferior strategic position.

The alternative, which still looks unlikely, is an outright victory for Perón. This would obviously bring new dangers, but it would also clarify the issue and force the four democratic parties to continue their campaign alliance. As a legal opposition they could carry on the fight against fascism openly, challenging Perón to honor his own commitment to the electoral result. If he abandoned constitutional methods, returning to his old tactics of street fighting and police terror—tactics freely used until a few days before the elections—the struggle would again become a revolutionary one. Bitter as this necessity would be, it might be preferable to a divided, indecisive result which left Perón in a position to throttle democratic government while posing as its defender.

These major alternatives, together with innumerable subsidiary possibilities, are being debated on street corners and in sidewalk cafes and living-rooms all over Buenos Aires. Until the last vote is counted—some time after March 10, when the re-balloting in contested districts in Buenos Aires province takes place—the political tension here will continue. The Argentine democrats face difficulties as challenging as any they have tackled in the past three years. They will need steady support and understanding from their friends in the United States.

Germany's Hidden Assets

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 28

THE gigantic diplomatic duel now under way between the Soviet Union and the British Empire has served to distract attention from the basic problem of victory. That problem is to prevent a resurgence of German aggression. Historically, Russia and Britain have always quarreled too soon after, and drawn together too late before, each German attempt at world power. The old pattern is reasserting itself, and the consequences may prove costly. The time has come to make public opinion realize that, despite defeat, the Reich still has enormous economic and political assets at home and abroad which can again be utilized for war.

I would like to call the attention of the thoughtful to several Congressional committee hearings held in the past few months and a number of documents which throw a great deal of light on this problem. Consider first the report made at the end of October by the United States Strategic Bombing Survey. This study shows that German plant capacity was so greatly expanded during the Hitler regime that it was never fully utilized during the war. Most of the Reich's industry was on a one-shift basis, while ours and Britain's worked round the clock. The key machine-tool industry had so enormous a capacity that 30 per cent of it could be diverted to direct production of munitions. "Man-power . . . was never fully mobilized," and the output of civilian goods "at a fairly comfortable level . . . was maintained virtually stable until well into 1944." This vast capacity does not lie in ruins. More than three-fourths of it is intact or readily repairable.

In two sets of hearings the Kilgore committee of the United States Senate has provided a picture of the extent to which the Germans are already succeeding in undermining the Potsdam program for the reduction of the Reich's war-making potential, the purge of Nazi influence, and the breaking up of the great cartels which have played so crucial a role in past German aggression. The most important of these cartels is I. G. Farben, and among the material submitted to the Kilgore committee by the War Department in December (published in Part 7, Elimination of German Resources for War) is a memorandum which estimates that I. G. Farben's productive capacity after three months of repair work "would reach 87 per cent."

The two Kilgore hearings to which I refer are those held December 11 and 12 and last Monday, February 25. The two witnesses in December were Major General John

H. Hildring, director of the army's Civil Affairs Division, who has just been nominated as an Assistant Secretary of State, and Colonel Bernard Bernstein, until recently of the General Staff corps, where he was director of the Division of Investigation of Cartels and External Assets in the Office of Military Government (Germany). The witness last Monday was Russell A. Nixon, an official of the United Electrical Workers, who was for a time acting director of that division. The testimony indicates that despite excellent directives and much good intention in the High Command and the State Department, there is strong opposition to the Potsdam program among our military and diplomatic personnel.

I will cite but one example from Nixon's testimony. The Potsdam agreement and the original Roosevelt directive on Germany called for the purge not only of the Nazi leaders but of industrialists who had been their active collaborators. Richard Freudenberg was one of these industrialists. Yet his exemption from the denazification order was asked by some Military Government officials, and when the fight was taken to higher levels, "Mr. Reinhardt, representing Ambassador Murphy, insisted: what we are doing here through denazification is nothing less than a social revolution. If the Russians want to bolshevize their side of the Elbe that is their business, but it is not in conformity with American standards to cut away the basis of private property." The denazification board at Frankfurt voted four to one to exempt Freudenberg, but its decision had been temporarily tabled on higher orders at the time Nixon left.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Nixon's testimony dealt with the program to root out Germany's secret assets in other countries, notably Spain and Argentina. Last December the Enemy Division of the Foreign Economic Administration submitted a report on the role these assets had played in two world wars and on the importance of a vigorous program for their liquidation. They include funds, secret industrial agreements, patents, and laboratories. One vivid sentence in the report holds the imagination. "It may be as essential," it says, "to prevent Germans in other countries from making an atomic bomb as it is to prevent them from doing so in Germany." To read that report and the memorandum on Spain presented to the President this week by The Nation Associates and other organizations is to begin to understand how important the fight against Franco and Perón is to American and world security. The financial value of these secret assets in Spain, Argentina, Turkey,

Sweden, Switzerland, and elsewhere is placed by the FEA at \$1,500,000,000. Their future military value is incalculable. No one knows what surprises may be hatching for us in the laboratories of German-controlled chemical and electrical companies.

The program for eliminating these external assets seems to have bogged down badly. Nixon may have been wrong in saying that it was a violation of the Potsdam agreement to exclude the Soviet Union from participating in the hunt for hidden assets in such countries as Spain, but he was certainly right in terming it inconsistent with four-power unity. He provided a revealing glimpse of motivations in describing a teletype conference held on December 15 between General Clay and the State Department, in which Nixon participated from Germany.

The department argued that four-power operations in such countries as Spain "might breed conflicts with respect to foreign policy which it is strongly desired to avoid." But while it may be overstated, there is an irreducible kernel of truth in Nixon's charge that elements in the United States, British, and French Foreign Offices are "consciously maneuvering" against four-

power action in the neutral countries because it would fully bare the character of the regimes in these countries "and would reveal all the elements of collaboration of certain interests in the Allied countries with these regimes."

The British government is against the use of sanctions to force the neutrals to cooperate. The American government is hedging on forceful action in Latin America, partly because of the powerful influence which certain collaborationist financiers and companies exercise in Washington, especially in the Alien Property Custodian's office and even in the White House entourage. Right now, while the State Department is asking the neutrals to throw open German patents to general use, the Custodian is fighting the application of a similar policy in this country. The hopeful developments are (1) the President's appointment of Randolph Paul as a special assistant to deal with the problem of German external assets, and (2) the growing signs of a new policy toward Spain. If public opinion can be awakened to the fact that German power is far from crushed, perhaps we can make some progress.

Franco's Zero Hour

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, March 1

THE Spanish issue has exploded suddenly this week as I have often predicted it would. It was naive to expect that the people of Europe would wait docilely six months or a year or two years until the big powers would condescend to put an end to Franco's provocations. The closing of the French frontier at the very moment the French people are desperately in need of the foodstuffs they might get from Spain shows that the time for words has passed and the time for action has come. That is why the note by Secretary Byrnes calling for a three-power appeal to the Spanish people to throw off the Franco yoke is viewed with some skepticism. That is why the French are insisting on a clear break with Franco. That is why France is prepared to carry the matter to the Security Council of the UNO and insists that steps be taken against a fascist power that so clearly endangers the peace. Nor are there many who favor the idea of a "caretaker government," since only a true republic can secure democracy in Spain.

Last Tuesday's magnificent meeting in the Vélodrome d'Hiver, Paris's Madison Square Garden, must have been a rude shock to those American correspondents who have been telling the people back home the French are so tired and hungry that they just don't give a damn about politics. Forty thousand people jammed the "Vel d'Hiv,"

and an overflow crowd of several thousand more filled the streets around the hall.

In the light of the French action, I think *Nation* readers will be particularly interested in the adventures of a Spaniard who has just come out of Spain with one of the most complete first-hand reports of many years. Last October in Mexico Juan Negrín and the rest of us who form the executive committee of the Spanish Socialist Party decided to send one of our best men into Spain, not to work in the underground but to see what was going on inside the country. Our man has just returned to Paris to meet Negrín and me. He traveled all through Spain and showed us railroad stubs that traced his journey into every corner of the country. With a knapsack of food on his back he climbed into the Asturian mountains to eat with a band of guerrillas; he dined with Spanish business men in Madrid's most fashionable restaurant; he saw prisoners coming out of Franco jails; he watched Falangists drilling.

Taking the unpleasant side of his account first, I must report that Franco is stronger than he was six months ago. The explanation is simple: the Spanish dictator has stopped taking Allied statements about his regime seriously. Perhaps the courageous decision of the French government to answer the execution of Christino García and nine other Spanish Republicans by closing the

frontier may change his mind, but until now, at least, he has shown a cynical skepticism about the intentions of the democracies. Our man described in detail the evolution of Franco's thinking since the San Francisco conference. The Quintanilla resolution barring fascist Spain from the world community created a momentary panic in Madrid. Convinced that his days were numbered, Franco resumed his flirtation with Don Juan. A week or two passed—and nothing happened. The British ambassador continued to show the dictator the greatest courtesy. An American official told his friends in the Spanish Foreign Office that in America only the Communists and *The Nation* were against Franco; that Washington would never endanger American-Spanish relations just to see a few Moscow agents, disguised as Spanish democrats, take power. Given this sort of encouragement, Falangist wits soon began to make jokes about San Francisco and Potsdam; more recently the UNO session in London provided them with material for a fresh batch of *bons mots*. One day our man accompanied a Latin American to the Spanish Foreign Office, where he had a chance to hear some of these bits of "humor." But he was far more interested in listening to an official of the Foreign Office explain to the Latin American that the United States was highly pleased by Franco's readiness to let the Americans build airfields in Spain "which could later be used against Russia."

We had specifically instructed our man to sound out as many people as possible on the question of the monarchy. His report on this point is conclusive: "Don Juan's followers consist of a dozen grandees, a few of the elder army officers, a handful of prelates—the majority of the Catholic hierarchy are still pro-Franco and opposed to any change—and the few remaining members of the Monarchist Party, which by 1936 had already lost most of its adherents. Even experienced royalist leaders like Antonio Goicoechea, Minister of the Interior under Alfonso and later director of the Bank of Spain, are afraid that to attempt a restoration of the monarchy at this time would plunge Spain into another bloody war. Their doubts about the wisdom of such a move were increased when the arrival of Don Juan in Lisbon failed to produce any sort of reaction in Spain. Though the Pretender's visit to Portugal had received a great deal of advance publicity, it left the Spanish people absolutely cold." Whether there has been a real breakdown in negotiations between Franco and Don Juan or whether these rumors are merely a smoke screen to cover further negotiations, only the protagonists themselves can say.

Our reporter said that there are still a half-million prisoners in Spain. I thought his figure was too high, but he insisted that he had checked it scrupulously with representatives of all the political parties. People abroad, he explained, are misled into believing that the number of prisoners has been sharply reduced because every six

months or so, on the occasion of some religious celebration or Falange ceremony, Franco issues an "amnesty" decree freeing thousands of prisoners. They really are freed—for a fortnight. Then they are promptly re-arrested on the pretext of having violated one of the hundreds of new regulations. There is no greater farce than the Franco amnesties.

Years of imprisonment have failed to break the spirit and the solidarity of the Spanish Republicans. The recent wave of executions at the prison of Alcalá de Henares which provoked such horrified protest abroad was touched off by a significant incident. One of the prisoners was punished for a slight infraction of the rules by having his head shaved. That evening all the prisoners appeared in the mess hall with shaved heads. As punishment, the director of the prison ordered that every tenth man would not be permitted to see his family on the regular visiting day. Those visits are a matter of life and death for many of the prisoners because their families bring them a little food. Yet on the next visiting day all the prisoners refused to see their families. At that point a bloodthirsty Falangist went berserk and the mass executions began.

The government has built up another lucrative racket through the state-controlled system of supply. It forces the farmers, for example, to sell their potatoes to the state at an absurdly low price and then resells them in the black market. The army, too, comes in for its share of the profits; Franco allows high-ranking officers to sell gasoline on the black market. The fact that the gasoline was bought from the United States explains why the army, now that Hitler has been defeated, is so strongly pro-American. Even death is a business proposition under the Franco dictatorship. When a Republican is executed at the "model prison" of Carabanchel Bajo, the family of the dead man is permitted to see the corpse for a nominal fee of 10 pesetas.

The rationing board at 21 San Bernardo Street in Madrid is the most hated spot in the city. Actually, the red tape of a corrupt bureaucracy makes the rationing system almost non-existent. Day after day long queues of emaciated women wait in front of the building to obtain their food cards; in the four months that our man spent in Spain he was unable to get a card. Prices are exorbitant: a liter of olive oil costs 20 pesetas; dried beans, 18 pesetas; *garbanzos*, when they are to be had at all, cost some 30 pesetas a kilo; a kilo of rice sells for 22 pesetas; the price of potatoes runs from 6 to 8 pesetas a kilo. Since the highest daily wage is 11 pesetas, the Spanish workers are slowly starving to death. One of the jokes that is making the rounds in Madrid these days goes like this: One worker asks another, "How do you manage to feed your kids?" "Well," answers the second worker, "as soon as we sit down to dinner, I begin to sing the Falange song, 'Cara al sol.' When I come to the

point where I say, 'Franco! Franco! Franco!' my kids always answer, 'We are reds!' Then I punish them by sending them off to bed."

The hopes of Republicans in Spain ran high last fall when the Giral government in exile was formed in Mexico, but their enthusiasm began to fade as they realized its weaknesses. On the other hand, Negrín's position is even stronger than it was a year ago, and his interview with Under Secretary of State Acheson made a profound impression. The people have found a popular slogan in the initials of the state-operated railway system, the RENFE: "Regresando a España Negrín! Franco estorba!" The underground is absolutely against the plebiscite proposed by Indalecio Prieto; Prieto is very popular among monarchists and that section of the high bourgeoisie that has turned away from Franco.

During the last year we received frequent reports that there was widespread fear in Spain of the *segunda vuelta*, the savage vengeance the Republicans would exact when they returned to power. This has been a favorite theme of Cardinal Spellman, whose forthcoming visit to Spain is a subject of rapturous comment in the Franco press. Our man found that the only Spaniards who talk of a *segunda vuelta* are Franco's torturers and executioners. The rest of Spain lives in fear of the new reign of terror instituted by Franco. When my friend left Spain, thousands of Moorish soldiers were pouring in from Morocco. The Moors have always been Franco's favorite shock troops. He sent them against the Asturian miners in 1934. He will use them this time against the entire Spanish people unless America and Britain speak out now, as boldly as France has spoken.

The Four Germanys

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

*Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association and author of
"The Four Cornerstones of Peace"*

THE announced intention of the Allied Control Council in Berlin to deal with Germany's food problem on a national instead of a zonal basis focuses attention on a fundamental difficulty of the four-power administration of Germany. At the present time the defeated country and its shattered capital are divided into four zones, each under the control of one of the four Allies—the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and France. This division had been advocated before V-E Day by the military leaders of the Big Three chiefly because the British and Americans feared the extension of Russia's influence west of the Elbe, while the Russians feared Anglo-American influence in eastern Germany. The political leaders of the Big Three had never proposed the partitioning of the Reich as part of the final peace settlement, except in the matter of assigning certain eastern provinces to Poland and Russia. Yet pending this settlement, which may not be negotiated until 1947, the division of Germany into four zones has had, in some important respects, the effect of partition—but of a partition whose duration is unknown.

At the Crimea conference of February, 1945, where the United States, Britain, and Russia decided on zonal administration of Germany, they also agreed to establish an Allied Control Council, composed of the Supreme Commanders of the four occupying powers, with headquarters in Berlin, to coordinate policies in the different zones. This council, however, did not begin to function until September, four months after V-E Day. Meanwhile existing German administrative machinery had broken down, and the combat forces of the Allies had

to do the best they could to restore the basic necessities—water, gas, and electricity—and to assure minimum rations and a measure of security in their respective zones.

The zonal administration made the task of the Allied Control Council fundamentally different from that which confronted General MacArthur on the surrender of Japan. Moreover, Japan, being an island, can be conveniently isolated from the rest of the world and dealt with as if it were in an airtight laboratory, whereas Germany lies at the very heart of a continent seething with political, economic, and social conflicts, affected by events in the Reich and in turn affecting them. In addition, continuity of administration was preserved in Japan by retention of the Emperor and the governmental hierarchy, at least until successive purges decimated the official personnel. In Germany, on the contrary, the Nazi governmental system promptly disintegrated; Nazis were eliminated, with varying degrees of thoroughness in the four zones, from posts not only in government but also in industry, trade, banking, education, and other enterprises; and the German people, giving a literal interpretation to the phrase "unconditional surrender," looked to the Allies to reorganize life for them and to shoulder the political and economic burdens of defeat.

Divergent policies and practices in the four zones have been inevitable, given the well-known differences of tradition, temperament, and method of the occupying powers. The British, with their long experience in colonial administration, have used a relatively small number of well-trained officials to direct the activities of the Germans. Their zone is administered by a government agency

which has always baffled American classifiers, the Duchy of Lancaster, previously responsible for displaced persons in Germany. The occupation forces, now assimilated with the home command in the British Isles, are subordinate to the civilian government. By all accounts, the British, with their dislike of paper work and desire to function with a minimum of fuss, have done the best administrative work of all the Allies. Their success in the economic sphere is not yet so clear. Since Britain needs overseas markets for its industrial products, some Britishers are prone to deplore any measures that threaten to lower the German standard of living. In the Allied Control Council, for example, the British have urged a higher quota of steel production for Germany than is approved by the United States and Russia. Production in the Ruhr coal mines, which lie in the British zone, has apparently lagged behind that in the Saar mines, which are administered by the French. This has been due in the main to a shortage of skilled man-power (at the end of the war nearly 80 per cent of the Ruhr coal was being mined by foreign slave labor, which began to disperse after V-E Day), but in part also to apathy among German workers, who might have been spurred to greater effort had the victors revealed any desire for fundamental economic and social changes.

The Americans, seeking quick results, have worked like beavers and occasionally, through overzealousness, have got in the way of such efforts toward recovery as the Germans themselves have made. It is generally admitted that the Americans have been far more thorough in rooting out Nazis than the other Allies, including the Russians, but these purges have seriously slowed down economic production, and at the end of 1945 industry in the American zone was producing at only 10 to 12 per cent of current capacity. The greatest obstacle to the revival of German economic activity, however, is the failure to treat Germany as a single economic unit, as was proposed at Potsdam. The four zones are still isolated from one another, and there is little normal movement of persons or goods. Moreover, Berlin, where the country's economic activities had been strongly centralized under the Nazis, has been shorn of its controlling role, and the country's economy has perforce been decentralized by zones.

The eagerness of our combat troops to return home has seriously diminished their authority among the Germans, and has given American occupation an air of impermanency that jeopardizes the measures of reconstruction, many of them excellent, devised by American officers. General Eisenhower indicated last autumn that the War Department would turn over administration of the zone to civilian officials by June 1, but the State Department has declined to accept the transfer of authority on the ground that it is not an operating agency, and it looks at present as if the army would be left in

control by default, with the aid of such civilians as it will succeed in recruiting from among demobilized officers and men. The melting away of American forces has made it necessary for the United States authorities to employ Poles, Yugoslavs, and other European nationals who had been brought to Germany as war prisoners or slave labor and who for political reasons refused to return to their homelands. These "D. P.'s" who cannot be repatriated threaten to create a conflict between the United States, on the one hand, and Russia, Poland, and Yugoslavia on the other. At the same time, as Mrs. Roosevelt contended at the UNO meetings in London, it would be inhumane for the United States forcibly to return to their homelands men and women who fear that their lives and liberties would be endangered there. Credit should be given to the United States for being the first occupying power to hold elections in its zone; local elections took place in January, and provincial elections will be held in May.

The Russians, whose country was methodically devastated by the Germans, have removed from their zone all plants, equipment, and consumers' goods they needed, considering these as legitimate reparations for the losses they had suffered. The remaining industries have been encouraged to resume operations under German managers, and according to the reports of non-Russian observers, production in the Russian zone is far ahead of production in ours. Among other treasures the Russians took the cyclotron of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin; they also transported to the U. S. S. R. a number of German scientists and technicians, who are said to have been given comfortable quarters and good salaries, with instructions to continue their studies of the atomic bomb and other related inventions. Although they have removed the top Nazis who had places on their war criminals' list, the Russians have allowed many members of the Nazi Party to retain technical positions, leaving the job of purging the lesser Nazi fry to the Germans themselves. At the same time the Russians have taken great pride in encouraging manifestations of German culture, and in expressing their respect for the intellectual achievements of the Germans. They were ahead of the British and Americans in reopening educational institutions with textbooks purged of Nazi ideas and in permitting the publication of German newspapers and the showing of German films. They have urged the resumption of political activity, with special emphasis on cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats in their area and its extension to other zones.

The French have not lagged behind the Russians in helping themselves to foodstuffs and consumers' goods, which they also consider legitimate reparations. They have been sympathetic toward separatist sentiment, especially in Baden, and have urged the Germans in their zone to dissociate themselves from "Prussianism" and to

accept the cultural values of Western Europe, that is, of France. Stubbornly opposed to any revival of a centralized German state, they have refused to acquiesce in the formation of the five central administrative German departments—finance, industry, foreign trade, communications, and transport—envisaged in the Potsdam agreement. The French contend that the Ruhr and the Rhineland should be detached from Germany in the west, just as East Prussia and Silesia were detached in the east, before the Allies permit reconstruction of a central administration by the Germans. On this issue they are opposed by the Big Three, who would prefer, once they are satisfied that Germany has been rendered militarily impotent, to let the Germans handle their own administrative problems.

Serious as are the difficulties of the Allied Control Council, Berlin is now a most interesting and useful laboratory, where, out of the divergent ideas and practices of Russia and the Western powers, something resembling a common policy toward Germany is being slowly, if often painfully, developed. Here, for the first time since 1917, the Russians are not merely meeting the Western world on the formal level of diplomacy or military strategy but are discussing such common problems as food, shelter, the rights of trade unions, the publication of German newspapers, the revival of education and political parties—the thousand and one things that make up the stuff of daily living. The Russians are on their mettle not to be outmatched by the British and Americans in efficiency or humanity; the Westerners are learning that not all Russians are unbusinesslike and ruthless. Many of the thousands of Russian soldiers who have been stationed in Germany will return home with new ideas of the material comforts they would like to enjoy. These new ideas, translated into demands for improved standards of living, may have far-reaching repercussions on life in the U. S. S. R.

Undoubtedly the administration of Germany could have been carried out much more effectively, and its economy restored more rapidly, if control had been entrusted to a single power. This, however, was a practical impossibility at the time of Germany's defeat. In the long view, the experience of the four Allies in working together on their common problems in Germany, which are also the problems of Europe and the world, may be considered a valuable contribution to the never-ceasing process of international organization. What is essential now is to work out a formula which will permit the urgently needed unification of Germany's economic life without arousing the fear of Germany's neighbors that a centralized economic administration will ultimately develop into a military state bent once more on expansion. In the United States we have tended to think the French wrong in opposing economic centralization.

But it is difficult to see how Germany can be united economically and kept divided politically—which in essence was the contradictory program proposed at Potsdam. There is much to be said for a considerable measure of political decentralization, which would encourage the growth of democratic administrations in provincial cities that were once centers of German culture, such as Cologne, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich, Dresden, and Leipzig. If the Germans are to take a genuine interest in political and economic reconstruction, however, they must be given some idea of the ultimate nature of the national framework within which the Allies expect them to live. Allied policy on this point could be more readily clarified if the United States made it plain beyond the shadow of a doubt that it intends to maintain a continuing interest in Europe, and will back up its good intentions with political and economic action.

In the Wind

A WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT reports considerable confusion among the commissioned personnel at some of the smaller California naval bases. The rest rooms come in threes—one labeled Men, one labeled Women, and one labeled Officers.

THINGS WE NEVER KNEW TILL NOW: The New York Stock Exchange ran an advertisement in the Sunday *Times* a few weeks back which revealed: "Both your neighborhood voting place and the New York Stock Exchange provide common meeting grounds for all shades of opinion. . . . Second only to preserving the purity of the ballot is the need for preserving the integrity of the market place. . . . Truly, the voice of the people speaks more clearly and forcefully through this Exchange and the other organized markets of the country than through any other single means of expression, save the polling place."

LE JAZZ POLITIQUE: The London correspondent of the *Record Changer*, an American hot-jazz monthly, says, "It would appear that every jazz fan in Europe was a member of the underground movement."

A COMMITTEE OF LEADING NORWEGIANS headed by the chief justice of the Supreme Court is collecting funds to erect a memorial to Franklin D. Roosevelt in Oslo.

WORLD-GIRDLING AIRLINERS had just succeeded in convincing us that the world must be round after all, when along came Transcontinental and Western Air, trading as T. W. A., to throw the issue into doubt again. With the acquisition of European routes, T. W. A. has started billing itself as Trans-World Airways—a clear implication that, so far as T. W. A. is concerned, its planes are traveling across the world and to hell with this newfangled nonsense about going around it.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

Deadline in India

BY DAVID MARTIN

During the war Mr. Martin was in India as a pilot with the Royal Canadian Air Force. He has been a frequent contributor to the New Statesman and Nation and the London Tribune, using, of late, the pseudonym David Carpenter

IN INDIA a story is told about a conscientious American officer who undertook to find a solution for the Indian problem. He read books and clipped newspapers and interviewed representatives of the various nationalist movements. After four months his face had grown wan and his hands trembled. One night his roommate was awakened by terrified shrieks.

"Don't! Don't! You can't do this to us! We won't take it! Yes, you can have your loan interest free! Anything! But not that! Not that!"

"You had quite a nightmare last night," this companion remarked in the morning.

"Yeah," grunted the student. "I dreamed—" he choked. "Oh, God, I dreamed that the British had given us India by way of return lend-lease."

When I left India in September of last year, it was impossible to escape the feeling that something was about to happen. Beneath a thin veneer of peace and order, a mounting hatred of the English threatened any moment to erupt. Nowhere was this hatred stronger than in the army and in no section of the army stronger than among the officer caste.

Though the victory of the Labor Party in Great Britain aroused the hopes of the Indian nationalists, they were too much embittered by repeated disappointments to put their trust in any British government. "We will wait and see," they said, "but we will not wait long. If the Labor government does not give us independence, we will take it by force."

On my arrival in England I discussed the Indian problem with members of Parliament, government officials, and various Fleet Street Socialists. I expressed the opinion that in six to nine months there would be trouble, and not just from the aroused Indian population but from the Indian armed forces as well. Actually, in less than six months a strike broke out in the navy, developed into a full-fledged mutiny, and led to widespread rioting in Bombay and sympathetic demonstrations in army and air-force units elsewhere. It is significant that the British authorities found it necessary to use British instead of Indian troops to put down this latest uprising.

Although the Labor government is committed to Indian independence, the imperialist interests which oppose it are still powerful, especially in the Indian Civil Service, the permanent officialdom of the India Office, and the Imperial General Staff. The diehards still think

in terms of the past. They imagine that the tide of Indian nationalism will periodically rise, exhaust itself, and recede as it has done many times before. At its apogee there will be riots in the cities and nasty comments in the British and American press—but nothing that a determined administration cannot cope with so long as it has the backing of a loyal army. They do not realize that India has undergone fundamental changes since the end of the last war. Then the British still controlled the Indian army. *At the end of World War II they do not control it.*

During the war it was customary to cite the splendid record of the Indian army as proof of the basic loyalty of the Indian people. But the fact that Indian army units distinguished themselves in Burma, Africa, and Italy means absolutely nothing in terms of allegiance to the British Raj. The Indian is a good soldier, with a highly developed martial pride. Against a foreign enemy he fights bravely, even when he does not understand the issues. Against his own people he will not fight—not today, because for the first time he *does* understand the issues.

First let us consider the officer caste. At the end of the last war only a small minority of the officers were Indians. The few natives commissioned were generally professional soldiers and political albinos. In this war the rapid expansion of the Indian army to a force of 2,500,000 men compelled the British to recruit some 30,000 junior officers from the student and professional classes. Officer candidates were very carefully screened. But to find an anti-nationalist among these classes would be like finding a dodo in Central Park. Those who got through the screening may not have had police records, but they were all ardent nationalists.

Why did they join the army? In the case of the young Sikhs and Punjabis, their martial tradition had something to do with it. But other motives entered in. As intellectuals they understood the nature of Japanese imperialism and German fascism. Though they hated the British Raj, they realized that India's fate was tied to Britain's. They enlisted not to fight for Britain but for India. That is why Indian officers are so tolerant of other Indians who answered the call of Subhas Chandra Bose and joined the Japanese-sponsored Indian National Army. I met only one officer who believed that Bose's companions should be treated as traitors. The general opinion was that they were honest nationalists who mis-

takenly imagined they could achieve Indian independence with Japanese aid.

Their experience in the army has if anything strengthened the nationalism of the Indian officers. First they are embittered by the promotion system. Indians commissioned as second lieutenants are in due course promoted to first lieutenant, but beyond that they find it difficult to go. Indian captains are rare, majors virtually nonexistent. Time and time again Indian officers complained to me about the subterfuges used to promote British officers over the heads of Indians with greater seniority.

Another source of friction was the exclusive attitude of the British officers. Apart from a sensitive and enlightened handful, the British kept to themselves. "If a British officer enters our mess," said an Indian lieutenant, "we do our best to draw him into conversation and make him feel at home. But if one of us were to enter a British mess, they would let him eat by himself. No one would say a word to him." It is small things like this that make men see red.

I recall a dinner attended by some twenty Indian officers and three Canadians. The subject of conversation, as always, was British rule in India. At one point I felt called upon to moderate by suggesting that the British Raj, with all its evils, could not be placed in the same class as Nazism, or the British persecutions in India compared with the gas chambers of Belsen. At another time my Indian friends would have agreed, but now their tempers were aroused and the Scotch had loosened their tongues.

"What is the difference?" demanded a Hindu lieutenant angrily. "Didn't three million people die in the Bengal famine? And weren't the British responsible?"

"I'm not defending the British administration," I answered. "But surely one can't compare British negligence in Bengal with the calculated mass murders of Belsen?"

"It would have been kinder of the British to have gassed our people!" exploded the young lieutenant. "That would have been better than a lingering death from hunger."

So much for the officers; what of the rank and file? It used to be thought that the Indian army was made up of illiterate peasants completely uninterested in politics. Indian nationalism, it was said, was confined to a handful of agitators in the cities. That may have been true twenty years ago, but it certainly is not today. While most of the enlisted men are still illiterate, they have become, thanks in the main to the radio, intensely interested in politics and surprisingly well-informed. Here and there enterprising Indian officers have obtained permission to organize discussion groups for soldiers. They told me that they were frequently amazed to hear illiterate sepoy ask detailed questions about the Wavell offer, the Simla conference, the election of the British Labor government, and similar matters.

Since September the situation in India has grown steadily more explosive. The Labor government has not kept its promise of turning India over to the Dominions Office; the people have been deeply stirred by the distressing events in Java and the riots in Calcutta; no amnesty for political prisoners has been declared, and the Congress Socialist Party is still illegal.

The British, of course, face almost insoluble problems, but they should realize that the most imperfect solution will be better than none at all. They are approaching a deadline. If they ignore it, they court disaster.

The Indian people expect the Constituent Assembly to be convoked as promised, and they expect self-government to emerge from it. They demand the right to settle

residual differences among themselves, even if it means a civil war. The mood of India today has nothing in common with the passivity of *Satyagraha*. If independence does not come within the promised time, the now thoroughly aroused people of In-

dia will rise with a fury which will sweep the British Raj into the sea and perhaps destroy Britain as a great power.

Until recently Indian nationalists were wont to look to America and Russia for possible support. Today they are inclined to suspect America, partly because of our policy in China, partly because of their experience with the racial prejudices of American soldiers. And their feelings toward the Soviet Union have been cooled by the actions of the Indian Communist Party. They have never forgiven the party for sabotaging the civil-disobedience movement in 1942, and when the Communists came out recently for a modified form of Pakistan, which they had previously opposed tooth and nail, it was simply too much for Congress to bear. Nehru, without altogether abandoning his sympathy for Russia, has complained bitterly that the Communist Party behaves more like a Russian than an Indian national party.

In Indian eyes Britain's one great crime is that it keeps India in subjection. England's parliamentary and judicial system, its philosophy and literature are held in the utmost respect by enlightened Indian nationalists. If independence were granted, without haggling or recrimination, India's attitude toward Britain would change overnight. A liberated India would look to Labor England rather than to Soviet Russia or capitalist America for moral and political leadership. And through this leadership Britain could maintain the material connections which it is understandably anxious to preserve.



The Menace of Rheumatic Fever

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

A New York physician; author of "Hahnemann, the Adventurous Career of a Medical Rebel"

SENATOR BRIEN MCMAHON advanced an extremely sound idea when he suggested to President Truman that one of the tasks of the United Nations should be to form a group of scientists, similar to the group engaged in atomic research, "to discover causes and cures for the deadly diseases of mankind."

If a project like this should ever be realized—on either an international or a national scale—one of its first objectives might well be more knowledge about the deadly and crippling disease known as rheumatic fever. Dr. H. M. Marvin has written in a report of the American Heart Association: "It is the opinion of many leaders in medicine and public health that rheumatic fever and its complicating heart disease is the one important disease which is receiving the least adequate attention and financial support. Huge sums are contributed annually for tuberculosis, cancer, and infantile paralysis. Rheumatic fever ranks with these in importance, but up to the present time almost no funds have been raised to combat it."

Rheumatic fever ranks third as a chronic infectious disease in this country; only tuberculosis and syphilis are more prevalent. It ranks first as the cause of death and invalidism in the age group from five to nineteen, causing 4.5 times as many deaths in individuals under twenty as whooping cough, measles, meningitis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and infantile paralysis combined, and also more deaths than tuberculosis of the lungs. No reliable national survey has been made, but it is authoritatively estimated that 500,000 school children in this country suffer from rheumatic fever. In 1943-44 the army reported 18,000 cases, the navy 15,000. The incidence of rheumatic heart disease among school children is between 0.3 and 0.4 per cent and among college students between 0.6 and 1 per cent.

Rheumatic fever is an acute infection of unknown cause; it is often of epidemic character, usually appearing in late winter and early spring. All epidemics of the disease are preceded by epidemics of streptococcal infections. Rheumatic fever begins with sore throat or bronchitis, high temperature, swelling of the joints. The arthritic and heart symptoms often do not appear until the sore throat has lasted for ten days. The heart is affected in almost every case. Laboratory and clinical tests permit the exact diagnosis of rheumatic fever once the doctor's suspicion has been aroused, but countless cases are not properly diagnosed in time. The most dangerous characteristic of the disease is its tendency to become chronic, with frequent and increasingly serious relapses.

Though rheumatic fever is known in every climate, the northern states and the Rocky Mountains are favored areas. It is more prevalent in cities than in the country. Bad housing, bad clothing, bad nutrition are contributory factors. The accepted method of treatment is prolonged rest in bed, often for more than a year, careful nursing, protection from renewed infection. All this requires money and a good deal of emotional adjustment on the part of the patient and his family. Neither facilities for the necessary medical care nor understanding of the disease among physicians is adequate at present.

Two years ago a conference of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor suggested an independent national organization for combating rheumatic fever. A year later the American Council on Rheumatic Fever was founded. It consists of representatives of ten organizations—the American Medical Association, the Public Health Association, the Rheumatism Association, and others—is advised by a dozen leading experts, and is affiliated with the American Heart Association. The council's tasks are to disseminate knowledge of the criteria applicable to the diagnosis of rheumatic fever, to plan community rheumatic-fever projects, to assist or initiate research. Unfortunately its means are pathetically small; only \$25,000 has been placed at its disposal, though it hopes to get \$50,000 more in the near future. An efficient fight against rheumatic fever would require but a few hundred thousand dollars, and it is a shame that this modest sum is not available.

A number of promising leads beckon to research workers. Sulfa drugs and penicillin do not cure rheumatic fever, but mass experiments with sulfa drugs have shown that they protect children suffering from the disease against dangerous new infections. During the past few years large doses of salicylates, given under strict medical supervision, have succeeded in bringing relief to rheumatic-fever patients. The search for the cause of rheumatic fever has not greatly advanced, but there is some reason to believe that the preceding streptococcal infection creates an allergic disposition of the heart tissues to the products of the germs. The role of heredity in increasing susceptibility to the disease is also an important object of research. According to Dr. May G. Wilson of the New York Hospital, rheumatic fever occurs in almost 100 per cent of the children whose parents have both had it.

New York University has an excellent sanitarium for rheumatic children; another, St. Francis Sanitarium, is

located at Roslyn, Long Island, under the direction of Dr. Leo Taran. A few years ago the New York State Department of Health established a sanitarium at West Haverstraw which was intended to serve as a teaching center for physicians, but the project was abandoned because of the war. The only working community program is at Syracuse, New York. Organized on the initiative of a social-minded physician, Dr. Fred Hiss, it has received the backing of the State Health Department, the City Health Department, the local nursing associations, local clinics, the school system, social agencies, and various

churches. A central registry for rheumatic-fever cases is operated, and a small hospital provides care for convalescents.

Such admirable but necessarily insufficient effort should be extended by a planned, nation-wide stimulation of research and social responsibility. Rheumatic fever is a growing public danger, worse than infantile paralysis. The funds needed to combat it should not have to be raised by charity.

[New developments in medicine and related fields will be discussed by Dr. Gumpert at frequent intervals.]

Middle Eastern Munich

BY ELIAHU EPSTEIN

Chief of the Arab Department of the Jewish Agency and a distinguished Orientalist

SOME time ago the New York Times published a conversation that took place in Beirut between its correspondent, Clifton Daniel, and Jamal Hussein, exiled leader of the Palestine Arab Party, who has recently been permitted by the Palestine government to return to that country. Mr. Daniel referred to Mr. Hussein's having been a refugee in Beirut, Baghdad, and Teheran, and said he had surrendered to the British in Iran in 1941 and been sent to southern Rhodesia. He did not, however, mention the reasons for Mr. Hussein's frequent changes of residence. The fact is that Jamal Hussein was accompanying his cousin, Haj Amin el-Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, on his flight from Baghdad. In Teheran the ex-Mufti succeeded, with the help of the Japanese embassy, in escaping to Italy and later to Germany. Jamal Hussein, less fortunate, was apprehended by the British when they entered the Iranian capital.

For four years before the outbreak of war the Arabs of Palestine, incited by the ex-Mufti and Jamal Hussein, had been creating disturbances against the government and the Yishuv in Palestine. The majority of them were violently anti-British, and influenced by the poisonous propaganda of these same leaders, displayed considerable sympathy for the Axis powers, especially Germany. Political contacts with the fascist countries had been established by Palestinian Arab politicians in the early 1930's. These contacts had the desired result when the Italians and Germans furnished the Arabs arms, guidance, and money for use against the British in Palestine.

After their flight from Palestine in October, 1937, the two cousins established "headquarters" in Syria, whence they continued to direct terroristic activities in Palestine and to strengthen their connections with the Axis. Two months after the outbreak of the war they

moved to Bagdad. Anti-British circles in Iraq—including the government, which was then headed by the supposedly pro-British Nuri Pasha Said—welcomed the Husseinis and their entourage and treated them with every mark of respect. Financial aid from the Axis and the support of other Arab countries enabled them to continue their political machinations.

The ex-Mufti and his cousin exercised a great deal of influence on the internal affairs of Iraq. It was their wire-pulling which brought Rashid Ali al-Gilani to power in March, 1940. British agents attempted at various times to negotiate with them and to get them to change their attitude, but their pro-Axis activities were intensified. The abortive revolt launched by Rashid Ali al-Gilani in April, 1941, was designed to administer the knockout blow to Britain's position in the Middle East; it was expected that the Germans would invade Syria and Iraq at any moment. Throughout this crucial period of the war the Husseinis played a very important role in preparing and executing the plans of the Nazis in the Middle East. They were assisted in this by a number of other Palestinian politicians, among whom was Musa al-Alami, for the past two years accepted by the British and the Arab League as the representative of the Palestine Arabs. Musa al-Alami is now head of the Arab Office in Jerusalem, which has branches in London and Washington.

Only a few days ago an Associated Press dispatch from Nürnberg reported the disclosure of official records of the German Foreign Ministry on the contemplated "Battle of Suez." These documents showed clearly how Rashid Ali al-Gilani and his friends tried to stab the Allies in the back. Rashid Ali has been condemned to death in Iraq, but *The Nation's* readers will be interested to know that he is still enjoying his freedom in Saudi Arabia as a guest of King Ibn Saud.

After the failure of his uprising Ali's supporters, the ex-Mufti and Jamal Hussein, fled to Teheran. Jamal, as I have said, was captured by the British, but his cousin escaped. Until the collapse of Germany the ex-Mufti made regular broadcasts of an inflammatory nature from the short-wave radio station at Bari and later from Berlin. On every Moslem festival or anniversary his voice was heard pouring out invective against the Allies and the Jews and swearing allegiance to "our great, noble, loyal, and helpful ally, Germany." He promised his Arab adherents that he would soon return to Palestine at the head of the Arab-German army and enjoined them to be prepared to rebel whenever he should give the sign.

Not only in his broadcasts but in other fields also the ex-Mufti served the Germans well. He helped to establish in Athens the "Arab Parachute Brigade," which was to drop into Arab countries in advance of the German armies and get them to rise against the Allies. He was sent by his Nazi masters to make contact with Arab prisoners of war and to induce them to join the German army. Many of them were persuaded and displayed considerable anti-Allied enthusiasm. He allegedly made propaganda tours in Libya—when it was thought that the Axis might win in North Africa—and in Yugoslavia and elsewhere. In Bosnia he mobilized Moslems in a special "Moslem Mountain Division" attached to the S. S., employing force against those who refused to join, and he also formed groups to wage war against the Yugoslav partisans. Some of his adherents sought out hidden American and British pilots in order to collect the reward for handing them over to the Nazis. The ex-Mufti's photograph frequently appeared in the German illustrated papers, copies of which were distributed in Arab countries; one of them showed him with the Führer himself.

A paper now in the hands of the Nürnberg judges proves that the ex-Mufti shares the responsibility for the massacre of six million European Jews by the Nazis. In a sworn affidavit dated Geneva, January 25, 1946, Dr. Rudolph Kaszner declares that S. S. Hauptsturmführer Pieter von Wisliczeny, an associate of the infamous Adolf Eichmann of the Gestapo, made the following statement to him:

In my opinion the Grand Mufti, who has been in Berlin since 1941, played a role in the decision of the German government to exterminate the European Jews. He repeatedly suggested to Hitler, Himmler, and von Ribbentrop the extermination of European Jewry. He considered this a comfortable solution for the Palestinian problem. He was one of Eichmann's best friends and constantly incited him to accelerate extermination measures. I have heard it said that, accompanied by Eichmann, he visited incognito the gas chamber at Auschwitz.

If the efforts of the ex-Mufti and of Jamal Hussein and their followers did not produce the expected results


in Palestine and other Arab countries, credit must be given, not to the Palestine White Paper, which is supposed to have kept the Arab world quiet, but rather to Wavell's successful defense of Egypt, the liquidation of the Iraq revolt, the Allies' advance into Syria, Anglo-Russian action in Iran, Montgomery's victories in Libya, and Eisenhower's final crushing of the Axis in the Mediterranean. Arab revolt against the Allies was seething everywhere in spite of the fact that Palestine was closed to Jewish immigration and that Arab leaders were being told by British agents that the Jewish National Home was a thing of the past. This assurance, far from reviving Arab loyalties, made things worse at the time, for the Arabs, in their primitive realism, maintained that only the weak abandon their friends.

The British government has now released Jamal Hussein from his detention in southern Rhodesia—instead of putting him in the dock with his friends at Nürnberg—and allowed him to return to Palestine, where he has again been installed as the leader of the Arab Party. In his conversation with the correspondent of the *New York Times* he expressed a desire to testify before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. The admission of his evidence would be a vindication not only of himself but also of his cousin, with whom he has always been in complete agreement on all matters of public policy. And it is feared that a sequel to this implicit rehabilitation of Jamal Hussein would be the release of the ex-Mufti from custody in France and permission for his return to Palestine.


Informed opinion about the ex-Mufti was well summed up by the *Manchester Guardian* in an editorial printed on November 26, 1945:

The collapse of the Nazis and Fascists should have put him at last in the hands of the Allies, but he performed another vanishing trick and got away to France. And the French, then smarting about the Lebanon affair, held him as a trump card up their sleeves to produce if Britain became too awkward. And there he is still, but well on the way to respectability again, for here are the Palestine Arabs electing him chairman "in absentia." If the British government recognizes him it will be a scandal and Nürnberg will become a mockery.

The acquiescence of the British in the "unanimous desire of the Arabs" for the return of the ex-Mufti to Jerusalem, to quote Jamal Hussein's words to the *Times's* Mr. Daniel, would be regarded by the Arab people as the final step in the reinstatement of the agents of Nazi aggression in the Middle East. One doubts that it would add much to the prestige of the British government, for during the war the brutal slogans of Nazi philosophy made an infinitely stronger appeal to the Arab masses than the British policy of appeasement, which they interpreted as indicating the political degeneracy of the once powerful British Raj.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



Why France Needs Help

IN A statement to the French Assembly last week on the mission of Léon Blum to this country Premier Gouin said that the French government had asked for American assistance, "not as a substitute for our national effort but to allow our effort to furnish its maximum output." In other words, he asked help of a kind that would enable France to help itself. That in turn, he pointed out, would enable it to help other lands. With the collapse of Germany France is potentially the third largest trading country in the world—a great market for raw materials and for American machines, a producer of goods which the world needs.

M. Blum, who has been chosen to tell the French story in Washington, is the grand old man of French politics. Still active and animated despite his seventy-five years and his long imprisonment by the Nazis, he symbolizes both the tribulations and the resilience of his country. His task is not to negotiate a financial agreement—he is not an economic expert—but to appeal to American understanding and sympathy by presenting a broad picture of France, of its present struggles, of its hopes and fears for the future.

At the moment, it must be admitted, the average American's impression of France is largely unfavorable. It is influenced by G. I. reports of French inefficiency and lack of plumbing, by newspaper stories which concentrate on political bickering and economic confusion. Everything seems to be going from bad to worse, and a complete breakdown followed by either right- or left-wing dictatorship looms in the near distance. There are elements of truth in this picture, but in order to keep our perspective we might do well to recall that very similar impressions of this country were carried back to France in the years immediately after the Revolution, to the despair of Jefferson, who had undertaken in Paris a mission similar to that of Blum in Washington. France too has been undergoing a kind of revolution, and appearances are against it. But underneath the chaotic surface of affairs, signs of improving health can be found by those who care to dig for the facts. When we realize the remarkable progress that has been made by a people on half-rations to repair the enormous damage wrought by the war, we need not take too gloomy a view of the future of France.

French material losses between 1939 and 1945 were much greater than in the First World War. Some 443,000 buildings were destroyed and 1,361,000 seriously damaged. More than 900,000 acres of land were sown with 100,000,000 German mines, putting out of cultivation some of the finest soil in France. Transport facilities suffered terribly. The railroads were shot to pieces—with 3,700 kilometers of track, 115 out of 322 main stations, including nearly all important junctions, and 3,100 bridges put out of action. In September, 1944, only 2,800 out of 16,000 locomotives and only 142,000 out of 478,000 freight cars and passenger coaches were still in service. Highways and inland water-

ways—very important in France—were in equally bad shape. But the destruction was most total in the seaports, where the Germans hung on grimly to complete with dynamite the ruin caused by bombs and shells.

To this actual devastation must be added the loss caused by the exhaustion of the soil, for which fertilizers were lacking during the war; the reduction of herds; the deterioration of buildings and machinery which could not be repaired; the spoliation of stocks of raw materials and finished goods, which were practically at zero when liberation came. Altogether, it has been estimated, France lost 42.5 per cent of its 1939 capital assets, which compares with an estimated loss in Britain of 25 per cent. Even more serious has been the loss of French man-power. Military casualties number 200,000 dead, 330,000 disabled; and it is estimated that 450,000 civilians were killed, 355,000 disabled. These tragic figures make it easier to appreciate the French problem of mobilizing enough human brains and muscle to restore and carry on economic life.

In the face of such difficulties, what has been accomplished is truly marvelous. Traffic has been resumed on 19/20 of the railroad network, and last year 15 per cent more civilian passengers were transported than in 1938. Highways and waterways have been largely restored, and the reconstruction of port installations is sufficient to handle more than the present volume of foreign trade. The output of coal from the newly nationalized mines has been raised to pre-war levels despite obsolete equipment. Continued shortage of coal is due to lack of imports, on which France always had to rely to the extent of 20,000,000 tons or so a year. This is one reason why industrial production is lagging at about 60 per cent of 1938. However, the output of steel, which totaled only 30,000 tons in January, 1945, had increased to 207,000 tons in November, 1945—nearly 50 per cent of the pre-war rate. By January of this year cement production was 55 per cent of 1938, aluminum 99 per cent, glass, urgently needed for housing repairs, 147 per cent. Electric-power production has exceeded pre-war records even though the hydroelectric systems in the south have been badly hit by drought. Over 500,000 buildings have been repaired and thousands of emergency dwellings erected. Restoration of telephone and telegraph networks is almost complete, and half the mined land has been cleared.

This brief and incomplete record is proof, I think, that Frenchmen have not been dissipating all their energies in political squabbles and black marketeering; they have been practicing self-help. There are limits, however, to what they can do without external assistance. The Gouin government has adopted drastic economy measures, including cuts which will bring the armed services below pre-war strength. This program, which will tend to diminish inflationary pressure, needs to be supplemented by an expansion of production. Without large imports of modern machinery and the many raw materials lacking in France, industrial revival is bound to lag. And since French reserves of gold and foreign exchange are quite insufficient to finance the current trade deficit, French hopes are fixed on American credit. If that is denied, recovery will entail a degree of suffering and sacrifice hard to reconcile with democratic stability.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Moonrise Limited

The low, the large, the umber moon
That suddenly we saw was sailing,
Sailing level with the train,
Sailing leftward and unlawful,
East as we were, east to ocean;
And its tender side cut steeples,
And it sliced at trees and cables
As it raced—a rearward madness,
Renegade to west and over,
Runaway from arch's calm.
Low and dizzy it went with us,
Out of the window south ahead;
And its soft flank was flattened, pressing
Spaces where it once had slept;
Pressing with us till we shuddered,
Laughing, and pulled down the shade.

Sometimes I Believe

She loves me or she loves me not,
I am a fool, a wise man.
Sometimes I believe I know;
Then she is wild, is woman.

Some days she is worldly kind,
As to the millionth beggar.
I think it is for me she feels,
Then find I was but neighbor.

Some days when I least am looking
Love comes to my shoulder.
Sits and sings; but she has sent
Nothing, she says, from her.

There she lies, in sleepy shade,
And all her blood, I fancy,
Blesses the sharp thought of one
Who like a thief will enter.

So shall I slip and with outrage
Be winner of that warmth?
Sometimes I believe I see
She loves no one, this woman.

The Close Clan

Even from themselves they are a secret,
The like ones that dwell so far asunder:
So far, and yet the same; for gold is gold
In any earth, and thunder repeats thunder.

They are the scattered children of what pair,
What patient pair so long ago extinguished?
But the flesh lives, in certain ones that wind
And dust and simple being have distinguished.

Whatever these, and howsoever born,
They are the ones with perfect-lidded eyes,
Quieter than time, that yet can burn,
Can burn in rage and wonder and sunrise.

They are the ones that least of all the people
Know their own fewness, or the loving fear
Such lineage commands—that ancient couple,
And these their growth in grace's afteryear.

In them the world lives chiefly, as gold shines,
As thunder runs in mountains, and hearts beat.
They are the ones who comprehend the darkness,
And carry it all day, and sweeten it.

MARK VAN DOREN

Class and Color

SURELY if our literary people had their way there would be no anti-Negroism or anti-Semitism in this country. The American novelist's pen is firm, if not sharp, in defense of the minorities: at the moment I can recall only one novel of the last few years which formulated a reactionary position toward oppressed racial groups, and remarkably few instances where the instinct of intolerance showed itself even accidentally. Of patronage and condescension, of over-simplification and muddle-headedness and self-deception there has of course been an abundance; but no doubt the conscious process of reform must always be accompanied by these unattractive manifestations of missionary zeal.

In recent weeks there have been two new novels on the Negro problem—Fannie Cook's "Mrs. Palmer's Honey" (Doubleday, \$2.50), winner of the George Washington Carver Award, and Ann Petry's "The Street" (Houghton Mifflin, \$2.50), a Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship novel. I suppose I should say at once that neither of them challenges the prestige of Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit"; indeed, neither of them is particularly rewarding as a work of fiction. But both novels have their interest, especially when they are read in conjunction. For there is as much provocation as irony in the fact that the far more cerebral of the two, "Mrs. Palmer's Honey," which undertakes to name the economic and political sources and cures of anti-Negroism, turns out to be really so simple compared to "The Street," which undertakes only to explain how its author, herself colored, feels about her situation.

There is no question that Mrs. Cook has thought hard and long in order to reach her conclusion that as labor goes, so goes the fate of the Negro. "Mrs. Palmer's Honey" is a civic-minded book not alone in terms of local affairs—housing, schools, community activities—but in terms of the large political life of the country. And Mrs. Cook is not lacking in the courage to proclaim her political preferences: a considerable section of her novel concerns the last Presidential campaign; she mobilizes her good Negroes to rally votes for

Roosevelt and pleads without reservation the case for P. A. C. Indeed, it is specifically in the C. I. O. that she puts all her hopes for the solution of the Negro problem. But while recognizing such social and economic contradictions as segregation within the army and within the trade unions, she seems to will not to recognize any contradiction in Negroes themselves. Her characters, if they can be said to be motivated at all, are motivated only by positive or negative social impulses; there is no modification of feeling, no conflict of desires, once the path of action has been chosen. Thus, her heroine, Honey, is a parody of virtuousness, an Elsie Dinsmore of the kitchen, home, and trade union.

To find more human verisimilitude in Mrs. Petry's Lutie than in Mrs. Cook's Honey is not, however, to set up the one above the other as a social ideal. Mrs. Petry tells us the story of a young colored woman who, having lost her husband when the depression forced her to "live in" in domestic service, tries to make a decent life for herself and her small son in Harlem. Lutie is not only very pretty and energetic; she also has had a high-school education. The degradation she must suffer despite these advantages is symbolized by the dreadful apartment in which she must live, just as the whole of the Negro degradation is symbolized by the dirt and wretchedness of Harlem's 116th Street.

In her period of domestic service Lutie worked for a white family in Connecticut. By her own experience, her employers were a miserable family group—Mr. and Mrs. Chandler were unhappily married, Mr. Chandler drank, Mr. Chandler's brother shot himself before their eyes, the Chandler baby was a sad little youngster. But the Chandlers already had a lot of money and they were on their way to having a lot more; and Lutie had seen what a pleasant surface money can put on suffering. Her only complaint against being colored is that it denies her the opportunity to live with the cleanliness and financial ease of a Mrs. Chandler. No matter how hard she is willing to work, no matter what her talents, she is unable to rise above the Harlem ghetto.

By quite opposite routes, in other words, both novels have arrived at the economic core of the Negro problem. But to Mrs. Cook, equal economic opportunity is predicated on both Negro and white proletarian consciousness. To Mrs. Petry, equality of opportunity means a free capitalist economy in which the Negro individual, no less than the white, can gain as much as he desires and is capable of gaining.

I speak of Mrs. Cook's very thoughtful book as being, in the long run, rather simple compared to Mrs. Petry's. What I mean is that "Mrs. Palmer's Honey" fails to take into account the fact that is so frankly and unself-consciously admitted by "The Street"—namely, that class feelings are as firmly ingrained in the colored population of this country as in the white; that there is nothing inherently virtuous, from a political point of view or from any other point of view, about being a member of a mistreated minority. While Mrs. Cook's idealism on the score of class solidarity does credit to her, it asks, in the light of Mrs. Petry's straightforwardly middle-class document, to be corrected by a confrontation with our class realities. "Mrs. Palmer's Honey" also—and again, in the light of "The Street"—calls attention to a profound but common error in so much of our contemporary political thinking, the error of assuming that it is

only in the degree that people are virtuous that they deserve just treatment. Basic to a great deal of our writing on minority problems, especially in fiction, there seems to be the idea that we must prove that members of minority groups—whether Jews, Negroes, Italians, or whatever—are good, even better than the rest of us, before we have the right to demand that they be treated like everybody else. Must a white Protestant resident of Westchester be certified for character before he enjoys his full rights as a citizen? As I read "The Street," I couldn't help wondering whether the author of "Mrs. Palmer's Honey" would be as exercised over the inability of a girl like Lutie to achieve her house in Connecticut and even a mink coat, if that is what she wants, as over the restrictions in the path of a girl like Honey, whose ambitions are so much nobler. Properly, even politically, she of course should be.

DIANA TRILLING

BRIEFER COMMENT

Memoirs in History

IN "COURTS AND CABINETS" (Knopf, \$3.75) the historian G. P. Gooch presents brief accounts of thirteen memoir writers whose work is of high importance to historians. One of them is German, the others either English or French, and they range in time from Mme de Motteville to Mme Adam. The book is frankly addressed rather to those who have not read the memoirs themselves than to those who have, and it aims, successfully, to be interesting as well as informative. The character of each author is described, the scope of his work indicated, the question of his reliability sometimes lightly touched upon, and copious quotation given to illustrate his manner. Most persons, including the present writer, are unlikely to find time to read, for instance, all the forty-two volumes of Saint-Simon, and here is a pleasant way to find out something about those one will never read, as well as to discover, perhaps, others with which one would like to have a direct acquaintance. Like the professor who is said to have remarked that "everybody knows a *little* Sanskrit," Professor Gooch occasionally takes for granted a bit of knowledge which every schoolboy does not really have. Thus he speaks on one page of the Duchess of Cleveland and on another, in a quite different connection, of Lady Castlemaine. I doubt that every reader otherwise qualified to enjoy a book of this sort can be assumed to know that these are one and the same person.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Continuous Housing

ALTHOUGH LOUIS JUSTEMENT is an architect practicing in Washington, D. C., his approach to city planning in "New Cities for Old" (McGraw-Hill, \$4.50) is first of all financial. He believes that the rebuilding of our cities could be an immediate and a continuous task which would be the best remedy against depressions. In economics he is an intelligent conservative who wants to preserve the capitalistic system by saving it from its own excesses. Slum clearance and the rehabilitation of blighted areas cannot be achieved solely

through the profit motive. Like Henry Churchill, Justement believes that the city, condemning the land, should retain title to it, and ultimately become the sole landowner. This transformation Justement proposes to realize through a new federal agency, the Urban Reconstruction Corporation, and, in each city, through a Municipal Realty Corporation. (Note that under the prophetic Second Empire the *Crédit Foncier* was meant to be a URC; it has financed many civil improvements, as well as the building of private homes.)

The "time" approach is no less interesting than the "money" approach. Justement is of the opinion that—with rare exceptions—buildings should be paid for, declared obsolete, and rebuilt within fifty years. His outlook is neither the immediate gain of the profiteers—tomorrow be damned—nor the eternity of the traditional architects. He is planning for organic, healthy renewal and growth instead of the present "method" of disease and surgery.

Justement does not lose sight of planning in the literal sense—master plan, highways, building regulations, zoning, etc. His ideas are presented in very concrete form as a study of Washington, past, present, and future. We get a little weary at times of "the City" in the abstract: we like a case study of, say, London (Abercrombie), Berlin (Hegeman), Paris, or Sauk Center. The book lacks flamboyancy: no apocalypse like that of Le Corbusier or Frank Lloyd Wright. But it is eminently practical and quietly daring. "Above all, make no little plans."

ALBERT GUERARD

Menander and Murray

MOST READERS OF *THE NATION*, this reviewer included, have never read, in the original Greek, the plays of Menander. We need not feel too guilty about this, for the papyrus manuscripts containing such few consecutive fragments as we have were not unearthed before the beginning of this century. Scholars impatiently waited for more, but none were forthcoming; finally, tantalized beyond endurance, Professor Gilbert Murray leaped into the lacunae, and has now come up with his own translated and reconstructed versions of two plays, the "*Perikeiromenê*," and the "*Epi-trepontes*"—"The Rape of the Locks," and "The Arbitration," to you (Oxford, \$3).

All this, and a good deal more about the New Comedy, Professor Murray explains lucidly, urbanely, and a little repetitiously in one general and two particular introductions to these plays. (There are also notes.) As to the plays themselves, they are interesting in various ways: for their ritual value, for their preservation of dramatic traditions, and for their corruption of the same; for their realistic observation of character in spite of the contrived observation of conventionalities of plot; for their combination of *hokum* and *kitsch* with passages that are really moving. They are dull in stretches and very funny at other times.

Except for the single phrase "Says you," Professor Murray apparently gave up learning slang long before he quit studying Greek; some of his verbal whimsy, therefore, his tossing around of the gay lingo of the Victorians, is just a little embarrassing. As to how much of these reconstructions is Menander and how much Murray, that is a subject on which the former Regius Professor of Greek at the Univer-

sity of Oxford prefers to be coy; he can rest assured, however, that the present reviewer, who sat in his classes on his visit to Amherst thirty-odd years ago, will never be the one to give him away.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The "Tribune"

PHILIP KINSLEY'S FIRST VOLUME of "*The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years*," which was issued in 1943, derived a certain continuity from Lincoln's relationship to that paper. Volume II, published by the *Chicago Tribune* (\$3), is for the most part no more than a compilation of news highlights for the years 1865-80 which must be read, if at all, in the manner of a gossip column. Fortunately, there is an index. Newspaper history tests the resources of any writer, but difficulties multiply when an author's information is such that he can, on page 129, report Karl Marx, "referred to as a leading spirit of the 'International Society,'" as dead in London at fifty-three years of age in 1871, and, on page 293, as granting an interview to a *Tribune* correspondent in 1879. The question is still: what is the *Tribune*, and why? Future volumes may help to answer this question. For reasons not given, Alfred A. Knopf is no longer publisher of the work.

LOUIS FILLER

Saintsbury on French Literature

TRADITIONALLY SCHOLARS ARE ALWAYS misjudging the public. Huntington Cairns, special legal adviser to the Treasury Department and secretary of the National Gallery of Art, must also be a scholar, for in editing "*French Literature and Its Masters*" by George Saintsbury (Knopf, \$3) he has brought out a volume for which the public certainly felt no need. When George Saintsbury (1845-1933) wrote these essays he was doing so on order from the "*Encyclopedia Britannica*," and the assignment, as Mr. Cairns says in his excellent Introduction, provided a challenge for his critical acumen and his tight, eminently literate style. In his 150-page essay on French Literature from the *Beginnings* to 1900—as in the individual studies of such men as Corneille and Balzac and Joinville and Voltaire—he has achieved feats of condensation. It would be interesting to compare his long essay with the similar one that Lytton Strachey wrote for the Home University Library.

But if the editor has the scholarly attitude, he is not, unfortunately, a scholar from the right field. Saintsbury wrote his articles some years ago—it would be a help if this edition dated their first appearance—and naturally they lack the benefits of twentieth-century researches. For instance, most of our precise knowledge about Rabelais has been contributed by Abel Lefranc and Jean Plattard since the creation of their review of Rabelaisian studies in 1903. Mr. Cairns is aware of the strides made in this domain since Saintsbury wrote, but his Supplementary Bibliography—never very critical or even discerning—fails to distinguish the essential studies from the minor contributions. He is especially careless in the matter of translation, failing to list the American edition of Plattard's *Life of Rabelais* in 1931 or the availability in the Modern Library *Giants of Le Clercq's* classic translation of the five books. The Montaigne bibliography is likewise in-

March 9, 1946

adequate. In general the editor seems to have worked largely on the basis of the Library of Congress cards, a dangerous and confusing method. When one discovers, on page 325, that he is unaware that Thieme's important bibliography of 1907 appeared in a completely new edition expanded to several times the original size in 1933, then the cat is far out of the bag.

It would be unjust, in view of the date of composition, at which we can only guess, to cavil with Saintsbury's losing of Mallarmé and Villiers among a dozen now-forgotten poets or his classing of Gyp (anyone remember her?) above Maurice Barrès. But—and this is the editor's fault—anyone who attempted to correct such misjudgments would get but little help from Mr. Cairns's bibliography. Saintsbury has been taken out of the public domain of the Britannica and made available to scholars, who will class this book as a pious and misguided testimony to the memory of a distinguished critic.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

The Farmer's Partner

IT WOULD BE HARD to find a more important matter for long-range political thought than agricultural conditions in the United States, and yet, to judge by the columns of the political weeklies, there is hardly a subject about which the average liberal or Socialist knows less. Particularly is he unaware of the enormous extent to which government is an actual partner in agriculture. For this reason I found Ferdi Deering's "USDA" (Oklahoma, \$2.50) a most useful book. The subtitle, perhaps, more clearly defines the theme. The United States Department of Agriculture is called the "Manager of American Agriculture."

The author is associated with the *Farmer-Stockman* and evidently has a wide knowledge not only of the confused or at least cumbersome and overlapping devices of administration but also of real conditions in agriculture and of the temper of the farmers. He is critical, and I believe that he makes out his case for reform of administrative processes, but his temper is always reasonable and his arguments are shrewd. He is not an anarchic agrarian or a state socialist. Nor is he an anti-metropolitan or a reactionary. As he sees it, the problem is a dual one: there must be such a balanced and flexible planning of production and appropriate streamlining of governmental services that measures shall be immediately adaptable to changing necessity. At present, Mr. Deering says, the state of affairs is such that "no man living understands the complex set-up."

RALPH BATES

Biography of Wilson

IT IS NOT SURPRISING that Woodrow Wilson continues to inspire partisanship. His personality, the significance of the issues with which his name is linked, and each fresh appraisal of the patterns of national and world history since 1919 contribute to that result. Today, the traditional epic tragedy of Wilson takes on the guise of a curiously painful success story. It is worth recalling that Wilson, an ardent nationalist, declared in his famous Senate address of January 22, 1917, before the United States had become a belligerent.

by Ella Winter

I SAW THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

"HERE are the questions one asks about Russia, and some living and personal answers."

—*San Francisco Chronicle*

"A report minus special pleading . . . she reports with camera-like fidelity what she saw of the Russian people . . . Hers is the sort of book we need most desperately."

—*New York Post*

At all bookstores • \$3.00

LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY • BOSTON



IS THE LIFE OF AN ANTI-NAZI WORTH \$25 TO YOU?

give more if you can, less if you can't,

BUT GIVE

to Hitler's first enemies and your best friends, the German anti-Nazis. Remember them? The first to feel Hitler's terror—and resist. German survivors of Gestapo torture and underground war are the only hope of a democratic Germany. And they are dying of hunger as you read these lines. You can save the life of a German anti-Nazi from death by starvation. Dare you say no? **FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1933 YOU CAN HELP ANTI-NAZIS INSIDE GERMANY THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE AND RELIEF COMMITTEE.** An IRRC representative in Germany will distribute relief in Germany through the **WORKER'S WELFARE ORGANIZATION**, the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt*. This group, dissolved by Hitler in 1933, has now been reorganized by trade unionists who resisted Hitler for thirteen years. Every dollar, garment and food package you contribute is guaranteed to go to an anti-Nazi German. Send canned food and clothing to the IRRC warehouse, 130 Orchard Street, New York 2, New York. In the New York City area phone LEX. 2-7916 for pick-up service for bulk packages of 20 lbs. or more. And send a check now earmarked for German relief to the

International Rescue and Relief Committee
103 Park Avenue New York 17, N. Y.

erent, that "the peace that must end this war . . . must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. . . . There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace. . . . Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend."

His latest biographer, Ruth Cranston, is an undisguised admirer. She knew Wilson and his family, was associated with the League of Nations, and had access to the private Wilson papers. In "The Story of Woodrow Wilson" (Simon and Schuster, \$3.50) she has produced a lively, one-volume biography. While Mrs. Cranston is frequently persuasive, she is too much the champion. Her book is such a passionate paean of praise of Wilson, the warm-hearted man, the constant liberal, the great war President, the world statesman, that it has the effect of rendering its subject a disservice. So ardent is its defense of both Wilson and the League of Nations that a lack of balance is inevitable. Several items of major import in the Wilson story—among them the sources and development of his political and economic ideas, his position on loans and credits during the period of neutrality, and the question of the secret treaties—receive scant treatment or are omitted entirely.

HENRY DAVID

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Money-Saving Magazine Combinations

THE
Nation

with Harpers Magazine	\$6.50
You save \$2.50	
with Consumers Union	\$7.00
You save \$1.50	
with Harpers Magazine and Consumers Union	\$9.00
You save \$3.50	
with Free World	\$7.50
You save \$1.50	
with Saturday Review	\$8.50
You save \$1.50	

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION by itself

1 Year \$3 2 Years \$8 3 Years \$11

Servicemen's Rate \$1 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage—\$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

3-9-46

The Camera's Glass Eye

PHOTOGRAPHY is the most transparent of the art mediums devised or discovered by man. It is probably for this reason that it proves so difficult to make the photograph transcend its almost inevitable function as document and act as work of art as well. But we do have evidence that the two functions are compatible.

The heroic age of photography covered the half-century or more following immediately upon its invention in the late eighteen-thirties. During this period its physical technique was still relatively imperfect in result and clumsy in procedure. However, since art is a matter of conception and intuition, not of physical finish, this did not prevent—indeed it seems to have aided—the deliberate or accidental production of a quantity of masterpieces by such photographers as Hill, Brady, Nadar, Atget, Stieglitz, Peter Henry Emerson, Clarence White, and others. Hill's photographs were conceived in accordance with the portrait-painting style of his time—he was a painter himself; Brady's documentary photographs, with the exception of his portraits, became art more or less unconsciously; Atget's likewise. In an instinctive way both Brady and Atget anticipated the modern and produced a legitimate equivalent of post-impressionism in painting; which was permitted them no doubt by a medium clean of past and tradition, through which they could sense contemporary reality naively and express it directly, untrammelled by reminiscences and precedents that in an art such as painting could be escaped from only by dint of conscious effort on the part of a sophisticated genius like Seurat. Stieglitz, for his part, absorbed impressionist influences in his early work but transposed them radically into terms proper to his own medium. And so, to a lesser extent, did Clarence White.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century the procedure of photography has been made swift, sure, and simple. Yet its results, in the hands of those who strive to render it art, have on the whole become more questionable than before. The reasons for this decline are complex and have still to be cleared up. But a few of the more obvious ones become apparent in the work of such a serious and ambitious contemporary as Edward Weston, a selection of whose *oeuvre* to date is being shown at the Museum of Modern Art (until March 31).

Two of the most prominent features of latter-day art photography are brilliant physical finish—sharpness or evenness of focus, exact declaration of lights and darks—and the emulation of the abstract or impersonal arrangements of modern painting. In the first respect modern photography, eschewing the blurred or retouched effects by which it used to imitate painting, has decided to be completely true to itself; in the second respect, which concerns subject matter, it takes this decision back. This logical contradiction is also a plastic one. Merciless, crystalline clarity of detail and texture, combined with the anonymous or inanimate nature of the object photographed, produces a hard, mechanical effect that seems contrived and without spontaneity. Hence the estranging coldness of so much recent art photography.

It again becomes important to make the differences between the arts clear. Modern painting has had to reduce its ostensible subject matter to the impersonal still life or landscape,

or else become abstract, for a number of reasons, historical, social, and internal, that hardly touch photography in its present stage. Photography, on the other hand, has at this moment an advantage over almost all the other arts of which it generally still fails to avail itself in the right way. Because of its superior transparency and its youth, it has, to start with, a detached approach that in the other modern arts must be struggled for with great effort and under the compulsion to exclude irrelevant reminiscences of their pasts. Photography is the only art that can still afford to be naturalistic and that, in fact, achieves its maximum effect through naturalism. Unlike painting and poetry, it can put all emphasis on an explicit subject, anecdote, or message; the artist is permitted, in what is still so relatively mechanical and neutral a medium, to identify the "human interest" of his subject as he cannot in any of the other arts without falling into banality.

Therefore it would seem that photography today could take over the field that used to belong to genre and historical painting, and that it does not have to follow painting into the areas into which the latter has been driven by the force of historical development. That is, photography can, while indulging itself in full frankness of emotion, still produce art from the anecdote. But this does not mean pictures of kittens or cherubs. Naturalism and anecdotalism are required to be as original in photography as in any other art.

The shortcomings of Edward Weston's art do not usually lie in this direction, rather in its opposite. He has followed modern painting too loyally in its reserve toward subject matter. And he has also succumbed to a combination of the sharp focus, infallible exposure, and unselective atmosphere of California—which differentiates between neither man and beast nor tree and stone. His camera defines everything, but it defines everything in the same way—and an excess of detailed definition ends by making everything look as though it were made of the same substance, no matter how varied the surfaces. The human subjects of Weston's portraits seem to me for the most part as inanimate as his root or rock or sand forms: we get their coverings of skin or cloth but not their persons. A cow against a barn looks like a fossilized replica of itself; a nude becomes continuous with sand, and of the same temperature. Like the modern painter, Weston concentrates too much of his interest on his medium. But while we forgive the painter for this, because he puts the feeling he withholds from the object into his *treatment* of it, we are reluctant to forgive the photographer, because his medium is so much less immediately receptive to his feeling and as yet so much less an automatic category of art experience. This is why the photographer has to rely more upon his explicit subject and must express its identity or personality and his feeling about it so much more directly.

Nor do the abstract factors make up in Weston's art for the lack of drama or anecdotal interest. To secure decorative unity in the photograph, the posing of the subject and the effects of focus and exposure must be modulated just as the analogous elements in painting have to be modulated for the same purpose. (Of course, decorative unity in photography is made more difficult by the infinitely more numerous and subtle gradations between black and white.) The defects of Weston's art with respect to decorative effect flow from its lack of such modulation. In this Weston resembles

the Flemish "primitive" painters, who also liked to define everything in sharp focus and who likewise lost decorative unity by their failure to suppress or modulate details—rejoicing self-indulgently as they did in the new-found power of their medium to reproduce three-dimensional vision. Unlike the Flemish, however, Weston tries to achieve decorative unity at the last moment by arranging his subject in geometrical or quasi-geometrical patterns, but these preserve a superimposed, inorganic quality. Or else they overpower every other element in the photograph to such an extent that the picture itself becomes nothing more than a *pattern*.

The truth of this analysis is borne out, it seems to me, by the fact that almost the best pictures in Weston's show are two frontal views of "ghost sets" in a movie studio. Here the camera's sharply focused eye is unable to replace the details left out by the scene painter or architect; and the smoothly painted surfaces prevent that eye from discovering the details it would inevitably find in nature or the weathered surface of a real house. At the same time a certain decorative unity is given in advance by the unity, such as it is, of the stage set.

Weston's failure is a failure to select; which is moved in turn by a lack of interest in subject matter and an excessive concentration on the medium. In the last analysis this is a confusion of photography with painting—but a confusion not so much of the effects of each as of the approaches proper to each. The result, as is often the case with confusions of the arts, shows a tendency to be artiness rather than art.

If one wants to see modern art photography at its best let

WHY

has the Catholic Church

Supported

Mussolini
Hitler
Tiso
Franco
Salazar
Peron



Why did the Catholic church support Roosevelt's domestic policies and oppose his foreign policy?

Why is the Catholic church anti-Capitalist as well as anti-Communist?

What kind of a political, social and economic system is the Catholic church attempting to bring about?

How has this affected your life and how may it affect the lives of your children?

READ:

"THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND ECONOMICS"

by L. H. Lehmann

Third of an important series of articles which began in our January issue, describing aspects of the Catholic Church never before revealed.

In the March Issue of

THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC MAGAZINE

Edited by former Catholic Priests

Subscription only \$1.00 a year (10 issues)

Canada - \$1.25

Sample Copy 15¢

Check here if you want your subscription to begin with our January issue.

Return this ad with your order.

Agora Publishing Company, Dept. S-351
229 WEST 48th STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
51st ST.
88th ST.
50th ST.
near LEX.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU

Queens
ALDEN
Jamaica
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
Manhattan
COLONIAL

RKO NOW

GRIPPING DRAMA OF MODERN PIRACY!

GEORGE RAFT

CLAIRE

SIGNE

TREVOR • HASSO

'JOHNNY ANGEL'

Based on CHARLES GORDON BOOTH'S Novel

— AND —

'ALLOTMENT WIVES' Kay Francis

Paul Kelly

A thousand thundering thrills!

ERROL FLYNN

ALEXIS SMITH

'SAN ANTONIO'

IN TECHNICOLOR

— and —

'DICK TRACY' MORGAN CONWAY

ANNE JEFFREYS

PARAMOUNT presents

SING BOB

CROSBY HOPE

DOROTHY
LAMOUR

— in —

"ROAD TO UTOPIA"

MIDNIGHT FEATURE NIGHTLY

NOW **PARAMOUNT** TIMES SQUARE

— In Person —

BENNY
GOODMAN

His Clarinet and
Orchestra with
The Famous Sextet

— Featuring —

MEL
POWELL
PAT
HENNING

The Mysterious Secret Places in a Woman's Heart.

John

Maureen

William

PAYNE • O'HARA • BENDIX

— IN —

SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY

Directed by WALTER LANG • Produced by WALTER MOROSCO
A 20th Century-Fox Picture

— GALA STAGE SHOW —

THE HARTMANS

EXTRA!

DICK BROWN • HERB SHRINER

ROXY 7th Ave. at
50th Street

him look at the work of Walker Evans, whose photographs have not one-half the physical finish of Weston's. Evans is an artist above all because of his original grasp of the anecdote. He knows modern painting as well as Weston does, but he also knows modern literature. And in more than one way photography is closer today to literature than it is to the other graphic arts. (It would be illuminating, perhaps, to draw a parallel between photography and prose in their respective historical and aesthetic relations to painting and poetry.) The final moral is: let photography be "literary."

CLEMENT GREENBERG

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents



MAURICE EVANS

In His New Production of Shakespeare's

HAMLET

Columbus Circle Thea. B'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Eves. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30

UP IN CENTRAL PARK

Book by HERBERT Lyrics by Music by
& DOROTHY FIELDS DOROTHY FIELDS SIGMUND ROMBERG
B'way at 55rd St. Mats.: Sat. & Sun. Eves. Incl. Sun 2:30 & 8:30

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Joan Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Elia Afton
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Eves. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Eves. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS!"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4636
Eves. 8:30 Sharp Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30 Sharp

"THE GREATEST OF ALL MUSICAL COMEDIES"—Barnes, Herald Tribune
KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Music by JEROME KERN, Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2d.
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT.
ZIEGFELD THEA. 54th Street and Sixth Avenue, Cl. 6-5200.
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mts. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp.

"A Gag-Happy-
Meaning-
ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by **GARSON KANIN**
LYCEUM THEA. 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40, Matinee Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE rejuvenated Monte Carlo Ballet Russe is at New York's City Center for a longer mid-winter season and with additions to the repertory that it offered in September. I am writing after the first week, in which "Swan Lake" was added to the other great classics—"Coppelia" and "The Nutcracker"—that are enriched by the incomparable performances of Danilova, and Balanchine's "Baiser de la fée" was added to the group of his ballets after having been out of the repertory a few years.

Seeing "Ballet Imperial," "Mozartiana," "Concerto Barocco" after the few months' interval one is amazed all over again by Balanchine's constantly new invention of dance movement in his constantly developing style—by the inexhaustible flow of movements that are exciting in their rhythmic impetus and accent, their emotional impact, their strokes of fantasy and wit. But "Le Baiser de la fée" is one of the great works in which Balanchine's choreographic invention is the medium of his extraordinary dramatic imagination and feeling for the theater. In "Le Bourgeois gentilhomme" that imagination and theatrical sense produce delightful comedy; in "Le Baiser" we get their full range—in scenes which begin with radiant gaiety and humor and end with dark, terrifying violence. We also get wonderful examples of how that imagination uses traditional ballet materials and situations. I have spoken more than once of the new thing that Balanchine makes in each ballet of the movements and poses of the *pas de deux* of ballerina and male dancer: the seduction in "Le Fils prodigue"; the strange, ominous, menacing "Hand of Fate" episode in "Cotillon"; the exquisite, touching expression of the emotions of youthful lovers in "Le Bourgeois gentilhomme." In "Le Baiser de la fée" there is the tender, playful *pas de deux* of the boy and his bride; there is, on the other hand, the terrifyingly violent *pas de deux* in which the fairy takes possession of the boy at the end of the village scene. And this one is followed by a powerful stroke of the *fantaisie Balanchine* that is a further manifestation of Balanchine's dramatic imagination and theatrical sense: the fairy stands behind the limp body of the boy, her right arm extended forward over his shoulder to point out the direction he must go, and

gives him a push that impels him forward a few steps; he stops, she moves up behind him with extended right arm that travels past his head to point before him, and gives him another push; again he stops, again she moves up behind him with extended right arm that points ahead, and gives him another push; this impels him off the stage, she follows him off with extended right arm pointing ahead, and the curtain falls.

Of the music for this detail one can say what is true of Stravinsky's entire score—that it is as though composed by Balanchine himself, in the way it lends itself to the choreographic and dramatic uses he makes of it. And there are pages which are enjoyable for themselves. Curious about my impression of the music when I first heard a concert performance of some of it ten years ago, I found that it was essentially the same as now: "This is, in my experience, the most agreeable of Stravinsky's reconstructions of musical styles of the past, largely because in this instance he has retained a great deal of the actual substance of the original, Tchaikovsky, with whom, moreover, he feels a closer affinity than with Bach or Handel, and whom he has treated with great affection. That is, he has scored the music with exquisite delicacy and inflicted on it less of his usual harmonic acerbity. Tchaikovsky does not, however, escape completely unscathed; and among other things a waltz—that most sensuous of musical styles—is scored for wind instruments." Now I am more sharply aware of the lovely and fascinating things Stravinsky achieves with his masterful craftsmanship, and on the other hand the occasional unsuitably twisted, dour, and ineffective details he produces with his rhythmic manipulation, his harmonic acerbity, his dry scoring.

In one scene—the final apotheosis—artistic conception is defeated by the realities of stage and theater. The conception is of the boy slowly making his way up through the water to the fairy; the realization of this that one sees is the boy laboriously climbing up a fishnet; and this might be effective if one saw it while still under the spell of the mill-scene; but instead one sees it after a long interval required for the change of scenery, an interval in which the chattering audience destroys the impression of the mill-scene and the continuity provided by Stravinsky's music.

The work is superbly performed by principals and corps de ballet—though in the first performances the dancing was not yet securely riveted to the music.

Franklin brings to the part of the boy a beautifully disciplined technical brilliance that serves a widened range of dramatic expressiveness; Tallchief, as the fairy, reveals, in addition to the assured precision and grace of her dancing, impressive dramatic power; Marie-Jeanne's two brief solos have the sharpness in dazzling brilliance that one would like to see again in "Ballet Imperial." As for Danilova, nothing I have been able to think of describes her enchanting performance as the bride as well as some of the things I have reread in Edwin Denby's old reviews—which I therefore quote: "In all the severity of exact classicism Danilova's dancing rhythm fills the time quantities of the music to the full; it does not, like the rhythm of lesser dancers, jab at a stress and then leave a gap till the music catches up. Stress and release in all their variety are equally vivid, equally expressive to watch. And in watching her you feel, in the sustained flow of her rhythm, the alert vivacity of her personal dance imagination, the bite and grace of her feminine temperament and a human sincerity that makes an artist both unpretentious and great." And "Danilova is not only a prodigious technician, but the way she points up a technical feat with a personal wit and distinction makes her the equal of any great actress."

Signed Original ETCHINGS and LITHOGRAPHS

by America's
Foremost Artists

Only \$5 EACH

Exclusive Signed Originals
by Thomas Benton, George
Gruen, John Steuart Curry,
other famous artists. Many
already purchased by 200
leading museums. Values
\$10 to \$25. Your friends
would never dream they
cost only \$5 each.



FREE CATALOGUE

Illustrates subjects available given biographical sketch of artists. Send 10c for postage, handling.

ASSOCIATED AMERICAN ARTISTS

Studio 283, 711 Fifth Av., N.Y.C. 22

BOOKS FOUND FREE/0¢

WHAT BOOKS DO YOU WANT?

We quote lowest market prices. No charge for locating. Hard-to-Find and Out-of-Print Books. All books, OLD or NEW, mailed POST-PAY.

SEARCHLIGHT BOOK NATION
22 East 17th Street, New York City

NATION READERS can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

SETTLE THE GENERAL MOTORS STRIKE—BUT NOT BY HUNGER

100 DAYS ON STRIKE

What does it mean to the wives and children?

Since Nov. 21, 200,000 General Motors Workers haven't seen a pay check. Most of them saved money during the war (those that weren't fighting themselves, 30,000 of them are veterans.) But that money's gone now. Who's going to feed their children? How are their wives going to get by—not just till the day the strike's settled, but till the first pay check comes, **THREE WEEKS LATER?** The emergency cases are mounting up. These people have got to have help!

WHY CAN'T THE UNION HELP THEM?

William H. Davis, ex-chairman of the War Labor Board, and ex-Economic Stabilizer, told the Senate why on January 16th. No union, he said, can support families during a mass strike. \$10 a week to 200,000 men means \$2,000,000 a week. The union doesn't have it.

DON'T THE MEN GET GOVERNMENT RELIEF?

In 95.8% of the cases—NO. The few communities that allow relief pay about enough to feed the children—no more. Nothing for emergencies. And in some places, the time-period for relief has already elapsed. **RELIEF IS STOPPING.**

WILL YOU HELP THEM?

We want the strike settled. But starvation never settled anything. Will you help us care for the **EMERGENCY CASES**—like the ones we describe? Experienced social workers, relief officials, and religious leaders will administer the funds you give us, direct to the hardest hit families.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

HAROLD ICKES, Chairman

Col. Evans Carlson
Russell Davenport
Leon Henderson
Dr. Frank Kingdon
Freda Kirchway
Senator Robert M. LaFollette
Henry R. Luce
Archbishop R. E. Lucey
Bishop F. J. McConnell
Henry Morgenthau, Jr.
Senator Wayne Morse

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
Bishop Edward L. Parson
Senator Claude Pepper
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Bishop William Scarlett
Bishop Bernard J. Shell
Capt. Harold Stassen
Senator Glenn Taylor
Walter Wanger
Walter White

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise

Wallace Thorsen, Pres., Elizabeth Janeway, Sec.
L. G. Ross, Treas., Maurice Davidson, General Counsel

THESE ARE ACTUAL CASES

Kokomo, Indiana: Mrs. E. M. is the sole support of her young son. He is now very ill—largely because she lacks the money to buy him nourishing foods.

Pontiac, Michigan: This GM worker has seven children. A series of sicknesses has depleted his savings. He faces foreclosure of his home. There is no money for food or medical care.

Buffalo, New York: O. H. is a veteran. A week after the strike started, he injured his leg. Investigators who went to his home found two children extremely sick, one of them dangerously so. Now the gas company threatens to cut off the family's gas.

Linden, New Jersey: W. D. has two children. The family faces immediate eviction because it is two months behind in paying rent. There is no money to heat the house or feed the children.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO AID FAMILIES OF

GENERAL MOTORS STRIKERS, INC.

212 East 49th Street, New York 17, New York

I agree that **HUNGER MUST NOT BE USED AS A WEAPON AGAINST AMERICAN WORKERS.**

Here is my contribution of \$..... to the emergency fund to feed the wives and children of the 200,000 General Motors strikers.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue has ruled that your contributions to this Committee are deductible from income-tax.

Letters to the Editors

A Memo to the Reader

[The following letter was addressed to Mr. Llewellyn G. Ross, treasurer of the National Committee to Aid Families of G. M. Strikers, 212 East 49th Street, New York. Mrs. Tilly is the committee's representative in Atlanta.]

Dear Mr. Ross: The check for \$1,000 was received yesterday. I tried not to need it, but tragedy is stalking among these people, and it was most gratefully received.

One of the men who has been so ill died Sunday afternoon. I had stood for his special treatments with a promise through the funds and this may be \$75. He had to have X-rays and skin tests and other laboratory tests. He leaves five of the most attractive little children you ever saw. The ages run from fourteen to five. The fourteen-year-old girl has been the mother to the group. Her father told her Sunday he thought he could not live and he wanted her to get in touch with me and tell me to put them in a Baptist orphanage. . . . Another one of the men committed suicide Sunday. These men have group insurance, but the Chevrolet plant here is trying to prevent the families getting the insurance. The union is prepared to make a court fight if necessary.

This union here has little funds and has reduced its food cards to \$4 per week regardless of the size of the family. It has been necessary for us to supplement this for some of the families where there is illness; so we have scattered \$5 for food here and there in the emergency cases. Rent has to be paid where rented from private parties as in most cases the owners are in about as bad shape as the strikers. To give you some idea of how it is going, I am sending you a copy of my emergency cases.

These men and their families are very brave and very fine people. I wish you could see them yourself. The mother of a baby who is getting over pneumonia said, "I do not know who is giving this money, but I could fall down and worship them; they saved my baby." One woman in the hospital said, "God is good and men are too—all but the G. M. executives."

We have spent about \$500 of that last \$1,000. Could we have another by Saturday?

MRS. M. E. TILLY

Atlanta, Ga., February 25

A Familiar Pattern

Dear Sirs: I wonder whether M. Spaak, on reading the accurate condemnation of Argentina submitted by *The Nation* Associates to the United Nations Assembly, did not wince at the familiar totalitarian note sounded by Colonel Perón and also, perhaps, at the embarrassing possibilities of the memorandum. . . . And I wonder what would be M. Spaak's reaction, and that of the delegates of other member nations, if some honest person similarly questioned the actions of the United Kingdom, or those of the United States. This is not to defend Colonel Perón and his cutthroat ilk. Rather, it is to consider the sincerity of each one of the UNO's fifty-one member nations. It would seem a sorry world indeed that would allow itself to be saddled with an assembly of grandiose talking but narrow, nationalistic men. . . . At any rate a general housecleaning is in order if this idea of "world security" is to flourish. . . .

CPL. LESTER D. ARSTARK

Jacksonville, Fla., February 4

Yaddo as Usual

Dear Sirs: During the war the Corporation of Yaddo, at Saratoga Springs, a non-profit foundation for artists and writers, was able to accept only a limited number of guests. This summer, however, its twenty-first season, Yaddo will resume normal operations. Writers, painters, sculptors, or composers who are interested in spending some time at Yaddo may receive full information by writing to the Executive Director, Mrs. Elizabeth Ames, Yaddo, Saratoga Springs, New York.

NEWTON ARVIN

Northampton, Mass, January 22

Another Housing Factor

Dear Sirs: Haunted Housing by Maurice Rosenblatt (*The Nation*, February 9) omitted an important factor in the analysis of the current housing shortage. . . . namely, the building-trades unions.

Mr. Rosenblatt refers, in passing, to home-building as "still a handicraft industry," without any hint that the strongest force keeping it a handicraft industry is the unions. As long as the unions refuse to permit their members to use mechanical screwdrivers or paint

spray devices, how is it possible to call for modernized housing construction?

In the matter of subcontracting also the unions play a reactionary role. Mr. Rosenblatt mentions the extra costs caused by subcontracting but fails to say that a builder who cannot keep a full-time staff of construction workers is forced to subcontract because the unions allow their members to work only for contractors and the contractors agree to hire only from the unions.

I do not want to appear to be saying that the housing shortage is due to the building-trades unions. However, an analysis of the situation which neglects to point out the contributory role of the unions cannot give a true picture and therefore cannot lead to a progressive solution.

WILLIAM VOLK

Chicago, February 11

The Veterans' League

Dear Sirs: In a review of "The New Veteran" by Charles Bolté which appeared in *The Nation* (January 19), Walter Bernstein referred to the American Veterans' Committee as the only anti-Jim Crow veterans' organization in existence. Unfortunately, Mr. Bernstein overlooked the Veterans' League of America. . . . The league starts from the premise that the welfare of the veteran is inseparable from the welfare of the entire country—Negro and white, Jew and Gentile. In line with this principle, the Veterans' League of America has already committed itself on a number of



LANGUAGE IS POWER

... Forge ahead, win special assignments, promotion, better job in global peace time opportunities through ability to speak a foreign language.

MASTER A NEW LANGUAGE quickly, easily, correctly by LINGUAPHONE

The world-famous Linguaphone Conversational Method brings voices of native teachers INTO YOUR OWN HOME. You learn the new language by LISTENING. It's amazingly simple; thousands have succeeded. ♦ ♦ 29 LANGUAGES

Send for Free book, Call for Free demonstration

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE

81 RCA Bldg., New York 20 • Circle 7-0830

THROUGH MARCH 30 6th Exhibition

ART OF THE G. I.

Drawings and Paintings of the New Veteran

THE TRIBUNE

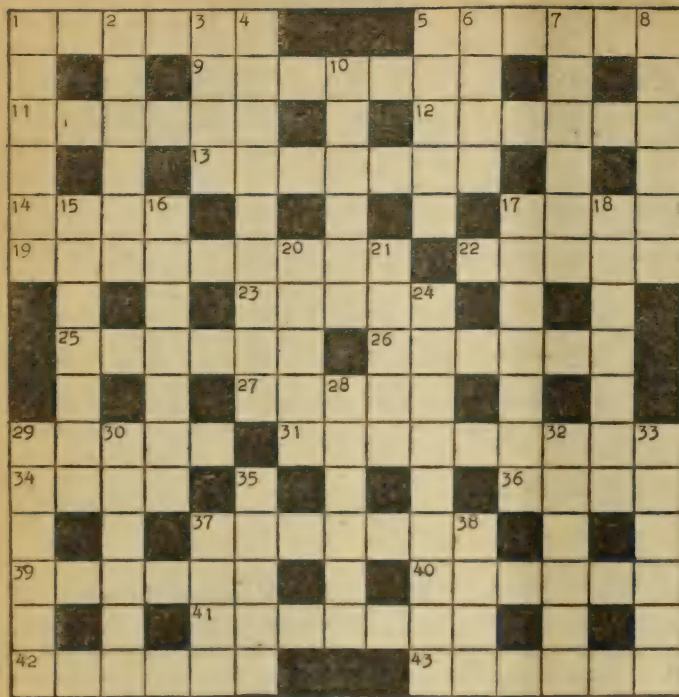
International Bank and Art Center

100 WEST 41st ST. COR. 6th AVE.

6th Ave. Subway Arcade, downstairs in the building of Schulte Cigar Store

Crossword Puzzle No. 151

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Dear me! It will have to be done again
- 5 Begin to debate something taken up at the Olympic Games
- 9 Like Contrary Mary's pretty maids
- 11 The Willing One in *David Copperfield*
- 12 No bail for him!
- 13 Is 800 feet longer than a land one (two words, 3 & 4)
- 14 A corner "to lie and read in"
- 17 Twinkle
- 19 A certain winner, perhaps (two words, 4 & 5)
- 22 Sundaes after five are bad for you
- 23 Out of bed I leapt at the first alert (hidden)
- 25 The "rage" in England
- 26 A flatterer, this insect
- 27 Takes off the pressure
- 29 Bright boy
- 31 Female forger? No, a town in South Africa
- 34 Not a large branch
- 36 But this is a large knife
- 37 Might as well be out of the world as out of this
- 39 Better half as good as a mile
- 40 Greek islands which might slightly electrify a Scot
- 41 Motives
- 42 Design (anag.)
- 43 A couple of G's are offered for the animal (hyphen, 3-3)

DOWN

- 1 Birds who bump off their parents
- 2 Conrad wrote it of the sea
- 3 Ida's elevated
- 4 Not here? Then where else could it be?
- 5 Pushed out the pasteboards

- 6 As a painted ship upon a painted ocean
- 7 "I'm afraid it's a hit," he remarked, after the first act
- 8 Infantry air transports
- 10 G.I. packs 'em in
- 15 A wolf turns up in the issue
- 16 Circular assembly gadget for locking devices
- 17 Where 100% Americans hold their political conventions?
- 18 Net wage (anag.)
- 20 The perfect type
- 21 What some may still call a hot coal
- 24 Describes the primrose path
- 25 They are not window drapes
- 29 A licking does them no harm
- 30 Type of British army hut
- 32 Politicians would prefer this to an outing, any day
- 33 Slang for a German
- 35 Leveled to the ground, but doesn't sound like it
- 37 A good servant but a bad master
- 38 May ravage a rose with impunity, said Wordsworth

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 150

ACROSS:—1 DEMOCRATS; 6 RIFLE; 9 ARTEMUS; 10 OLD MAID; 11 TRELLIS; 12 SPENCER; 13 SEE; 15 PASTEL; 17 OSWEGO; 18 ACTOR; 19 RELIED; 22 CULLEN; 23 HAS; 27 IGNOBLE; 28 ESSENES; 30 ASTORIA; 31 TRIVIAL; 32 SUMPS; 33 DEMAGOGUE.

DOWN:—1 DRAFT; 2 MITTENS; 3 CAMILLE; 4 ASSESS; 5 SPOUSE; 6 RED-LEGS; 7 FIANCEE; 8 EIDERDOWN; 14 EXTRA; 15 PARTISANS; 16 LAD; 17 ORC; 20 LONG TOM; 21 EMBARKS; 23 UNSLING; 24 LANDING; 25 HERALD; 26 SEPTUM; 29 SOLVE.

The NATION

vital issues. To name some of the important ones:

We have indorsed labor's efforts to gain a substantial wage increase and we are cooperating with labor wherever possible.

We are working for the continuation of rent and price controls to prevent the pauperization of the veteran and the country.

We are cooperating with the Committee for a Permanent FEPC to gain the passage of this vital measure.

We are opposed to compulsory military training.

We support the 65-cent minimum-wage bill and the full-employment bill as passed by the Senate.

We are working for a democratization of the army and a complete renovation of the army system of military justice, including taking the review of sentences already handed down out of the hands of the military and placing it under the jurisdiction of a civilian committee.

We support a program to feed the starving abroad as a humanitarian responsibility and as a practical program of international good-will.

We support a program of training in democracy in our schools and in the armed forces.

The league has its headquarters at 45 Astor Place, New York, 3.

ANTON LEVY,
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination
Committee, V. L. A.

New York, February 8

"Hate . . . Fury . . . Brutality"

Dear Sirs: I came away sizzling from the movie "Cornered," to read Margaret Marshall's essay on art in democracy (*The Nation*, February 9). I could only agree with her use of the words "brutalizing" and "vicious" in describing much of our entertainment today.

Recently a movie was banned from New York for immorality. Yet a story which portrays and justifies a man-hunt for hate alone is given top reviews. . . . Such hate feelings underlie the acts of violence we read about every day in the papers. After seeing "Cornered," anyone harboring a red-hot fury would feel justified in giving way to his anger. To disguise brutality under the cloak of the fight against fascism is not just poor taste; it is misrepresentation of the most dangerous sort. It makes a mockery of the courage of men who died because they really understood the meaning of freedom.

LOIS KIDDER
New York, February 17

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 16, 1946

NUMBER 11

The Shape of Things

THE SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN coalition in Congress is up to its old tricks. Too vote conscious to reject outright proposals which have popular appeal, its members have developed a slick technique for cutting the vitals out of forward-looking measures. The latest victim of their reactionary surgery is the Patman emergency home-building bill, which has been passed by the House minus authorization of subsidies required to relieve material bottlenecks and minus provision for fixing prices of old houses, speculation in which is rampant. Not content with this mutilation, a diehard minority sought to freeze the bill to death by sending it back "without instructions" to the Banking and Currency Committee. Most legislators, however, were not prepared to go to these lengths, being aware that a million or more homeless veterans were watching them. Having satisfied the building-material and real-estate lobbyists by rewriting the bill into ineffectiveness, they came out for housing in general with an easy mind.

✱

SOMETHING VERY SIMILAR IS LIKELY TO happen to the bill prolonging the life of the OPA unless consumers join in a mighty shout of protest that will drown the clamor of the special interests. Gallup polls and other expressions of public opinion have shown that a large majority of the electors want the OPA continued after June 30. Congress will not flout this demand, but the conservative majority there will do its damndest to cripple the bill. Already the Senate has slashed appropriations for the agency—an effective method of hampering its overworked staff. In the House plans are being concocted to procure exemptions from price ceilings for certain categories of goods, such as dairy products. Another amendment now being canvassed would require removal of price controls from any item when its production reaches pre-war levels. This would immediately remove ceilings from a number of essential products—meat is an example—supplies of which are in excess of pre-war volume but which, nevertheless, remain scarce because of the much greater effective demand at this time. If amendments of this nature are carried, the OPA, though nominally saved, will in fact have been doomed to futility.

OUR INTENTIONS IN THE MATTER OF SPAIN remain obscure. As we study the words and actions of our State Department we can hardly blame other nations for wondering what, if anything, is American foreign policy. The three-power statement was tough double-talk, and we ought not to be surprised that the Giral government received it with dismay and Franco with arrogant unconcern. Our subsequent coyness to the French proposal to submit the matter to the Security Council fully justifies both reactions. In one of the documents recently released with the three-power statement Hitler writes to Franco: "Only in the case of our victory will your present regime continue to exist." Hitler knew what he was talking about. Franco was his junior partner, wholeheartedly devoted to him. Franco's Spain was a useful supplier to Nazi war needs, a useful base for Nazi espionage. More than that, Franco's Spain, as Professor Sanchez Sarto demonstrates on another page, during the war became completely integrated into the colonial order of Nazi Germany. When that order and its leaders went down in utter destruction before the Allied arms, it seemed logical, inevitable, that Franco too would go. For there was nothing to hold him up. Nothing, that is, except the props supplied him by the faltering voices of the victorious democracies. Surely the time has come now to blast out those props. The loud, stern voice of democracy, which has been silent too long, would have a cleansing effect in the confusion of power politics today.

✱

WE DON'T BLAME R. J. THOMAS FOR PUTTING up a fight to retain the presidency of the United Automobile Workers against a strongly backed challenge by Walter Reuther. But we are sorry to see him resorting to tactics which play into the hands of General Motors. Addressing a meeting of presidents of union locals called to pass on the Ford contract, Mr. Thomas went out of his way to make an unfair attack on Reuther. "Where is my opponent today?" he asked. "Is he trying to settle the General Motors strike? . . . That's what he should be doing. He's more worried about taking my job." These words are sure to be picked up with avidity by the General Motors vice-president, Harry Anderson, as justification for his recent charge that union politics were

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	301
Churchill's "Union Now"	303
Hold the New Line!	304
Strengthening Congress by Maxwell S. Stewart	305

ARTICLES

U. S. and U. S. S. R. by I. F. Stone	306
Spain—a Nazi Colony by Manuel Sanchez Sarto	307
Sons of the Wild Jackass—1946 by Richard L. Neuberger	309
Ersatz Orchids for UNO by Aylmer Vallance	311
The Myth of World Government by Reinhold Niebuhr	312
Japan's Press Revolution by Andrew Roth	315
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	316
The People's Front by Del Vayo	317

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

What They Missed by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.	318
Two Poems by Robert Lowell	318
Seven Women Poets by Mildred Adams	319
Briefer Comment	320
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	324
Records by B. H. Haggin	324
Books in Short	325

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 326

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 152 By Jack Barrett	328
---	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchway

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building, Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$9; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Librarians: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

delaying a settlement of the strike. Mr. Anderson told reporters that a return to work probably would not take place until after the Atlantic City convention of the union beginning March 23 because candidates for office, jockeying for position, were unwilling to take responsibility for coming to terms. Actually, if Walter Reuther could go to the convention with a satisfactory contract in his pocket, his chances of victory over Thomas would be greatly enhanced. Aware of this, General Motors executives appear to be playing union politics themselves, holding up a settlement with a view to defeating Reuther, whose ability, courage, and drive they rightly fear. At least it is hard to explain otherwise their refusal to arbitrate the few remaining points of disagreement between the company and the union.

✱

SOME OF THE FINEST WORDS IN FREEDOM'S vocabulary grace the new constitution proposed for Japan, but before becoming too optimistic, we should be wise to remember that the document is the product of a government absolutely lacking in democratic elements. The proposed constitution is merely one more concession which Japan's "old gang" has had to make under pressure from the Japanese people and the occupation authorities. And while the people have seized their opportunity to establish a democratic press and begin rebuilding their shattered political and labor organizations, the old order still retains the substance of power. The vitally important Home Ministry, for instance, which controls the police and has sole responsibility for the conduct of the coming elections, as well as for passing on candidates, has been virtually unchanged by General MacArthur's well-publicized purges. While top military fascists have been arrested as war criminals, they have almost invariably been succeeded by former subordinates with similar outlook but less conspicuous records. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the fine words of our directives have been sabotaged. The new constitution will receive the same treatment so long as the present Japanese bureaucracy remains.

✱

AMERICANS CAN NOW SEND AID DIRECTLY to anti-Nazi survivors of the resistance inside Germany and their families. The miracle is that they are not all dead. Gestapo records show that they were being arrested at the rate of 3,000 a month as late as the first six months of 1944. Since V-E Day the survivors have been quietly dying of hunger. Infant mortality rates are a significant index: one out of four children in Germany dies in its first year. Last week a Presidential order created CRALOG (Council of Relief Agencies Licensed for Operation in Germany) and designated the International Rescue and Relief Committee as one of eleven member agencies authorized to give relief in Germany.

All funds, food, and clothes contributed to the IRRC will be distributed by its representative in Germany to proved anti-Nazis and their families only. The address is 103 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

✱

AT GENEVA, HOME OF THE REFORMATION, a group of Protestant churchmen recently held a conference which was crowded off the front pages by the highly publicized consistory in Rome. The resolutions passed by the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches had a direct bearing on the very problems lately faced by the United Nations Assembly in London. The approach was somewhat different. People rather than powers were the main issue—the incalculable misery and want of the homeless millions in Europe and Asia; the inhumane treatment of the German populations transferred out of Poland and Czechoslovakia; the particular claims of Europe's Jews rotting in the displaced-persons camps; the muddled policy of the Allies on Germany, which pointed toward no rebirth of freedom. These problems, declared the committee, are not only the responsibility of governments and the United Nations Organization but must press upon the consciences of the people of the more fortunate lands, the people of the great churches which long ago professed the faith that the world is one. It is a satisfaction to know that the provisional committee set up a Commission of International Relations which will seek "to stimulate the churches of all nations to a more vigorous expression of the demands of the Christian conscience in relation to the political policies of government." *The Nation* is particularly glad that its associate, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, has been named one of the American representatives.

Churchill's 'Union Now'

NEXT to the remarkable ineptness of President Truman's apparent sponsorship, the most painful aspect of Winston Churchill's speech at Westminster College was its timing. Coming on top of the get-tough-with-Russia sentiments expressed by Senator Vandenberg and Secretary of State Byrnes, the Churchill blast at the Soviets has been widely interpreted as a logical extension of the Americans' approach, the more so because the President saw fit, as Churchill said, "to travel a thousand miles to dignify and magnify" the occasion. But the sober and reassuring truth is that there is a vast gulf between the Churchill and the Byrnes-Vandenberg positions. The differences should be sounded like a foghorn in the murky atmosphere that is settling down over the Big Three.

The two Americans, to begin with, focused their attention on the United Nations Organization, its successes

to date, the hopes for its future, the need to strengthen it, and the absolute necessity of dealing solely through its machinery with the waywardness of any one power. Churchill, in contrast, told the world that he lacked "the same confidence or even the same hopes" in the UNO that he had entertained for the sterilized League of Nations back in 1920. Second, where Byrnes emphasized that "in this world there is room for many people with varying views and many governments with varying systems," Churchill raised to the status of an international menace the activities of Communist parties "seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control." Above all, Byrnes opposed any change in the "power relationships" of the great states for fear of "profoundly disturbing the whole structure of the United Nations," while Churchill would weld the Anglo-American world into a solid unit of power. Byrnes pledged that "we will gang up against no state," but Churchill's whole thesis for a "fraternal association of the English-speaking powers" was a bold call for a military alliance. Byrnes, in short, talked like a man determined on peace, Churchill like a man committed to war.

To Churchill, fighting for the continued greatness of England, a junior partnership with the United States undoubtedly holds out hope, and if the question could be threshed out in a vacuum, he could make an excellent case. The empire is in flames—in Egypt, in India, in the Near East—and is challenged at its most vital spots by the rising power of the Russians. A Western bloc has been ruled out by pressure on France and the Scandinavian countries from the Soviets, which would look upon such an arrangement with fear and belligerent antagonism. The only way out, to a Tory mind, is the kind of link-up with the United States that Churchill has proposed. But not all Englishmen are Tories, and the best of Britain's leaders surely see that their country's hope lies in converting the empire into a genuine commonwealth of free nations—a union ready-made, in which Britain's 40,000,000 people could count on the raw materials they need through the preferential treatment accorded by equals rather than the exploitation of colonial subjects. Only in this way can England undermine the Communist influence of which Churchill complains, and only in this way can England assure the welfare of its population without altering those "power relationships" which Mr. Byrnes sees as the foundations of world peace.

Apart from the nature of his motives, Churchill has adopted a strategy and a tone that will serve neither the good of Britain nor the cause of world peace. He has added a sizable measure of poison to the already deteriorating relations between Russia and the Western powers. He has given the Soviets ground to intensify their unilateral pursuit of security, and at the same time "confirmed" the Wheelers in their shrill contention that the war to save democracy was in reality a war to spread communism. He has undermined faith in the UNO at a

moment when it is struggling to assert its first dignity and strength. He has stiffened the necks of those ostriches who think to keep the atomic bomb a secret. And, ironically, he has prejudiced the chances of the loan to Britain by arousing once again the suspicions of those who fear to be drawn into a defense of the British Empire.

Altogether a bad day's work, and one that can be undone only if Messrs. Attlee and Bevin make it clear to the world that the policies of Britain are determined at Westminster on the Thames, and not at Westminster College, Missouri.

Hold the New Line!

TO JUDGE by press comments, the Administration's new wage-price policy is doomed to failure. Both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. have attacked it for requiring government approval of wage increases, and John L. Lewis has indicated that the United Mine Workers will demand increases considerably in excess of the maximum set by the Administration. In Congress the farm bloc threatens to go on the warpath again with a demand for a new method of computing parity which would prevent stabilization of prices and wages on the new level. Big business is uncompromisingly opposed to the whole program; reflecting the disappointment of speculators who had envisioned an era of unrestricted profits like the lush '20's, Wall Street suffered its sharpest relapse in more than five years. Leading financial papers such as the *Wall Street Journal* have launched a non-stop campaign of abuse against Mr. Bowles and price control of any kind. The National Association of Manufacturers is combating extension of the Price Control Act beyond June 30.

It is easy to point out flaws in the Administration's new formula. Since it represents a middle course between the views of those who want to see the price line rigidly held and of groups hell bent for inflation, it really satisfies no one. In opening the door to price increases throughout industry and coupling them to wage increases, Mr. Truman has set in motion a chain of events that will be extremely difficult to stop. Marriner Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, was merely uttering an economic platitude when he declared that in the present economic situation wage increases are justifiable only if paid out of profits without price increases. And there is considerable evidence to confirm his estimate that as a result of the new policy living costs will rise 10 per cent, even though Mr. Bowles hopes to limit the rise to half that amount.

But this is no time to hold out for perfectionism in our economic policies. Although wages and prices are fundamentally economic matters, it is idle to pretend that the Administration could be guided by economic considerations alone. In labor's demand for take-home pay

comparable to that earned during the war were psychological factors that could not be ignored. And while the most recent corporation-earnings reports do not indicate any general squeeze on profits, it is obvious that, in many instances, meeting labor's demands would cut into earnings sufficiently to cause considerable mental distress on Wall Street. Although we regret that Mr. Truman gave way as much as he did to these pressures, some sort of retreat from the war-time price line was inevitable. Now that the retreat has started, only one course of action is open to public-spirited citizens. That is to rally to the support of Mr. Bowles and his new Price Administrator in their efforts to establish and hold a new line.

Despite the outcry of business and farm groups, we believe that Mr. Bowles has the backing of the overwhelming majority of the American people. The C. I. O. has come out strongly for the continuation of strengthening of price controls. Among the more independent business groups, the Committee for Economic Development has urged the extension of the Price Control Act, and Henry J. Kaiser, head of twenty-five industries operating fifty plants, has not only asked Congress to continue price ceilings but has urged a reinstatement of war-time allocation controls. If housewives and ordinary consumers were organized half as well as the dominant business groups, Congress would be feeling the effect of their insistence on more vigorous measures to control inflation. But because consumers are largely unorganized, there is grave doubt whether the OPA will receive sufficient funds to do its job. Last week the Senate cut \$1,677,000 from the agency's budget. Yet its task has been immensely increased by the necessity of reviewing virtually all its existing price schedules and enforcing its decisions against widespread business hostility.

Strengthening of our price-control machinery, however, is only one of the important steps that must be taken if inflation is to be prevented. We must be on guard against additional tax cuts, against a further relaxation of controls on raw materials which are in short supply, and against liberalization of the present restrictions on credit expansion. Although the safeguards which must be maintained are of war-time origin, it is well to recall that they were imposed not against an external enemy but against people in our midst who would have taken advantage of emergency conditions to inflict untold injury on their fellow-Americans. The conditions which prompted these emergency measures will not disappear until normal production has been restored and the cost of living stabilized.

COMING IN THE NATION

P. E. Corbett.....UNO—A Trial Balance
Ignazio Silone.....Remember How Freedom Died
Robert Lasch.....Homes from the Assembly Line

Strengthening Congress

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

NOTHING would be more erroneous than to judge the importance of the report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress by the meager amount of newspaper space given it. This is no ordinary Congressional committee report. Nor is it a run-of-the-mill proposal for Congressional reorganization. It is in many ways an extraordinary document. Recognizing that a "grave constitutional crisis exists in which the fate of representative government is at stake," the committee made a valiant, and unique, attempt to come to grips with fundamentals. While many of its proposals necessarily deal with superficial details—such as the raising of Congressional and staff salaries, the creation of a stenographic pool, and the improvement of restaurant facilities—the bulk of the report is given over to issues that are undeniably central in any program for forging Congress into an effective legislative instrument. Some of its recommendations were unexpectedly good; there were few to which serious exception should be taken; but in many instances the committee stopped just short of proposals that would eliminate the defects that it clearly recognized.

Few will care to dispute, for example, the committee's proposals for streamlining legislative procedures. Recommendations are made for lifting many non-essential burdens from Congressional backs—such as governing the District of Columbia—for strengthening the control over expenditures, for expediting legislative business, and for requiring that every bill be accompanied by a readable, non-technical digest so that it may be readily understood. So far, so good. But in speaking of speeding up legislative procedures the committee is strangely silent on the two most defenseless of all practices for delaying and perverting the legislative will—the filibuster and the restrictive powers of the House Rules Committee. Nor does it come to grips with the practice that is the greatest of all Congressional time-wasters—the use of Congressmen as errand boys for their constituents. Each Congressman, it is true, is to be given an \$8,000 administrative assistant, together with other research and technical aid, which is supposed to relieve him of a large part of his non-legislative load. Yet this merely gives legal sanction to the Congressman's dubious function of lobbying for his constituents in the administrative agencies.

The proposals for a reorganization of the standing committees of the House and Senate are in many ways better than was expected. The Senate's thirty-three committees are to be merged into sixteen, and the House's forty-eight into eighteen. House and Senate rules are to

be amended to avoid overlapping or conflicts over the jurisdiction of the various committees. Unfortunately, however, the proposed House and Senate committees are still not entirely parallel, thus precluding the economy of joint sessions. No effort seems to have been made, moreover, to plan the new committees in such a way as to correspond, wherever possible, to the administrative departments. Had this been done it would have greatly simplified the task of reviewing administrative operation, which is to be lodged, under the Joint Committee's recommendation, in the standing committees.

Regarding the most glaring evil in the present committee system—the seniority rule—the Joint Committee is conspicuously silent. Although it would trim the authority of the committee chairmen in several respects, it makes no suggestions for improving the quality of chairmanship or for a more democratic method of selection. Its failure to come to grips with this problem is particularly distressing because a reduction in the number of committees would tend to put more concentrated power in the hands of the remaining chairmen, thus making it easier for a small group of undefeatable representatives from the poll-tax states to exercise effective control over all legislative matters. Seniority rule is one of the chief obstacles to the creation of an effective system of party responsibility in the United States. This has been evident time and time again in recent years, when committees that were theoretically dominated by the majority party have held up or emasculated essential parts of the Administration's legislative program.

In an effort to assure greater party discipline and provide the mechanism for a system of party responsibility, the Joint Committee proposed the establishment of majority and minority policy committees in the two branches of Congress. In order to escape the dead hand of seniority, these committees would be chosen by party caucus at the beginning of each Congress. And to provide the badly needed teamwork between Congress and the Executive, the majority policy committees of the House and Senate would meet regularly with the President and members of the Cabinet to formulate basic national policy. This is by far the most significant recommendation in the Joint Committee's report; yet its significance has been almost completely overlooked by the press. If put into effect, this country will have for the first time a machinery for working out a coordinated legislative program for which the majority party would be clearly responsible to the public. The program of the opposition could be similarly clarified and tested by public opinion.

It is unfortunate that the promise of this proposal should be so largely nullified by the Joint Committee's timidity in dealing with issues like the filibuster and seniority rule. Fortunately, it is still possible to raise these issues on the floor of both houses when the program comes up for Congressional consideration.

U. S. and U. S. S. R.

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 10

THE past seven days have been a kind of war-with-Russia week in the capital. Before plunging, much beyond my depth, into the complexities of Iranian, Bulgarian, Turkish, and Manchurian politics, I should like, to set down a few tentative observations which may provide a framework for understanding what is going on.

It seems to me that there are three basic problems involved in our relations with the Soviet Union. The first arises from the fact that every great war upsets the balance of power; a new balance must be established and stabilized to maintain peace among the victors. The second arises from the fact that the Russians, having suffered severely in the war, are acutely conscious of their security needs; some peaceful means for meeting them must be found. The third arises from the fact that we are the possessors of the most frightful weapon yet discovered by man; we should be uneasy if it were in the U. S. S. R.'s exclusive possession.

The adjustments required must be made with due consideration for the needs of our other major ally, Great Britain. Means must be found to allow for the Soviet Union's legitimate needs in a way which will not harm the equally legitimate security requirements of Britain. This requires changes in the status quo ante, and such changes are naturally painful for a great world empire like Britain's. The preservation of peace also requires another sacrifice on Britain's part, and that is the development of a genuinely progressive colonial policy which will satisfy the aspirations of its subject peoples for self-government. They will otherwise look to Russia for inspiration, and add to the forces making for war.

In such a context one would say that the Soviet Union had a legitimate security interest in the Dardanelles and in the Dodecanese Islands, which command the approach to them; these are as much the U. S. S. R.'s "lifeline" as Gibraltar is Britain's and Panama our own. But one would also say that the Soviet Union had no legitimate security interest in Tripolitania, which lies athwart Britain's own lifeline to the Suez. In such a context one would also recognize that the Soviet Union had a legitimate interest in the Middle East. Britain no longer has the power to bottle Russia up in the Black Sea or to keep it out of the Middle Eastern oil preserve. Nor does it have the right to do so, in a truly international system. One can also recognize that, given a willingness to make the concessions indicated, Britain would have a right to some special guaranties from the United States. One could also say that the British might be wiser to make these

adjustments on their own, to avoid becoming an American dependent and to be in a position to play an independent role vis-a-vis both the United States and the U. S. S. R. It need hardly be noted that there were no such perspectives in the Churchill speech at Fulton, but only a naked call for an Anglo-American alliance against the Soviet Union in defense of the status quo.

It is not Britain alone which must make concessions if a new world order is to be stabilized. The United States must recognize that to talk in implicit terms of "democracy" in Eastern Europe, in the Middle East, in the Far East, and in much of Latin America is usually to support small reactionary upper classes against a mass of ignorant and miserable people. The latter are certain to swing toward communism, and thus to poison relations between the West and the Soviet Union, unless we are willing to make our vast capital resources available for the development of these areas in conjunction with our Allies and with the people who live there. It need hardly be noted that as yet we show little willingness to participate in such a program; on the contrary, even the loan to Britain may pass only because Churchill has made an ingratiating appeal to rightist elements more interested in fighting Russia than in helping England. He antagonized old friends like Pepper and won the applause of old enemies like Wheeler.

The financial sphere is not the only one in which the United States must shoulder new responsibilities. It is quite true that the United States cannot, if peace is to be preserved, give in to unlimited expansionist demands by the Soviet Union. But the question to be answered is whether they are unlimited, and where we draw the limit. We must consider each dispute on its merits, adopt concrete policies, and be prepared both to negotiate compromises and to stand firm. The difference between Churchill's speech and those of Vandenberg and Dulles is that the former shuts the door on such negotiation. The difference between the speeches of Vandenberg and Dulles and the address made by Secretary Byrnes at the Overseas Press Club is that the latter invites peaceful discussion. It promises that we will "gang up against no state," that we will seek to do more than "to defend the dead hand of reaction," that our diplomacy will not be "inert," that it will develop "constructive proposals."

Unfortunately, there is as yet no sign here that this aspect of the Secretary's address is being carried out. The other aspect of it, the firm line, is evident enough. There is little doubt that our protests on Iran and Manchuria are justified, though our protest on Bulgaria would be

improved if our representative in Sofia, Maynard Barnes, had not been working so openly with reactionary elements. But it is not enough to protest infractions of agreement; it is necessary to sit down and discuss grievances concretely and to leave no justification for such infractions. For as long as the Russians feel that in effect we have no policy on the Dardanelles and on Iranian oil other than to preserve the status quo, as long as they feel themselves menaced by the atom bomb, as long as they feel that America and Britain have ganged up on them, they will put security ahead of treaty obligations.

The incredible naivete and clumsiness of the President in involving himself with the Churchill speech and the savage undercover campaign against Secretary Byrnes as an "appeaser" make it very difficult for the Russians to believe that we really desire to live in peace with them. These developments and the atom bomb overshadow all else. But there is another question to which I sought an answer during the past week in many quarters of the

State Department and the government—the question of whether on such key issues as Iranian oil and the Straits we did, in fact, have a policy, whether we had worked out a program, whether we had discussed any concrete compromise proposal with the Russians. I got the impression that there was no such program and that the State Department was still the same kind of uncoordinated place in which the Secretary proposes but the little career clique disposes.

The alternative is not war tomorrow or the next day, but the assumption that war must come sooner or later. And that assumption will throw its shadow over every aspect of foreign and domestic policy. Abroad it must affect our policies toward Germany, Japan, and Spain, for all may be needed as allies. At home, as indicated by the new army orders barring the "subversive" and "disaffected" from "sensitive" military matters, it must curtail civil liberties in preparation for war. And war, with the atom bomb, will mean *Finis* for all of us.

Spain—a Nazi Colony

BY MANUEL SANCHEZ SARTO

Formerly professor of political economy at Barcelona, now at the Mexican School of Economics; author and translator of numerous works of economic history

IN ITS issue of September 22, 1940, the *Deutsche Bergwerke Zeitung* of Düsseldorf carried an article entitled *The Basis of Spain's Economic Prosperity*. Among other things this article said: "As the authoritarian powers consolidate their political rule in Europe, their influence on the economy of this continent will increase and economic liberalism will correspondingly decline. This tendency will particularly affect the character of the Spanish economy, which before the national revolution of July, 1936, was the object of systematic exploitation by the Western democracies." Expanding this idea, it said: "Germany is in an excellent position to contribute to the economic development of Spain, because the similarity of its political system to that of Spain excludes the suspicion of a sinister political motive. German industry can to a large extent satisfy the needs of the Spanish market and will be well compensated by receiving in exchange the riches of the Spanish soil and subsoil."

Two days later the *Frankfurter Volksblatt* hailed the arrival in Berlin of Serrano Suñer, whom it described as "a typical representative of the new Spain, now undergoing the economic, social, and political transformation experienced earlier in Germany and Italy." Spanish imports quickly became a theme for Nazi propagandists. The success of their campaign is revealed in the following table showing Spanish exports to various countries in 1935 and 1941:

1935 (Figures in millions of pesetas)		1941	
England	127.4	Germany	161.7
Germany	74.8	Italy	49.4
France	68.9	U. S.	42.4
U. S.	55.9	England	40.1
Argentina	31.7	France	16.3
Italy	19.6	Argentina	5.0

England, it will be seen, which once headed the list of importers, had dropped to fourth place, while the two Axis partners were taking more than half the total and more than twice as much as England and the United States combined.

A specific example of how the Franco-Hitler economic alliance operated is provided by the figures for Spanish orange exports:

1935 (Figures in millions of pesetas)		1941	
France	28.8	Germany	81.8
Germany	27.1	England	6.9
England	23.2	France	3.7
Belgium	7.2	Switzerland	3.1

In conformity with an agreement between the German Bureau for Vine and Garden Products and the Spanish Citrus Growers' Association, almost the entire Spanish crop from 1941 on was consigned to Germany. This transaction was financed in part by a semi-official group headed by the Citrus Growers' Association and the Spanish Export-Import Bank and including a few private

banks, such as the Banco Central. The total credits involved amounted to 50,000,000 reichsmarks. Payments, instead of being made directly to the Spanish exporters, were deposited in a special "clearing account" of the German Reichsbank; the legitimate creditors never received more than a part settlement in depreciated pesetas.

Another example is offered by the olive-oil industry. Before World War II Spain produced about 40 per cent (360,000 tons) of the world's annual supply of olive oil. After the needs of the Spanish domestic market were met, about 80,000 tons remained for export; this went chiefly to Italy, where the oil was further refined and then reexported. In 1939, however, under the aegis of Germany, Spain set out to corner the world market both as exporter and refiner. The Franco government that year authorized the construction of some 200 new refineries, the expansion of existing facilities, and the construction of another 30 plants where new German techniques for making glycerine and lubricants and for hydrogenizing oils could be tested. Curiously enough, the Spanish government has issued no figures on olive-oil exports for several years, stating only that in 1943 exports to European countries—read Germany—were stabilized while exports to America had sharply declined. Though trainloads of oil were rolling toward the Pyrenees, the cars marked *Sobran de España* (Spanish surplus), domestic supplies were ruthlessly curtailed. Hindered by the shortage of oil, the fish-canning industry turned to conserving in salt and *Ersatz* liquids.

While German warehouses were bursting with Spanish foodstuffs and the Spanish people starved, Franco was putting the finishing touches on a grand "ten-year plan" for the transformation of industry, by which he aimed to avoid the necessity of importing Allied products and to create favorable conditions for German enterprise. In 1941 and 1942 new industrial installations costing 911.6 million pesetas were authorized by the government; this amount was topped in 1943. In consequence Spain became increasingly dependent on Axis industrial techniques and patents, the government was obliged to impose new taxes on an already suffering people, and semi-official enterprises and private banks reaped staggering war profits.

The greatest development occurred in the chemical industry. The government's aim was to improve the balance of trade by manufacturing nitrogen products and other materials which had formerly been imported, such as mineral oils and their derivatives, wood distillates, and the like. Early in 1942 the Spanish Nitrogen Company drew up plans for two new fertilizer plants at Valencia and Murcia. The 1941 report of the National Industrial Institute stated that equipment for the manufacture of fertilizer had been promised by Germany and would arrive shortly.

Hidro Nitro España, a company operating at Monzón, Huesca, had a capital of 85 million pesetas at the

end of 1942; by 1943 it had risen to 125 million pesetas. Hidro Nitro favored nationalization of the nitrogen industry because of its key role in the manufacture of explosives. A government decree of December 27, 1942, declared the nitrogen industry to be of national importance. New machinery was furnished by I. G. Farben, and production of ammonium sulphate rose to 400,000 tons a year. Another company, Ibérica del Nitrógeno, produced 10,000 tons of ammonium sulphate in 1942. Ibérica had formerly had a contract with a French company, Air Liquide; now it entered into a financial arrangement with a German firm.

Other firms participated in the government's so-called Nitrogen Plan: Sefanitro Baracaldo, with a capital of 150 million pesetas in 1943, utilized gas from the coke furnaces of Altos Hornos de Viscayao and produced about 120,000 tons of ammonium sulphate annually; Nicas of Valladolid, with a capital of 100 million pesetas in 1943, used power from the Duero dams and produced 64,000 tons of nitrates annually. Government subventions already granted or under consideration totaled more than 1,000 million pesetas by 1943. Yet despite the enormous expansion of the nitrogen industry, harvests, especially the cereal crops, suffered from a lack of fertilizer.

The Spanish textile industry concentrated mainly on the production of synthetic fibers used in the manufacture of rayon and cellulose wool. In addition, it experimented with cereal, rice, esparto, and genista grasses in the hope of obtaining a fiber which would enable it to eliminate the importation of artificial fibers and reduce cotton imports by a third. In 1942 Spanish trade papers were describing "glass stockings" and parachute cloth made out of synthetic fibers produced from coal, and reporting on new developments in the use of German *perluran*, the equivalent of the American nylon.

Under the government's textile plan as outlined in a decree dated March 14, 1940, a number of new factories were built. Machinery and considerable capital were supplied by Germany. Patents came from Germany, Italy, and—in the case of the extraction of fibers from rice grasses—from Japan. One of the large concerns with a capital of 172 million pesetas worked with eucalyptus wood from Santander; its annual production of 3,500 tons of rayon and 3,500 tons of staple fiber surpassed the combined production of all its Spanish competitors.

And so we could go on, telling of developments in numerous other industries by which the Spanish economy was firmly welded to that of the Reich. The public debt of the Franco government and Spanish export credits frozen in Axis countries constitute another fascinating aspect of this picture—the Condor debt of 230 million marks to Germany, the Italian war debt of 5,000 million liras, settled in May, 1941, by the issuance of 5,000 Spanish treasury bonds of a million liras each, and the 500 million marks frozen in the clearing house of the Reichsbank. Franco Spain—number one Axis colony!

Sons of the Wild Jackass—1946

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Magazine writer and journalist; author of books on the social and political problems of the Northwest

Seattle, February 28

GEORGE H. MOSES'S derisive reference, during the halcyon days of Old Guard rule, to a plucky little group of Senate progressives as "sons of the wild jackass" became a name that stuck. Eventually the progressives gloried in the title, for it meant champions of the people at a time when privilege and corruption were politically triumphant.

Moses originally applied the phrase to farm-belt Senators from the northern Great Plains, led by the illustrious Norris of Nebraska. Today he would have to look 20 degrees of longitude farther west, to the Columbia River Basin, to find a similar group. The Middle West is no longer the habitat of sons of the wild jackass; it now produces some of the most reactionary men in Congress. Revolt is bred today in the country's upper left-hand corner, in the Pacific Northwest. No other region sends such consistently liberal delegations to Washington.

The support that valley authorities find in Congress is a case in point. The Missouri Valley Authority is bitterly opposed by Senators of that valley, whereas the Mitchell bill for a regional authority in the vast watershed of the Columbia is favored by a majority of the Northwest's representatives. "Cowboy Glen" Taylor, the singing Senator from Idaho, also illustrates my thesis. When he arrived in the capital last year with a guitar and a ten-gallon hat, correspondents thought he was another Pappy O'Daniel. But Glen is the exact opposite of his yodeling colleague from Texas. During his first year in the Senate he advocated public power, fair employment practices, fewer tax rebates to industry, international control of the atomic process, and the confirmation of such men as Aubrey Williams and Henry A. Wallace.

The resurgence of liberalism in the Northwest is most marked in the Democratic Party and the state of Washington but is not the exclusive possession of either of these. Senator Wayne L. Morse of Oregon, a Republican, is waging a heroic fight against the Tories in his own party. Senator James E. Murray of Montana, a Roosevelt Democrat, has been in the forefront of nearly every liberal crusade undertaken in recent years.

A number of factors are responsible for the progressivism of the Northwest's delegation on Capitol Hill. One is the people's general acceptance of the idea of public ownership of electric power after long years of agitation by Homer Bone, Jim O'Sullivan, Clarence Dill, and the late J. D. Ross. The influence of these men was far-reaching, for the Columbia River has 42 per cent

of America's water-power in its rocky canyons. The Grange nationally is a conservative organization; in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho it has led the demand for public ownership. At Spokane last week representatives of the Grange, the A. F. of L., and the C. I. O. formed a league to promote the Columbia Valley Authority. Opposition in the Northwest to a CVA is confined largely to the utility companies and their confederates.

Another reason for the Northwest's tendency to send liberals to Congress is found in its enthusiasm for Roosevelt. Outside the solid South F. D. R. received his largest proportionate majorities in this region. In 1936, for example, he got 60 per cent of the vote in New York and 64 per cent in Virginia, but he got 66 per cent in Washington and 67 per cent in Oregon. Mon Wallgren, an Everett jeweler; John Coffee, a Tacoma lawyer; Jim Murray, a Butte multimillionaire; and Glen Taylor, a Pocatello yodeler of "Oh, Susanna!" all got their political start as last-ditch supporters of Roosevelt.

Of the Northwest's eight Senators, five can be relied on to perform with consistent liberalism. They are Murray of Montana, Morse of Oregon, Taylor of Idaho, and Warren Magnuson and Hugh B. Mitchell of Washington. Wheeler of Montana is progressive on many domestic issues, although his bitter personal grudge against Roosevelt led him astray in 1937. Charles Gossett, the junior Senator from Idaho, is a pussyfooting Democrat who probably will support Truman a good part of the time. Only one Northwestern Senator is an outright reactionary—Morse's colleague, Guy Cordon, an ally of Taft on most critical issues.

The region has also done well by the House of Representatives. No Congressman displays greater courage on perilous issues than John M. Coffee of Tacoma, who has fought a lonely fight for nearly ten years against Spanish fascism, both in Spain and south of the Gulf of California. Coffee has three colleagues who support him in vital matters—Henry M. Jackson of Everett, Hugh De Lacy of Seattle, and a logger from the Cascade woods named Charlie Savage. These men all voted against continuing the infamous Dies committee.

Montana is ribbed by the Continental Divide. East of this towering wall the state has Republican representation in the House. West of it, on the Columbia River watershed, the people have elected Mike Mansfield, a forty-two-year-old university professor who fought in the last war at the age of thirteen and wore a marine sergeant's gold chevrons in Shanghai when he

was only sixteen. Mansfield was twice sent by Roosevelt to observe the muddled Chinese situation. The Murray forces hope to run him against Wheeler this year, but Mansfield has not committed himself to the race.

Utah, whose upper left-hand corner is in the Columbia's watershed, also contributes a valuable liberal delegation. The Mormon state, once dominated completely by the pious Reed Smoot and his confederates, has two New Dealers in the Senate—scholarly Elbert Thomas, who fills Smoot's seat, and Abe Murdock, up from the House's liberal bloc. Utah's two Representatives, J. W. Robinson and Walter Granger, are also liberals. Granger roundly scolded his fellow-Democrats for abandoning the Senate's full-employment bill for a pale House substitute.

Just as Congressmen from the South have a way of turning out to be reactionary, regardless of their antecedents, those from the Northwest prove happily progressive.

In 1945 Mon Wallgren, just elected Governor of Washington, chose his thirty-eight-year-old secretary to fill his place in the Senate. Many persons had doubts about Hugh Mitchell. He had never occupied public office before. He was shy, and full of "book learning." Wallgren was bombarded with protests. But Mitchell has silenced the skeptics.



Senator Morse

He has led the fight for the Columbia Valley Authority, taken up the cudgels against allowing Alcoa to monopolize the aluminum industry on the Columbia, and voted liberally on all major questions.

No list of the Northwest's liberals is complete without the name of Edward L. (Bob) Bartlett, the first graduate of the University of Alaska ever to occupy public office. Bartlett was elected delegate from Alaska in 1944 with the backing of Governor Ernest Gruening. He has used his voteless seat in the House to assail the shipping and cannery monopolies in the Territory.

The political upheaval in the Far West has received less attention than that along the Atlantic seaboard, but it has been more complete. The states beyond the Continental Divide were once the happy hunting ground of the Republicans. The G. O. P. was supreme there during the administrations of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. Twenty years ago the Democrats had only these

offices: in Arizona, the governorship, one senatorship, one House seat; in California, two House seats; in Colorado, one House seat; in Idaho, none; in Montana, the governorship, two senatorships, one House seat; in Utah, the governorship, one senatorship; in Oregon, none; in Nevada, one senatorship; in New Mexico, two senatorships, one House seat; in Washington, one senatorship, one House seat; in Wyoming, one senatorship.

A generation later, this is how they fare in the same states: in Arizona, the governorship, two senatorships, two House seats; in California, one senatorship, sixteen House seats; in Colorado, one senatorship; in Idaho, the governorship, two senatorships, one House seat; in Montana, two senatorships, one House seat; in Utah, the governorship, two senatorships, two House seats; in Oregon, none; in Nevada, the governorship, two senatorships, one House seat; in New Mexico, the governorship, two senatorships, two House seats; in Washington, the governorship, two senatorships, four House seats; in Wyoming, the governorship, one senatorship; in Alaska, the one delegate.

The most conspicuous failure of the Democrats has been in Oregon, where a group of anti-Roosevelt die-hards has kept control of the party. There the liberal mantle has been worn by such Republicans as Wayne Morse and the late Senator Charles L. McNary. The leading Democrats in Oregon are opposed to public power and the FEPC; they cater to local hysteria against Japanese Americans. As a result the Republicans have kept the inside track, and although Roosevelt carried Oregon four times, Democrats in the state have been denied political victories.

No other Presidential candidate in history was so popular in the West as Franklin D. Roosevelt. In the eleven Western states, in his four races, he won forty-one of forty-four contests. He failed to carry Wyoming in 1944 and Colorado in 1940 and 1944. Elsewhere west of the Continental Divide he was always victorious.

Roosevelt was not unaware that Democratic nominees do not win unless they carry the West—it was California that gave the victory to Woodrow Wilson at the eleventh hour in 1916—and Mr. Truman and his associates should take this to heart. If they are not consistently liberal on such issues as power, timber conservation, and labor they stand to lose the West. Without the West they cannot retain the Presidency. Mr. Truman's recent letter to the National Reclamation Association, an organization opposed to valley authorities, in which he failed to mention the word "power," has not found favor in this region. Franklin Roosevelt told the same organization that "when power is possible of development, it is not to be overlooked or underestimated."

Wayne Morse has been writing progressives in Oregon urging them to withdraw from the Democratic Party and prepare for independent political action. Morse's

Presidential favorite is apparently Harold Stassen. Western liberals will want to know more about Stassen's views on domestic problems before they abandon the party of F. D. R. Governor Wallgren of Washington, Truman's closest friend in the West, insists that eventually the President will stand precisely where Roosevelt stood with respect to public power. Wallgren is an active advocate of the CVA, and his opinion will be accepted until proved wrong.

A candidate's attitude toward public power has often been the decisive factor in national election campaigns out West. In 1940 Willkie was running strong along the Pacific slope until George Norris visited Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams and urged the voters to stick by the man who had kept his pledged word to build these projects. After the election Senator McNary, Willkie's running mate, told me that "Norris's public-power speeches won for Roosevelt on the Pacific Coast."

Ersatz Orchids for UNO

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

The Nation's London correspondent

London, February 25

IN PARLIAMENT and press London has sped the United Nations Organization on its westward journey with encomiums which reflect either indomitable optimism or a high degree of insincerity. Orchids in profuse bunches for Miss UNO—but to the honest eye they have an artificial, papery look. If the peoples of the world are led to believe that this first session of the United Nations has done much toward laying the foundations of durable peace, they are being cruelly deceived.

The mechanism, it is true, has begun to take shape. The Economic and Social Council is in being, and will prepare the way for next summer's International Conference on Trade and Employment. An International Health Organization is well on the way to being launched. The Commission on Atomic Energy has been appointed, and the Military Staff Committee has begun to examine the problem of giving the UNO "teeth" in the dubious form of contingents of national armed forces earmarked for service under the Security Council's orders.

But set aside, for the moment, the proceedings in the Security Council. Can it be said that the Assembly in its approach even to the world's economic and administrative problems encouraged high hopes for the future? It passed resolutions expressing a desire that UNRRA'S resources should be augmented and that member states should collaborate to alleviate the famine which looms over half the world. But it took no step toward the one real solution for food shortage—the appointment of an International Board *with executive powers* to allocate and distribute resources. Nor was there any approach to agreement on the one practical issue which was tackled—the fate of Europe's host of emigrant refugees. Moreover, the existence of a large unfilled gap in the UNO's mechanism—the absence of the projected and vitally important Trusteeship Council—is due to the fact that the Big Five preferred to leave the whole mandate question in abeyance rather than expose their profound disagreement on every facet of that thorny issue.

It was not to be expected that the Assembly, in its first session, would burgeon into an embryonic parliament of man. The supremacy of the Big Five, enshrined in the charter, precluded any such hope. But fears that the UNO would be rendered impotent in the big-power stranglehold have been depressingly confirmed. The divisions among the Big Three in the Council permeated the whole Assembly; already the United Nations are grouped in blocs and maneuvering in the spirit of traditional power politics.

The situation is too tragic for there to be much fun in heresy hunts. Both Bevin and Vishinsky used the Council for airing national animosities. Of the two, Bevin was the more adroit. Though the use of the veto made nonsense of the Council's entire proceedings, Bevin got—in effect, though not in form—a verdict of "not-guilty" in Greece and Indonesia; and Vishinsky, though he scored in securing a free hand for Russia in bilateral negotiations with Iran, left the Foreign Secretary tactically the victor in the field. It is a singularly barren victory. Bevin may claim that he had the better of the day in this new technique of "secret diplomacy openly pursued"; but he has left the whole Russian bloc in the Assembly under the impression, not perhaps that Britain is planning war on the U. S. S. R.—there are limits even to the imaginings produced by "encirclement neurosis"—but that hostility to communism is the mainspring of British policy, and that Britain stands, wherever it can exercise influence, for reaction and capitalist exploitation. That, perhaps, was the picture which Vishinsky wanted to paint for the benefit of the Balkans and, particularly, the Middle East. He may not have troubled greatly about accuracy of aim in his charges: some mud would stick.

To say that the embittered and inconclusive wrangles between Bevin and Vishinsky in the Security Council have "enlightened the peoples" or improved international relations is grossly dishonest. What they have done is to empty the Anglo-Soviet alliance of all real content and to reveal the extent to which Britain is dependent on the United States if it is to cling, as Bevin desires, to

the whole of its imperial heritage. Whether America is prepared unconditionally to underwrite British policy on these lines appears—on the showing made by Byrnes and Stettinius in the Security Council—to be a moot question. It was difficult to distinguish a sharp American "line"; but the United States delegation displayed a tendency to play the part of neutral "mediator"—a role which has aroused uneasy recollections of how British "mediation" was once applied in Czechoslovakia.

For the British public, now that the flags have been taken down at the Central Hall in Westminster, a grim postscript to the UNO's meeting is the government White Paper indicating that, even at the end of this year, we shall have 1,200,000 men in the armed forces, with another 500,000 engaged in making munitions for them. A cynical comment going the rounds in Parliament is that Hitler was cheaper: he, at least, produced unity among the Allies.

The Myth of World Government

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary and author of "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defense"

THE French observer André Siegfried thought several decades ago that America was coming of age. One hopes he was right; though it is worth noting that there are many stages of maturity and we seem hardly to have reached one commensurate with the responsibilities which have been thrust upon our very powerful if very young nation. At every turn we face decisions requiring us to use our power creatively to stabilize an inchoate community of nations in a civilization which can achieve stability only in global terms.

Our hesitations and ambiguities reveal that we have not yet overcome our adolescent pride of power or our inner insecurities. It would be the rightful function of a "liberal" movement in such a situation to furnish the nation with mature counsel, assuming that liberalism, whatever else it may be, represents a measure of detachment from the shortsighted collective impulses of a community. It must be regretfully recorded, however, that the liberal movement of America has not risen to the occasion. It is, if anything, more infantile than the nation. It proves its lack of maturity by trying to solve the complex problems of our global existence in purely logical and constitutional terms. We do not yet have a world community—only halting and hesitant beginnings toward one. American liberals, however, insist that one be brought into being by legal, constitutional, and governmental means, disregarding the fact, which history attests on every page, that governments may perfect the order and justice of a community but cannot create a community—for the simple reason that the authority of government is primarily the authority of the community itself. If the community does not exist in fact, at least in inchoate form, constitutional instruments cannot create it. The authority of law as such is slight, and the fear of police power is useful only to suppress incidental recalcitrance against the will of the community. The community cannot be coerced into basic order; the basic order must come from its innate cohesion.

These obvious facts are obscured in almost all the educational propaganda on the problems of world government put out by our international organizations. They are rightfully concerned about the fact that unabridged national sovereignty is a principle of anarchy in an interdependent world. Their answer to this problem is to call for a constitutional convention of the world or to try to persuade the new United Nations Organization to pass a law which will abridge the sovereignty of nations. This solution takes legal symbols for social realities. The principle of national sovereignty is the legal expression of the fact that national communities regard themselves as morally and politically autonomous. They have become increasingly conscious of the claims of other nations upon them and of the necessity of a larger degree of mutual accord, but they will have to reach a much higher degree of implicit abridgment of their moral freedom before it will be possible to fix and extend this moral and social gain by law.

The present accord between the nations, as expressed in the United Nations Charter, contains a "veto" provision by virtue of which no great power can be voted down in the council of the nations. This fact fills our liberals with moral and political disgust. It does of course prove that the great powers are not ready to submit unreservedly to the authority of a world organization. But this merely means that in the present state of world affairs peace cannot be maintained by a majority imposing its will upon a minority. When the minority is not a group of individuals but a nation or a group of nations, it will use its social and military power to defy a decision which has not been reached with its consent. We have, therefore, no real security against war. But there is no reason to think we could gain this security by constitutional means after having failed to establish the minimum basis for it by political means.

All the great nations insisted upon the veto power, and the United Nations Charter would hardly have

passed the United States Senate without this provision. Russia is more insistent upon retaining the veto than we are because it is in greater danger of being voted down in the United Nations Assembly or Security Council. This fact does not deter our constitutional idealists from bombarding the ear of the Administration and the conscience of the nation with proposals for abolishing the veto. Here the constitutional answer to the problem of world peace obviously threatens the delicate and tentative degree of accord which has been achieved politically. We are professedly interested only in establishing a universal sovereignty, and we refuse to admit that we can afford greater devotion to the principle than Russia because we run less danger of being in the minority. This taint in our idealism is obvious enough to the Russians.

It must be observed in this connection that a great deal of enthusiasm for world government is explicitly anti-Russian—for instance, that of ex-Justice Owen Roberts and Clarence Streit. The theory is: let us set up a real world government; if the Russians fail to adhere so much the worse for them. These idealists are ready to bring on another world war in the name of world government. As consolation for the dire effects of so ironic a policy, we are assured that if we must have another world war it would be spiritually thrilling to fight it for the principle of world government. Some of the enthusiasm for world government is not explicitly anti-Russian but merely too naive to recognize that the effect of demanding a constitutionally perfect world order in the present situation must be to destroy the very tentative degree of mutual trust which has been achieved between the two great centers of power.

To say that there is no way of guaranteeing the peace of the world constitutionally is not to say that there are other ways of guaranteeing it. There are none. We are living in a very unsafe world; and it will be unsafe for a long time. To note the difficulty of bringing Russia into a world community does not imply that Russia's policies based on its fears are all justified. Some are; some are not. Some are reactions to our own policies, which are prompted by our own fears. Some seem to be derived from Marxist dogmatism. But there they are. They cannot be overcome by constitutional means unless they are first mitigated by a great deal more common counsel and common experience.

The excessive devotion to constitutional answers for world problems in America seems to be a dubious inheritance from the whole "social-contract" theory of government with which the liberal democratic movement began. According to this theory men and nations create communities by the fiat of government and law. That all human communities had a long history of organic cohesion before they ever began explicitly and consciously to alter or extend it is ignored. One reason why the idea of the social contract has special prestige in America is

our belief that we created a nation by constitutional fiat; and we think it our special business to ask the world to do in macrocosm what we so successfully accomplished in microcosm. This analogy fails to consider that the cohesion of a national community is so different from the organization of a universal community that the difference is one of kind rather than degree. It also leaves out of account an important aspect of our history. If our Constitution created a "more perfect union," the union which the Constitution perfected had already been established. The fear of a common foe, the shared experiences of the battlefield, a very considerable degree of similar culture—these and many other factors provided the cohesion of the American colonies. The Constitution could not have created a unity which it had to presuppose.

Emory Reeves in his "Anatomy of Peace," which has become a kind of bible of American constitutional idealism, declares that the way to "prevent wars between nations once and for all" is to integrate "the scattered conflicting national sovereignties into one unified higher sovereignty capable of creating a legal order in which all peoples will enjoy equal security, equal obligations, and equal rights under the law." The "once and for all" gives one pause, for even our own Constitution could not prevent the Civil War. But a brilliant defender of pure constitutionalism recently explained that difficulty away. The Civil War, he declared, was caused by certain ambiguities in our Constitution which left some doubt whether we were in fact a nation or a loose federation of states. It is now our business to profit from the experience of the past and eliminate similar ambiguities from the world constitution. Unfortunately, to assume that the tortuous processes of history can thus be controlled by the power of constitutional logic is an infantile illusion.

American liberalism refuses to face the fact that there is a tremendous difference between the problem of community on the national and the global level, a difference which no constitutional magic can overcome. National and imperial communities all have ethnic, linguistic, geographic, historical, and other forces of social unity. The universal community, however, has no common language or common culture—nothing to create the consciousness of "we." Modern democratic communities may be culturally and ethnically pluralistic, but they all possess a core of common spiritual possessions which the world community lacks.

The world community does, indeed, have some compelling motives toward unity. Technical civilization has created an economic interdependence which generates insufferable frictions if it is not politically managed. There is in the culture of every nation, moreover, a religious and philosophical sense of world community waiting to be actualized, and of moral obligations extending beyond the national community. There is, finally, the fear of mutual destruction. It is the thesis of the pro-

ponents of world government that the atomic bomb has so intensified the fear of mutual destruction that hitherto impossible constitutional goals now appear possible.

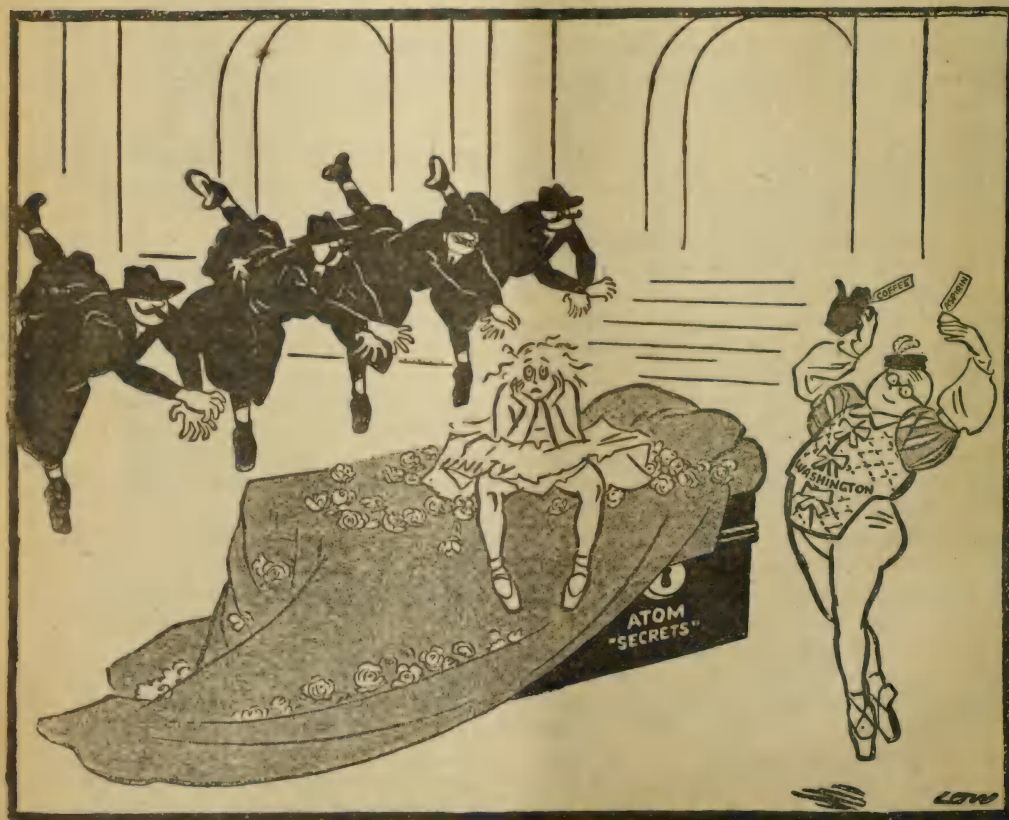
Undoubtedly fear may be a creative force. The scared man can run faster from the pursuing bull than he ever thought possible. But the creative power of fear does not increase in proportion to its intensity. Fear finally becomes paralyzing. Furthermore, the fear of mutual destruction easily degenerates into the fear of a particular foe. Even now it must be regretfully recorded that fear of Russia in the West and of the West in Russia seems more potent than the common fear of destruction.

These are tragic facts, and one could wish that they were not true; but it is hardly mature to deny what is so obvious. The world community lacks, in short, the potent elements of "togetherness" which national communities boast. Neither law nor police power can supply this defect. If one trusted to police power alone, the amount required by a universal state to maintain order in a community which did not cohere naturally and organically would be so great as to amount to tyranny. This was Thomas Hobbes's answer to the problem of community; the similarity between his answer and that of many of our modern constitutional idealists is instructive. Fortu-

nately, national communities had a more organic unity than Hobbes supposed. Unfortunately, the international community corresponds at least partly to his picture.

These simple lessons must be spelled out to American idealists, not to induce a mood of defeatism, but to get them to direct the impulses of their idealism to real rather than imaginary objectives. Many creative acts are required of America that are more difficult, though more immediate and modest, than espousal of world government. Will the British loan agreement pass? If it does not, America will have proved that it does not know how to relate its wealth to an impoverished world. Shall we find a way of transferring our dangerous knowledge of the atomic bomb to some kind of world judicatory? If not, we shall have proved that we know how to resent, but not to allay, the world's fear of our power.

These immediate steps toward achieving a higher degree of mutuality among nations may be too modest to guarantee peace. But they are in the right direction. It would be intolerable if we again presented the world with a case of American schizophrenia, allowing our idealists to dream up pure answers for difficult problems while our cynics make our name odious by the irresponsible exercise of our power.



SLEEPLESS BEAUTY

Copyright © 1946 LTM

Japan's Press Revolution

BY ANDREW ROTH

Author of "Dilemma in Japan"

ONE of the most important changes in Japanese life since defeat is hidden in the flimsy, two-page, ideograph-crowded newspapers now being published. In the past few months Japanese journalists have succeeded in converting their newspapers from pillars of the old order into spearheads of the movement for the country's democratic renovation.

The most dramatic story is that of the *Yomiuri-Hochi*, which was the worst of Tokyo's three principal papers, larding rabid militarism with vulgar sensationalism. Its owner, Matsutaro Shoriki, a former police official, had started the paper with the help of a group of aggression-minded industrialists, including Chikunhei Nakajima, the airplane tycoon. Shoriki's yellow journalism, combined with the scandalously low wages he paid his newsmen and printers, brought him rich profits, and his fervent support of aggression won him a seat in the House of Peers and a position as Cabinet adviser.

Soon after the American forces landed and occupation policy became fairly clear, the journalists and pressmen of the *Yomiuri* demanded higher wages, a change in editorial policy, and Shoriki's resignation. When he refused their demands they went on strike, but this was a strike of a peculiar kind—a lockout in reverse. Instead of shutting down the paper, the strikers continued to run it but excluded Shoriki and his top henchmen from the editorial rooms.

Drastic changes in editorial policy were made by the strike leader, Tomin Suzuki. Suzuki had been the paper's foreign editor but had lost his job, partly as a result of German Embassy pressure, when he played up items critical of the Nazis as an indirect means of criticizing Japan's fascists. With Shoriki out of the way, Suzuki went to town. The *Yomiuri* dared to take up the question of the Emperor and thus forced other newspapers to do the same. It initiated discussions of war criminals, insisting that the Japanese must purge themselves. It gave publicity not only to the demands of its own strikers for a living wage but to the needs of other sectors of the slowly emerging labor movement. While hitting hard editorially, the strikers managed to improve the paper's format and type clarity. Public response was tremendous. The *Yomiuri's* circulation outstripped that of all its competitors. It topped 1,500,000 and could have gone farther but for the shortage of paper.

As the strike went into its third month last December, the pressure on the workers—both economic and political—became tremendous. Some of the newsmen

began to waver but were shored up by the pressmen and by evidence of wide public support. On December 3 the strikers were given a tremendous boost when Shoriki was named as a war criminal by General MacArthur. A week later a settlement was concluded assuring considerable gains for the strikers. Shoriki agreed to sell all but 30 per cent of his stock, and a liberal, Tsunego Baba, was named president of the *Yomiuri* corporation. The Journalists' Union won recognition, and wage increases were granted. Most interesting of all, it was agreed that the paper should be run by a joint labor-management committee. Strike-leader Suzuki is now editor-in-chief.

While the fight on the *Yomiuri* was going on, the employees of the other two big papers—the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi*—obtained improvements without striking. Top editorial personnel was cleaned out, and the Journalists' Union was allowed to participate in shaping editorial policy. During this period Domei, the monopolistic official news agency, was scrapped, its head was arrested as a war criminal, and in its place two new liberal agencies were formed, *Kyodo* and *Jiji*.

Despite the difficulty of securing newsprint and press facilities many new publications have made their appearance in the past few months, and almost without exception they are leftist in outlook. The Socialists have two excellent organs in the daily *Jiji* (*Times*) and the weekly *Minshu* (*Democracy*); the Communists have the daily tabloid *Minpo* (*People's News*) and the weekly *Akahata* (*Red Flag*). *Akahata* has had a remarkable growth, its circulation reaching 90,000 in December and 250,000 at the end of February. Part of its success is due to its attempt to reach the semi-literate masses. Though Japan boasted of 97 per cent literacy before the war, recent tests have shown that only some 15 per cent of the people can read with ease the 2,500 intricate ideographs used by newspapers, while the great majority are familiar with only 1,000 to 1,500. By substituting phonetic symbols for the complicated ideographs wherever possible, the Communist weekly has been able to tap a huge new audience in the very economic brackets it wishes to influence.

These drastic changes in the press are making a deep impact on the thinking of the Japanese people, particularly in the metropolitan areas, where the papers have their greatest circulation. If the world is surprised by a left-of-center majority in the April elections, it will be because few people know of the press revolution which preceded it.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Churchill and the British Loan

ON THE very day that Winston Churchill cut loose with his blast against the Soviets and his plea for an Anglo-American alliance, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee opened hearings on the Anglo-American trade and Financial Agreement, which includes provision for a \$3¾-billion credit for Britain. It was not a happy coincidence.

This page is not the place to discuss the political implications of Mr. Churchill's address, but I may be permitted to observe that it is likely to weaken rather than buttress British security. For on the one hand it is bound to strengthen the Soviet Union's suspicion that the capitalist world is plotting against it; on the other it has aroused new fears in this country of entanglement in British quarrels and is apt to encourage a demand for the reduction rather than the extension of foreign commitments. Thus reaching for the shadow of an alliance Mr. Churchill may have risked the substance of practical Anglo-American cooperation in the economic sphere, for which the starting-point is the British loan.

Ratification by Congress of the loan agreement is very far from assured. Ernest Bevin's toughness with the Soviets has won him commendations from diehards in America as well as in Britain, and this, together with Churchill's bellicose speech, may have turned a few conservatives votes. But the head and front of the Congressional opposition to the British loan is the group of iso-nationalists. These men, as bitterly Anglophobe as they are Russophobe, view friction between their pet hates with malevolent neutrality. Churchillian eloquence has not the power to win over such enemies, but it may have alienated friends among the Congressional liberals, who as a group are inclined to support the loan but who are susceptible to the argument that it involves underwriting British imperialists.

This argument, I believe, is fallacious. In Britain itself the most ferocious propaganda against the loan, and the trade agreement in which it is wrapped up, is being emitted by Lord Beaverbrook, who, I suspect, understands its implications better than Americans who oppose it on anti-imperialist grounds. Beaverbrook, owner of Britain's most widely circulated newspaper, has for years been plugging the doctrine of imperial self-sufficiency. He was one of the leading advocates of the Ottawa Agreement of 1934, but the scale of preference duties it set up did not satisfy him. He wants to employ a system of discriminatory tariffs which will turn Britain's trade as far as possible into empire channels, and the present plight of his country appears to him a glorious opportunity to accomplish this end. For if Britain is not allowed a breathing spell to rebuild its war-lost trade—and only financial assistance from America can provide that—its one alternative is to fall back on barter methods to obtain the imports which it must have or perish. Thus it will have to confine its purchases of goods as far as possible to those countries which will accept equivalent quantities

of British goods or be willing to take payment in inconvertible sterling. Naturally, the empire would form the nucleus of a trading system of this kind, but other countries which depend largely on the British markets would be under pressure to link up with it. That the economic results of imperial autarchy would be as beneficial as Beaverbrook claims may well be doubted; that the political results would be deplorable is certain, for Britain could not afford to loosen the bonds of an empire on which it was dependent for its daily bread.

More than that, a Britain driven to organizing an exclusive economic bloc would soon find itself involved in commercial conflict with the United States, which, as Secretary Vinson pointed out to the Senate committee, would be compelled to form a competing bloc of its own. "Two rival blocs," he added, "would mean economic warfare. Probably we would win, but it would be a Pyrrhic victory. World trade would be destroyed, and all countries would suffer. . . . The consequences to world prosperity and even to world peace would be disastrous."

It was in the hope of avoiding such a situation that the American negotiators of the loan made it conditional on a commercial agreement which commits both Britain and the United States to fighting commercial battles in accordance with what may be called economic Queensberry rules. That is to say, their business men will compete in foreign markets on a price, quality, and service basis. But their government seconds undertake not to give them unfair aid by manipulating tariffs and rates of exchange, or by concluding deals which give better terms to the goods of some nations than to those of others.

If Britain had been offered a loan without being asked to pledge itself to work toward the expansion of world trade on free international lines, there would be some substance in the complaint that Uncle Sam was giving all and receiving nothing. But this commercial agreement promises to be of substantial benefit to the United States, which is likely to become increasingly dependent on foreign trade both to dispose of its surplus production and to secure supplies of raw materials. Neither of these objectives could be easily achieved by barter or bilateral trading methods, for the countries which are America's best customers are not for the most part those from which it wishes to buy. Consequently, in order to trade effectively it must be able to turn the proceeds of a sale to country A into a form of payment acceptable to country B. That in essence is the multilateral system which would have no chance if Britain stood outside it. Yet without the loan Britain could not accept the obligations this system involves.

Congress, then, is faced by a momentous choice: ratification of the loan agreement and cooperation with Britain in rebuilding world trade; non-ratification and an Anglo-American economic conflict. Its vote will determine the future pattern of both the world economy and Anglo-American relations. That is why Mr. Churchill's speech, apart from all other objections, was a prime example of putting the cart before the horse. So long as the United States hesitates about giving Britain the helping hand it so sorely needs, it is not much use discussing long-term political relations.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

Paris, March 7

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S Four Freedoms are undergoing their first real test in a world at peace. And already people are beginning to wonder whether the fourth freedom—freedom from fear—will weather the trial. Here in Paris one has the impression of reliving the days just before Munich. The big question on many lips is, "Can a third world war be averted?" Churchill's speech unleashed all the pent-up hysteria that has been accumulating steadily in the months since liberation. The other day a Frenchwoman told a friend of mine that "next June General Zhukov's army will be in Paris." And this neurotic woman's nonsense about red troops on the Champs Elysées is no isolated phenomenon; many Frenchmen are seriously discussing the possible or probable alignments of the different powers when Russia invades Turkey this spring and Great Britain comes to Turkey's aid.

In the midst of the gloom created by the speech at Fulton, the only encouraging sign for the French has been the report that Churchill's invitation to war had an unfavorable reception in the United States. Last night I went to a dinner given by the president of the French Constituent Assembly, Vincent Auriol, in honor of José Giral, Prime Minister of the Spanish government in exile. Premier Gouin and other Socialist members of the French Cabinet attended the dinner, and all of political Paris met at the reception which followed. During the course of the evening I heard the same remark repeated at least a dozen times: "What a crazy proposal! It's a good thing the Americans gave it a cold shoulder." Even the right-wing Socialists, whose feelings toward Russia are far from warm, promptly repudiated the speech.

The Churchill headlines recalled to mind a discussion I had not long ago with an influential Russian friend. I had found him in a state of mind which made me think of another conversation with Soviet Foreign Minister Chicherin in 1924, when for three hours he expounded the thesis that the leading capitalist powers would not stop until they had forced the world into a war against Russia. Now my friend was expressing exactly the same view. I tried to convince him that his fears were exaggerated. It seemed clear to me that what Russia was doing in the Balkans and elsewhere to extend its zone of influence was dictated not, as many claimed, by the desire to become the most powerful empire on earth, but purely and simply by fear of attack. So the duty of everyone who cared for peace, I told him, was to try to dispel that fear. After reading Churchill, I feel I no longer have any moral justification for speaking as I did.

But it is not only the Soviet Union that distrusts the curious kind of peace we are enjoying. The French position on the Ruhr and the Rhineland is also based on fear. "France could not survive another invasion," a spokesman for the Quai d'Orsay told me last night. "Even if the United States and the whole world came to our aid this time, they could not help. The mere fact of an invasion would finish us."

And he added: "We do not want to annex the Ruhr or the Rhineland. We are prepared to accept any solution America and England consider just. But on one condition: that their solution does not leave Germany in a position to attack France again. We cannot forget that the Ruhr has always been the arsenal of the German armies and the Rhineland the springboard from which every invasion of France has been launched."

The Quai d'Orsay spokesman summed up the French attitude in this way: "The important thing is to know the geographic limits of the territory in which the proposed central German administration would be permitted to act. Those limits must be fixed before the peace treaty is signed." In other words, Paris fears that unless the question of the Ruhr and the Rhineland is settled now, the Germans, as time goes by and the Allied occupation bogs down, will gradually extend their control to these two decisive regions. Fear almost turned to panic recently when American G. I.'s in Germany raised the cry, "We want to go home." In the United States none of us quite realized how terrified the French were by those soldier demonstrations.

This view corresponds more nearly to the position of the M. R. P. than to that of the other French parties. The Quai d'Orsay man was quite positive that any inter-Allied committee that may finally be set up in the Ruhr and the Rhineland must be headed by a Frenchman. The Socialists and Communists are not so rigid; following a meeting last Thursday the Communist Party came out again for internationalization of the Ruhr without insisting on any indirect or predominant French control. But in the last analysis every group reflects the same deep-rooted fear that a new, aggressive Germany could use the Ruhr and the Rhineland to prepare its revenge; all insist that the solution of the problem must exclude the possibility of Germany's ever rearming again.

The uneasiness of the French has been aggravated in recent weeks by Allied differences which they believe are encouraging the surviving Nazis inside Germany. Imagine, they say, the excellent use the Nazis will make of Churchill's speech; no matter how strongly the British Foreign Office disowns his views, the Hitler underground will whisper *mit Freude* that President Truman had seen the text of the speech before it was delivered. What better way to encourage the Germans in the belief that sooner or later they will be chosen as companions in arms for the effort to turn the balance of power.

Fear dominates the international scene. At this moment the Spanish Republicans fear that the three-power note suggesting a "neutral" government for Spain may lead to a coup d'état by the generals—who knows, perhaps even with Franco's approval—or to the restoration of the monarchy by the grace of Britain and under the sacred slogan of non-intervention. Freedom from fear has yet to triumph on this earth.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

What They Missed

WHILE YOU WERE GONE: A REPORT ON WARTIME LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by Jack Goodman. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50.

THE IDEA of "While You Were Gone" is to give returned service men what is apparently now called a "fill-in" on life in the United States during the war. It is a good idea, carried out here with no system or consistency, but at its best with results both entertaining and illuminating. One trouble with the idea, of course, is that some of us were gone four years and some four months; some read pony editions of the American magazines, some read *Stars and Stripes* and *Yank*, some just listened to the radio, some did nothing at all. There is no standard margin of ignorance. Jack Goodman's sensible solution has been to have his contributors write as if they were writing for people who stayed home; and I should think that people who stayed home might well enjoy reading the book.

Twenty-six writers contributed to this report on war-time life. Mr. Goodman gave them pretty free rein, thereby creating a pleasant atmosphere of home-front contention and confirming the impressions we used to get from the pony *Time*. Henry Pringle, for example, estimates advertising's contribution to the winning of the war somewhat less enthusiastically than does Raymond Rubicam. Lester Markel (of the *New York Times*) says that the war showed the newspapers to be the basic source of information, while Eric Hodgins (of *Time*) says that the war finally vindicated the news magazine; this argument ends up with the boys swinging in the footnotes. Lewis Gannett describes the attack on Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down" as "an echo, in a new form, of the foolishness of 1917"; so Wolcott Gibbs in the next essay echoes the foolishness, and a little later on Bosley Crowther takes a safe middle course.

The best pieces are very good indeed. Paul Gallico's essay on What We Talked About is a fine, fast, and funny job of writing. Allan Nevins furnishes a sober summary of How We Felt About the War. The three pieces on How We Were Governed are all excellent, with Jonathan Daniels supplying an appealing sketch of Mr. Roosevelt, Tom Stokes a caustic but not unsympathetic account of Congress, and Henry Pringle performing a marvel of condensation on the war agencies. Russell Lord's essay on agriculture is distinguished, though this city slicker wishes he had said something about "Plowman's Folly." James Thurber is himself on What the Animals Were Up To. Milton Caniff brings us up to date on the comics—or, as he suggests they be called, the tragics—and adds a number of penetrating remarks about this important part of our popular culture. Wolcott Gibbs and Lewis Gannett cover their familiar beats with their familiar expertise. The appendix tells How Your Congressman Voted. 1

Even the bad pieces are not too bad. Though Raymond Rubicam says much that is pompous about advertising, he also sets down a unique collection of the most horrible wartime inspirations of the copy writers. Bosley Crowther is pleasant on the movies, but for my money quite without any real idea what they are all about. Norman Corwin trots out some more of that revolting combination of archness and high-powered "political" emotion which won him a reputation while I was gone which I cannot understand now that I have come back. Senator Ball is pretty routine on post-war plans.

The book has considerably more than the usual share of petty errors. The head of the *Fortune* poll, for example, and the prototype of Flip Corkin, the losing finalist in the 1943 tennis national singles and the husband of Ginger Rogers, all have their names misspelled. George Norris becomes a Progressive, and Arthur Koestler an Austrian. But reference isn't the point of "While You Were Gone." In a curious manner the book calls to mind the inquiries sponsored by Harold Stearns into civilization in the United States. "While You Were Gone" has no theses or pretensions, but it presents the views of a number of humane, intelligent, and well-informed observers concerning the main preoccupations of American life in recent years, and the result is a surprisingly rich and readable commentary on the state of American civilization.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

The Exile's Return

There mounts in squalls a sort of rusty mire,
Not ice, not snow, to leaguer the Hotel
De Ville, where braced pig-iron dragons grip
The blizzard to their rigor mortis. A bell
Grumbles when the reverberations strip
The thatching from its spire,
The search-guns click and spit and split up timber
And nick the slate roofs of the Holstenwall
Where torn-up tilestones crown the victor. Fall
And winter, spring and summer guns unlimber
And lumber down the narrow gabled street
Past your gray, sorry, and ancestral house
Where the dynamited walnut tree
Shadows a squat, old, wind-torn gate and cows
The bristling podesta. You will not see
Strutting children or meet
The peg-leg and reproachful counselor
With a forget-me-not in his buttonhole
When the unseasoned liberators roll
Into the Market Square, ground arms before
The Rathaus; but already lily stands
Burgeon the resurrected Rhineland, and a rough
Cathedral lifts its eye. Pleasant enough,
Voi ch'entrate, and your life is in your hands.

To Peter Taylor on the Feast of the Epiphany

Peter, the war has taught me what you know:
 All wars and rumors are designed to show
 Not even Armageddon will suffice,
 Or turn the hero skating on thin ice,
 When Whore and Beast and Dragon rise for air
 From allegoric waters. Fear is where
 We glitter: where the little minds recall
 How wisdom trailed the star into a stall
 And knelt in holy terror to confer
 Its fabulous gold and frankincense and myrrh:
 And where the lantern-noses scrimmage down
 The highway to the sea below this town
 And the sour barker rigs his baby planes
 To lift old Adam's dollars for his pains:—
 There on the thawing ice, in red and white
 And blue, the bugs are buzzing for the flight.
 December's six thin hours have shot their round
 Of sorrows with the sun into the sound,
 And still the grandsires battle through the slush
 To storm the landing pilot with a rush—
 Until their cash and somersaulting snare
 Fear with its fingered stop-watch in mid-air.

ROBERT LOWELL

Seven Women Poets

MODERN WOMEN POETS OF SPANISH AMERICA.

By Sidonia Carmen Rosenbaum. Hispanic Institute. \$4.

THE same academic organization which, twenty years ago, first put Gabriela Mistral's poems into book form has now come out with the first serious study in English devoted to modern women poets south of the Rio Grande. In it Miss Mistral appears, not as the central figure, but as one of three successors of a poet less known in the United States, Delmira Agustini of Uruguay, whom the author calls "the first woman who can truly be called a modernist." Those summoned to carry flowers before her are Maria Enriqueta of Mexico (wife of the distinguished historian Carlos Peyreya), Juana Borrero of Cuba, Maria Eugenia Vaz Ferreira of Uruguay. Those who follow in her train, successors if not disciples, are Miss Mistral herself, Alfonsina Storni of Argentina, Juana de Ibarbourou of Uruguay. The latter three may be read in scattered recent translations here.

To those inclined to raise an eyebrow at what may appear a somewhat arbitrary choice of figures, ranged in a hierarchy that stirs immediate questions, it should be explained that Miss Rosenbaum, born in Guatemala of European parents, brought up in the United States, and well known at Columbia University for bibliographical work in the field of Latin American literature, has telescoped two possible books into one—a volume of literary essays and a doctoral thesis devoted to exploring certain technical points. Both books suffer somewhat from the compression. So may the casual reader, but the loot therein is worth the effort. Books in English that give a picture of what it costs to be a woman poet in Latin America are very rare.

Those costs must apparently be assessed in terms of individual suffering rather than of community disapproval. Latin America, like Saxon America, may prefer that women's voices be still, but it is far more generous when they turn out to be the voices of poets than is its northern neighbor. Juana Borrero, the "tormented adolescent" of nineteenth-century Cuba who poured out three volumes of passionate verses before her early death, could hardly have achieved an international reputation had she been born in Cedar Rapids. Maria Eugenia Vaz Ferreira, tragic and difficult sister of a famous Uruguayan philosopher, who refused to let any of her verses be published while she lived, is in that a counterpart of our own Emily Dickinson, but the fame of a repressed and self-frustrated genius was hers from the time her first poems were read to interested friends. That she seems not to have enjoyed it must be blamed on neurosis rather than on lack of recognition or approval. Only Alfonsina Storni, in many ways the most interesting of the seven pictured here, felt the sting of social disapproval, and that was not so much because of her poetry as because of the kind of life she led. A hard-driven journalist and teacher, with an illegitimate child to support, she made her friends where she could find them, and her ways are said to have been as free as her speech.

Whether they are precursors or followers of the modernist tide which Ruben Dario initiated and which did so much to sweep away the rubbish of a dead romanticism from Spanish poetry, it must be admitted that there is still plenty of romantic illusion about these women. They find little satisfaction in reality. Life is sterile, men are stupid, aspiration outruns achievement, desire for escape haunts their dreams—escape into a better world, into the arms of a lover who is the composite ideal of a dozen fictional heroes. Of the seven, Gabriela Mistral and Juana de Ibarbourou have the keenest sensory appreciation of nature, and the latter, who was brought up in the wild country of northern Uruguay, is enchantingly aware of sight and sound and smell and taste. Miss Rosenbaum makes much of her "chaste impudicity" and of the freedom of erotic expression which marks her poetry as well as that of Miss Storni, but there is little shock left in it in 1946, and no reason to give it a mystic connotation which seems, from the northern point of view, as unnecessary as it is unwarranted.

It is the author's thesis that her seven chosen poets mark the emergence in Spanish American letters of a group of women too numerous to be considered exceptional. "This flowering of feminine literature in Hispano-American coincides with the triumph of feminism everywhere," but the literature is by no means feminist in character, nor has it any political connotation. What came forth, when the South American thus found her voice, was the primitive woman hitherto hidden behind the early nineteenth-century wrappings of church prudery and romantic drapery. That woman yearned to be loved, burned to be loved, screamed to be loved, but the love she demanded seemed to have little connection with what she could get from the men about her. Delmira Agustini fled back to her mother's arms after two months of marriage to a handsome horse trader, escaping from "vulgarity." Less than a year later they were found dead together—a highly colored public scandal bearing little

resemblance to the ideal love which formed the theme of Delmira's poems.

That this was tragic for Delmira no one doubts, but was it evidence of the feminist drive? It would be interesting to explore farther the manifestations of that drive, and the reasons why feminism—if feminism it was—took this particular form in South America whereas it found its way into political channels here. Certainly the fact that women now feel free to speak where they had previously remained silent marks a change. Certainly the criticism of South American men implied in their defining of the kind of love they want, and presumably do not get, indicates a sense of what they consider women's rights in one important field. That it happens to be a field in which, since the end of the romantic era, few North American women poets have shown signs of being balked makes one wonder if there is not a confusion here between feminism and a delayed romanticism masked in the trappings of modernism.

This book is an interesting beginning. One hopes it will be followed by comparative studies of pairs of Northern and Southern poets which will bring the latter into clearer focus and set them in proper proportion within our frames of reference. Behind the somewhat stilted form and academic phraseology to which Miss Rosenbaum has subjected her material are incandescent spirits and a depth of poetic devotion which must be completely grasped if we are to continue to explore Latin American culture with any real benefit to ourselves or them. It is a marker of the distance we have already come along that road that a bilingual study like this,

written in English about material in Spanish which is not translated, should be sent to *The Nation* in the expectation of finding sufficient public so that it would be reviewed.

MILDRED ADAMS

BRIEFER COMMENT

Shakespeare as Historian

THE ROMANTIC CRITIC of Shakespeare concerned himself especially with the uniqueness of his subject, whom he tended to regard as a pure genius and therefore outside time or social setting. A little later scholars sought for light by studying playwrights contemporary with him and also the theatrical practices of his epoch. Today it is the general intellectual background of Shakespeare's age which is being most elaborately investigated, and Professor E. M. W. Tillyard's "Shakespeare's History Plays" (Macmillan, \$3) is an ambitious contribution to the work being done in this field. Arguing that the author of the so-called chronicle plays was familiar with the leading ideas of his time even though he was not, technically, a learned man, Professor Tillyard surveys the orthodox Elizabethan conception of the meaning of history and concludes that Shakespeare almost inevitably accepted the usual view—namely, that history is an account of the deviations from and returns to that right social order which is not arbitrary or man-made but established by nature. He rejects the contention that the historical plays are to be regarded as mere preliminary attempts to develop Shakespearean tragedy. Instead, he divides them into three groups, with the second, which includes "Richard II" and the two parts of "Henry IV," representing the achievement of a form that is "entirely successful and presents not even a parallel to the form of tragedy." "Henry V," on the other hand, begins a development which leads to a concern with the tragedy of the individual rather than with the health or sickness of society. Professor Tillyard's book is hardly for the casual reader, but it is certain to be widely discussed by students of Shakespeare.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Loving Pen in Hand

EXPERIENCE SUGGESTS that the one course of true love which runs smooth is the correspondence course. When two people, partly yielding to circumstance or principle, choose to give vent to their mutual love solely through letters, the world usually gains a happy-ending story, and sometimes a batch of missives worth rereading. The widowed Jefferson, American minister in Paris in the late 1780's, and Maria Cosway, the pretty and accomplished wife of an English hack painter of repute, lived and wrote out such a story, now for the first time in print ("My Head and My Heart," Putnam's, \$3) under the editorship of Helen Duprey Bullock.

The small volume is good reading for fanciers of the eighteenth century, with its many amiable celebrities and its faded yet ingenious rhetoric of sentiment: notice how Jefferson works in *je t'aime* in a passage of the most formal and unadulterous effusiveness. His letters generally are



H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

"CRUX ANSATA—An Indictment
of the Roman Catholic Church"

An historical summary of the Catholic Church's
political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the
Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis.

Cloth Binding \$1.75

Paper-covered \$1.25

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS" by L. H. Lehmann
A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist
collaboration.

Cloth Binding \$1.75

Paper-covered \$1.00

COMBINATION OFFERS	Both Cloth Bound Books	\$3.00
	Both Paper Bound Books	\$2.00

New Pamphlet

"VATICAN POLICY
IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

48 pages of Documented Facts 25¢

Free to those who return this ad with their order
for the above books

Order From:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. T-351

229 WEST 48TH STREET

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

shorter than Mrs. Cosway's, he being the busier and the more spied upon, but they continue warm and faithful through forty years of private and public achievement. Hers lose nothing in affection either, but they depict, through one distressing detail after another, a life denied to love and filled with minor good works and a few songs. For Maria Cosway was something of a composer, and the introducer of the present volume, Carleton Smith, promises us the scores when Europe is once again accessible to the inoffensive.

Judging from the number of persons engaged in similar tasks, editing Jefferson has become a popular pastime. But on the basis of this latest effort, I should like to point out one constant difficulty constantly overlooked: Jefferson had a habit of spelling by ear, especially foreign words. When he writes "conveiance" in English, no editor thinks of adopting the spelling for his own editorial matter. It follows that when Jefferson goes astray on French or other place names, persons, or local expressions, the editor *must look them up*. That is what he is paid for, in glory or in cash. Mrs. Bullock follows a wretched tradition in taking her hero as orthographer, for what is merely eccentric in him becomes misleading in her and irritating at last to the alert reader.

JACQUES BARZUN

The Navy's Story

GILBERT CANT, author of "The Great Pacific Victory" (John Day, \$3.50), is a contributing editor of *Time*, and has written other books on the war in the Pacific. This volume takes up the story with the conclusion of the Guadalcanal campaign in February, 1943, and carries it through to the end of the war and the Japanese surrender. It is not a critical analysis of the operations but a narrative history of the last two and a half years of the war, told clearly and concisely, and as such it can be recommended without qualification.

Although the army's campaigns are sketched in, this is primarily the navy's story. MacArthur and the Southwest Pacific command receive secondary attention: it is plain that the author regards Nimitz as the outstanding figure of the Pacific war. The Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Ocean Areas—sixty-four million square miles of water with infrequent islands to vary the monotony—is pictured here as a modest, unpretentious man who did not, to begin with, wish to accept the Pacific command after Pearl Harbor. Nimitz "had come to the conclusion that diplomatic, political, and other considerations being what they were, he might have had the fleet sunk under him just as had Kimmel." He therefore suggested that Vice-Admiral Pye—one of Kimmel's subordinates—be appointed to succeed Kimmel after the Pearl Harbor disaster. But Knox would not have it, and Nimitz went out to take over. Nevertheless, it is clear that the new Commander-in-Chief did not consider Kimmel and Short culpable, and Nimitz continued to use Kimmel's Pearl Harbor staff, indifferent to the pointed criticism which this policy aroused.

Occasionally the reader encounters statements about which some questions might be raised. For example: "Most of the admirals exercising important commands had had more ex-

USSR ★ FOREIGN POLICY

by Victor A. Yakhontoff

Author of *Russia and the Soviet Union in the Far East*,
The Chinese Soviets, *Eyes on Japan*, etc.

"A valuable record of the Russian point of view toward international affairs."—Foster Rhea Dulles,
New York Herald Tribune

"A very clear and precise record... delivered with exceptional clarity and consistency... a thoroughly competent and illuminating performance... displays the entire political process with cool factuality that is wholly convincing... an admirable and important book."—Arthur Upham Pope, in *Soviet Russia Today*.

At all bookstores • \$3.50

Coward-McCann, Inc.

You may again buy BOOKS through *The Nation*

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D.

Please address your orders to
The Readers' Service Division

THE NATION

10 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

A Call to President Truman: **Recognize The Spanish Republic!**

ON February 26 a Memorandum on Spain was submitted to the President signed by Freda Kirchwey, president, The Nation Associates; Raymond Swing, chairman of the board, Americans United for World Organization; Reinhold Niebuhr, president of the Union for Democratic Action; Frank P. Graham, chairman of the Advisory Council, The Nation Associates; William L. Shirer, chairman of The Friends of the Spanish Republic; Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Jo Davidson, chairman of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions; Henry A. Atkinson, secretary of The Church Peace Union; Elmer Benson, chairman of the Executive Committee, National Citizens' Political Action Committee.

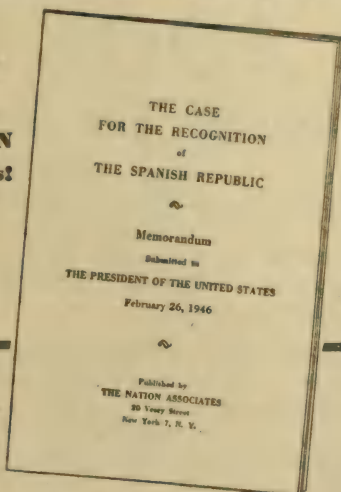
The program proposed by these leaders of eight national organizations assures the liberation of the Spanish people and security for the world. Support their program by writing or wiring President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes.

The joint statement issued by the United States, Great Britain and France places impossible conditions upon the Spanish people. There is great danger that unless we act now Franco will be replaced by a military regime or a monarchy.

Nation readers may obtain full text of the Memorandum, free, by filling out and mailing the coupon below.

free
to
**NATION
Readers!**

**THE NATION
ASSOCIATES,
20 Vesey St.
New York 7
N. Y.**



Please send me at once a free copy of the 28-page Memorandum "The Case for the Recognition of the Spanish Republic."

NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE & STATE.....

perience than their equivalents in the army ground forces or air forces. Their record is better in about the same proportion as their experience!" It must be remembered that while the war of 1917-18 was a major test for the army, it provided little in the way of combat for the navy, which had not been seriously engaged since 1898. Indeed, it is much to the credit of the admirals that they were able to achieve so notable a record in spite of their almost complete lack of previous battle experience. Again, it may be supposed that many critics will be unable to agree with the author's complacent verdict on Okinawa.

The book as a whole, however, seems certain to find general acceptance and approval. And few will quarrel with the author's concluding paragraph: "Whether or not the organization of the United Nations succeeds in preventing further outbreaks of hostilities, it is virtually certain that there can never be another war fought along the same lines as that which swept across the Pacific."

HARVEY S. FORD

Literature and the Good Earth

IT SAYS ON THE JACKET of "God Made the Country," by Edward Townsend Booth (Knopf, \$2.50), that "lives of great writers from Hesiod to Tolstoy prove that literature, like life itself, is rooted in the soil of the good earth." The author makes no such claim, nor does his book prove anything of the sort. What Mr. Booth's essays do illustrate is that some writers have sometimes enjoyed the country very much, and written productively there. Moreover, if the individuals cited are fair samples—it is a little startling to think of Mme de Sévigné, Lady Montagu, Pope, Voltaire, and Walpole as farmers, or even rusticators—their enjoyment of the country seems in direct relation to the amount of money and fame they took with them, to the possibility of congenial visitors, and to the number of hired hands they could find to do most of their work. Even the relatively poor—Cowper, Wordsworth, Carlyle, Hawthorne—managed, it seems, to have some woman to wait on them hand and foot. Mr. Booth is well read; he is in favor of old-fashioned virtue and against false urban sophistication; he sincerely likes the country; and he writes a rather heavygoing prose.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Pamphleteer

LEO HUBERMAN is in my opinion the best pamphleteer in America. I know of no one who has a greater capacity for the clear and graphic explanation of complex economic and social issues. His latest, "The Truth About Unions" (Pamphlet Press, Reynal and Hitchcock, \$1), will not disappoint those who remember "Man's Worldly Goods." "The Truth About Unions" is an unpretentious exposition of the basic facts about trade unionism, simple enough for anyone to

Flash! Book Values: All new, original editions; W. Seagle, Quest for Law, \$5 Knopf, only \$2.00; L. Adamic, My Native Land, \$3.75 Harper—\$1.50; M. Ernst, Best Is Yet, \$3 Harper—\$1.00; H. L. Ickes, Autobio. of a Curmudgeon, \$3 list—\$1.25; J. Steinbeck, Cannery Row, \$1.00; Pertinax, Gravediggers of France—\$1.50; Lester Cohen, Coming Home, \$1.00. . . . Downtown Book Bazaar, 212 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

understand and comprehensive enough to be useful even to those who think they already know enough about the subject. It is to Huberman's credit that he does not duck the hard ones. His chapters on jurisdictional disputes, feather-bedding, and racketeering say the unpleasant things that must be said in any honest complete view of the labor movement.

I. F. STONE

Ocean to Ocean

EARLY IN 1778 Captain Cook's Resolution dropped anchor in Nootka Sound. John Ledyard was the only American in the crew. Here this Connecticut Yankee, scion of seafaring stock, had the vision of a nation which would extend from ocean to ocean. It was a vision which led him to friendship with Jefferson, Robert Morris, and John Paul Jones, across oceans and continents, and to an early and unmarked grave in Egypt. Helen Augur has told the story of John Ledyard in "Passage to Glory" (Doubleday, \$3). Based on scholarly research, written with imagination and sympathy, this is an interesting and rewarding book about a too little-known American.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

MOTION PICTURES

JOHN PAYNE	MAUREEN O'HARA	WILLIAM BENDIX	— ON STAGE — THE HARTMANS Liberace DICK BROWN — EXTRA! — HERB SHRINER
---------------	-------------------	-------------------	--

SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY
A 20TH CENTURY-FOX PICTURE
ROXY, 7th Ave. and 50th St.

PARAMOUNT presents BING CROSBY BOB HOPE DOROTHY LAMOUR — In — "ROAD TO UTOPIA" MIDNIGHT FEATURE NIGHTLY NOW PARAMOUNT	— In Person — GENNY GOODMAN His Clarinet and Orchestra with The Famous Sextet — Featuring — MEL POWELL PAT HENNING
---	--

TIMES SQUARE

Brooklyn BUSHWICK DYKER GREENPOINT KENMORE MADISON ORPHEUM PROSPECT REPUBLIC TILYU Coney Island	RKO NOW GRIPPING DRAMA OF MODERN PIRACY! GEORGE RAFT CLAIRE TREVOR • HASSO 'JOHNNY ANGEL' Based on CHARLES GORDON BOOTH'S Novel — AND — 'ALLOTMENT WIVES' Kay Francis Paul Kelly
---	---

Queens
Kith's
FLUSHING
Kith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
Manhattan
COLONIAL

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD Presents
MAURICE EVANS
In His New Production of Shakespeare's
HAMLET
Columbus Circle Thea. B'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Eves. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30

UP IN CENTRAL PARK
Book by HERBERT Lyrics by Music by
A DOROTHY FIELDS DOROTHY FIELDS SAUL ROSENBERG
BROADWAY THEATRE B'way at 53rd St. Mats.: Sat. & Sun. Eves. incl. Sun. 2:30 & 8:30

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY
CAROUSEL
Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Edie Afton
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT
OKLAHOMA!
Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S
I REMEMBER MAMA
from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4636.
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

"GREAT STUFF"—Kronenberger, PM
KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S
SHOW BOAT
Music by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd.
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HAGGARD SHORT.
ZIEGFELD THEA., 54th Street and Sixth Avenue, Cl. 5-5200.
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mts. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp.

"A Gag-Happy-Meaning-ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine
MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY
The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA. 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

The New Statesman and Nation
England's Leading Weekly Review
may now be obtained through
THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.
Yearly subscription \$6.50 including postage
SPECIMEN copy on request

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

THE only new plays to reach Broadway during the two weeks just past were two ambitious failures. Robert Ardrey's "Jeb," another melodrama about the return of a Negro veteran to the South, closed after a few performances; Maxwell Anderson's "Truckline Cafe" is scheduled to withdraw before this piece can get into print. "Jeb" died quietly, but "Truckline Cafe" has been made the occasion of a minor hullabaloo. First the producers and then Mr. Anderson himself bought space in some of the daily papers for an attack upon the critics, who were accused of frivolity as well as incompetence and compared, in a general way, with the members of the Jukes family. I do not usually review defunct productions unless they seem to me of very unusual importance, and though I was certainly not bored by "Truckline Cafe," I do not think either it or "Jeb" an outstandingly good play. Nevertheless, since a controversy has been started, I should like to say a few words both about current criticism and about Anderson's latest drama.

The charge that most of the critics now practicing have standards and tastes markedly at variance with those of the general public and that this public is therefore unable to learn from the reviews whether or not it would be likely to enjoy a given production seems to me difficult to reconcile in that sweeping form with the further charge that these same critics can, nevertheless, kill a play. If the public stays away when the critics turn thumbs down, that probably means that the public has learned that it does not usually enjoy what the daily papers have unanimously or almost unanimously condemned. Indeed, I should be inclined to argue that the real weakness of current journalistic criticism of the drama lies in the fact that it is so little more than a reflection of the current fashions in thought and taste and opinion. Ideally a critic should at least influence the judgments of his reader, and very little current dramatic criticism makes any real attempt to ex-

ercise that sort of influence. Your critic today is too little more than merely a man who shares the taste of his public and therefore can tell it what it will or will not like.

There are, nevertheless, two kinds of plays in connection with which the generalization just made seems to me to break down. I have gathered no statistics, but I think it safe to say that certain critics working on the important dailies may be trusted to put in at least a few qualifying good words for any play which in obvious journalistic fashion treats of some social or political question. That they always actually like every such play I am not sure, but a somewhat befuddled conscience compels them to praise it, or at least its "intentions," and they there part company with a public which rather resents being preached at unless the preacher is a really good one. On the other hand, the newspaper critics seem to me to be almost without exception less predisposed than audiences to look with favor upon plays which are essentially serious in subject matter and in general treatment but which either are non-political and non-economic or approach political and economic questions by indirect or oblique routes. Most of Mr. Anderson's serious plays belong in this latter class. He is essentially serious, but only once, in "Gods of the Lightning," did he attempt the method of didactic journalism. His latest play is rather simpler than most, and it is direct in its approach to a rather sensational aspect of the soldier's return. But its theme is moral rather than political, and that probably explains why, though "Jeb" got mixed notices, "Truckline Cafe" was set upon with extraordinary violence.

The scene is a chili cafe attached to a group of tourist cabins near a California beach. Briefly, the story is concerned with three young women who have been long separated from their husbands. One of them has been absorbed in the care of a child now three years old; one has had a casual love affair during her husband's absence; the third, now working as a waitress, had run away when her supposedly dead mate turned up. When he finds her she tells him that, thinking him dead, she too took up with another man and that any possible resumption of marriage would be a failure. But when the husband of the loosest of the three shoots her and then wishes he hadn't, the heroine comes to agree with her husband's thesis: we cannot expect life after the upheaval of a war to be what it was

before, but we should go on as best we may with what is left of marriage as well as with what is left of everything else—many men have died to give us the opportunity to do just that.


Now this, though probably a sensible conclusion, is not an especially original one. Mr. Anderson has chosen to tell the story somewhat more straightforwardly than he usually tells his stories and has left it relatively bare of the comments which he usually inserts. Only two moments—one when the child talks over the phone to his father in Hawaii, the other when the murderer asks the waitress to give him a cup of coffee before she notifies the police—are as tense as they might be. Even the attempt to make the atmosphere of the cafe seem real on the level of literal fact is not always successful. And yet, for all that, I found myself nearly always interested, and I see no justification whatsoever for treating the play as though it were merely incompetent and contemptible. I saw it after the protests of Mr. Anderson and his producers had already been published, and it may be that the audience which saw the play with me was a special one. But for the record I should add that this audience gave a hearty curtain call.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

WITH Toscanini's performance of Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony in Victor's catalogue you would think there was no need of a performance by Stokowski; but you would be concerned with Beethoven's symphony, whereas Victor is concerned with the sales of Stokowski recordings. Victor would undoubtedly tell you these recordings make possible the recordings which do not sell that many copies; and you could then ask where *were* the recordings for whose sake Victor claimed to record Stokowski's performances and worse—where, specifically, were the new recordings by Schnabel of sonatas by Beethoven and Schubert, concertos by Mozart? As a matter of fact Victor is not only issuing Rubinstein recordings of Beethoven but withdrawing Schnabel's recording of the C minor Concerto, so that if you don't want the Rubinstein or the Iturbi performance of that work you will either have to pay a prohibitive price for an imported copy of the Schnabel (if you can get it), or do without.

In this performance of the "Pastoral"



BOOKS FOUND FREE/0

WHAT BOOKS DO YOU WANT?

We quote lowest market prices. No charge for locating Hard-to-Find and Out-of-Print Books. All books OLD or NEW mailed POST-PAYABLE.

SEARCHLIGHT BOOK NATION

22 East 17th Street, New York City

Stokowski uses the New York City Symphony (Set 1032; \$5.50), which plays and sounds very well. Listening to the first movement I was agreeably surprised by Stokowski's simple treatment of it, which continued all the way to the coda, where there were the first erratic inflections and changes of pace. I was, therefore, not surprised at all by the perversely slow tempo and sentimental phrasing of the second movement; the slow beginning and sudden acceleration of the fourth movement; the sentimental slowing down of the end of the last movement. It might be worse; but it is bad enough. The performance is well-recorded.

If there are Stokowskiisms, there are also Koussevitzkyisms; and one of them occurs near the end of a Boston Symphony performance of Berlioz's "Roman Carnival" Overture (11-9008; \$1), where Berlioz's effect is a decrescendo and crescendo without any loss of momentum, but where Koussevitzky slows down the decrescendo to a slow and gradually accelerating tempo for the crescendo. Up to that point the performance is excellent, and the playing of the orchestra a delight to the ear—which is to say that its beautiful sound is well-reproduced, though with some blurring reverberation in loud passages.

I have listened several times to the single (10-9010; \$.75) with Haydn's "My Mother Bids Me Bind My Hair" and "She Never Told Her Love," sung by Marian Anderson with Franz Rupp at the piano, but haven't been able to get much pleasure from it. Anderson's singing is uneven, with tones that are produced with freedom and are very beautiful followed by others that are tight and metallic and that even, occasionally, sag in pitch. No replacement has arrived for the cracked single (11-9009; \$1) with Brailovsky's performance of Chopin's Nocturne Opus 15 No. 2; nor have I received a copy of the newly issued shellac pressing (Set 1029; \$2.50) of the Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony recording of Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegel," so that I haven't been able to hear what differences there are between the sound of the recording from shellac records and its sound from plastic records. And the set (1031; \$5.75) of the first volume of Debussy's Preludes performed by E. Robert Schmitz I will discuss later.

Columbia, with Beecham's and Weingartner's performances of Beethoven's Symphony No. 2 in its catalogue, has issued another by Reiner with the Pittsburgh Symphony (Set 597; \$4.50). It is

very good, and would be even better without Reiner's tendency to intensified dynamics—to explosive crescendos and sforzatos, and sudden drops from *ff* to *pp* where Beethoven asks for a drop to *p* with a decrescendo to *pp*. It is recorded with admirable spaciousness, distinctness, and brightness.

Bizet's Symphony, which Rodzinski has recorded with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set 596; \$4.50) is a work that he composed at the age of seventeen. It has some engaging melodies, is neatly put together, and is pleasant to listen to. The lighter portions are well-performed; but a melodic passage for violins in the second movement is played with inflated tone and expressiveness that are unsuited to this music, and other passages stagger under the over-muscular treatment they get. The recorded sound on some sides is clear, bright, and agreeable; on others it is unpleasantly sharp; on the fifth it is suddenly deafening.

The performance of the Polovtsian Dances from Borodin's "Prince Igor" by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra (12269-D; \$1) seems good, but comes off the record with its sound dull and indistinct.

Books in Short

"Steelways of New England," by Alvin F. Harlow, Creative Age Press, \$3.50, is the first volume of a sixteen-volume series on the Railroads of America planned by the Creative Age Press. This highly readable book presents a summary of railroad beginnings, the story of New England railroads and railroad wars, and a brief account of many Yankee railroaders who played leading roles in other sections. Though not well organized, it contains a wealth of interesting incidents and personalities, much valuable social and economic history, and excellent photographs.

"International Cartels," by Ervin Hexner, University of North Carolina Press, \$6. Should international cartels be prohibited or socialized or subjected to controls through governmental agreements? Professor Hexner, who combines immense academic knowledge of the subject with practical experience of cartel operations, does not attempt to answer this question. Instead, believing that information should precede policy, he provides a broad survey of private international marketing arrangements as

they developed in the inter-war period. More than a hundred case studies, together with the complete texts of a number of cartel agreements, make this an invaluable sourcebook.

"Meet Your Ancestors," by Roy Chapman Andrews, Viking, \$3. Dr. Andrews's invitation is addressed primarily to young men and women in the hope of stimulating some of them to seek adventure in hunting for the bones of primitive man. He succeeds in conveying the thrills of anthropological field work while providing a useful, up-to-date summary of our knowledge of our human and subhuman ancestors. The record is still full of gaps which, until more material can be unearthed, must be flimsily bridged with hypothesis. For young scientists with patience, luck, and daring there are vast opportunities waiting.

CONTRIBUTORS

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, Jr., a veteran of the war, is the author of "The Age of Jackson."

ROBERT LOWELL is the author of a book of poems entitled "Land of Unlikeness."

MILDRED ADAMS has been for many years a student of Spanish and Hispano-American literature.

JACQUES BARZUN, associate professor of history at Columbia University, is the author of "Teacher in America" and other books.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of several books of verse.

Courses in MAGAZINE WRITING fiction • non-fiction

The Magazine Institute, a private school owned and operated by successful writers and editors, offers practical, up-to-date training in story and article writing. You work in your own home. Every assignment you send in is returned with detailed criticism.

EXPERT INSTRUCTION. An experienced writer or editor takes you in hand, answering all your questions, helping you find the type of work for which you are naturally suited. Before long you are writing in your own home fiction stories, essays, short sketches, whatever you are best fitted to do.

Send coupon today for free catalog which tells about opportunities in magazine writing.

The Magazine Institute, Inc., Dept. FI-8
Rockefeller Center, New York 20, N. Y.

Please send catalog, without obligation, to:

NAME

ADDRESS

(Confidential. No salesman will call.)

Letters to the Editors

Amnesty for C. O.'s

Dear Sirs: In December the American Civil Liberties Union released a statement which reported that more than sixty prominent citizens, all of them non-pacifists, had petitioned President Truman for a Christmas amnesty for conscientious objectors. There were still several thousand conscientious objectors, including Jehovah's Witnesses, Hopi Indians, and Puerto Rican War objectors, in federal institutions. So far the petition has not been granted. Full amnesty, including restoration of civil rights, is essential because without that, conscientious objectors, being legally felons, will find it extremely difficult or impossible to get civil-service jobs or to qualify for medicine, dentistry, or law.

A Committee for Amnesty (for all objectors to war and conscription) has now been formed. It includes persons identified with a great variety of organizations, including the Federal Council of Churches, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Prison Committee of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, the Socialist Party, and various pacifist organizations and groups.

The committee, of which Evan W. Thomas, M. D., is treasurer, is appealing to the public for \$5,000 to launch a nation-wide campaign. This is a small sum. We are confident that many will wish to make an immediate contribution. Remittances may be made payable to Committee for Amnesty, Room 1029, 5 Beekman Street, New York 7, New York.

A. J. MUSTE,

Temporary Chairman

New York, January 14

Mr. Powell Objects

Dear Sirs: I have before me a clipping of a book review by one E. Franklin Frazier on my recent publication "Marching Blacks."

I cannot in any way object to those critics who do not like the book, or me. That is the prerogative of a critic. I do, however, want to point out one thing in Mr. Frazier's review that is not in keeping with *The Nation's* policy. I quote, "In championing the cause of the black masses against the talented tenth of lighter complexion, the Reverend Mr.

Powell indulges in much rabble-rousing, claiming that he is a descendant of the black field Negroes."

First, Mr. Frazier's untruthful assumption that the talented tenth were of lighter complexion is not only dangerous but proves the very point of the book. Second, saying that I indulge in much rabble-rousing is another untruth because all of the section dealing with light-versus-dark and house-versus-field Negroes comes almost word for word from Dr. Buell Gallagher's treatise on *The American College on American Caste*. Dr. Gallagher, as you know, is white and a former president of Talladega College in Alabama.

The third untruth is that I claim to be a descendant of black field Negroes. This I never stated. I am the son of a former share-cropper and the grandson of a branded slave.

In these three misstatements your reviewer proves the point that I was making: that too many Negroes of the reviewer's type—lighter-skinned, privileged, educated—use their supposed qualifications to divide and hold back the Negro man.

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

Washington, D. C., February 23

Mr. Frazier's Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: In my brief review of Mr. Powell's "Marching Blacks," a book which contains many errors and unwarranted generalizations, I attempted to be generous. Since, however, the author charges me with untruthful statements, it will be necessary to document some of the defects of the book.

Despite much ambiguity in his statements, one point of his book is that Negroes were formerly divided on the basis of caste. The "upper caste" included some one million free Negroes, slaves and mulattoes. The alliance of the light-skinned Negro with the house Negro was one of the most disastrous forces retarding the progress of the race" (p. 13). Mr. Powell also states, "My folks were field Negroes for countless generations. That's why I belong to the masses. I am proud to consider myself a new Negro—a marching black" (p. 15). In Chapter 5, *The People's Man*, he tells how Harlem Negroes were divided on the basis of color until he came along and united them. All this is reminiscent of Gar-

vey, who tried to draw a line between the lighter and darker Negroes.

In my reference to the talented tenth I merely used Du Bois's term, and in describing them as of lighter complexion I was simply stating a well-known fact. Every study that has been made of the American Negro has revealed that the majority of professional men and intellectual leaders were of mixed blood. This is not due to any innate inferiority in blacks or to an "alliance" against the darker masses. It represents a social process which is observable in Brazil and other countries.

Mr. Powell fails to explain why he said (p. 39), "The leader of this group, Thomas Jesse Jones, was the first Negro to emerge in this century as an educated, subsidized Uncle Tom." Dr. Jones as everyone knows is a white man. This is typical of the errors upon which Mr. Powell bases his interpretative history of the rise of the black common man. Finally, he proves my charge of rabble-rousing when he, indistinguishable from white, points to me, a decided Negro type, as an example of the light-skinned Negroes who are dividing and holding back the Negro man.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Washington, D. C., February 28

Longo's Defense

Dear Sirs: Only the unselfish motive in this request and the urgency of its nature overcomes the embarrassment that I would otherwise feel in asking you for aid once more.

Our defense committee is in need of additional funds for expert examinations of Longo's voting records, for court stenographic work, and for witnesses which will be necessary for his coming trial on March 4 in Jersey City. Even at this moment the Hague forces . . . are desperately striving to prevent a trial and were before the State Supreme Court today not as prosecutors or "interested parties" in the litigation but rather as "citizens" and, of all things, "in the interest of justice." Should the Supreme Court uphold the ruling of Judge Ziegner in granting a new trial, that will mean more hearings, more delay, and continued expenses.

In any event, we must have money. Our bills for work prior to this time are all but paid. And bear in mind that not a cent has gone to any individual.

As a matter of fact, Raymond Chasan voluntarily gave his valuable services, and money besides! Your readers were exceptionally responsive once before and might welcome another opportunity to help. Those who have not already contributed may be willing to this time. The appeal now is not for a "lost cause," as "protest"; money spent now can actually give one man his freedom and for the first time in our state drive a blow at a corrupt system that has weakened the foundation of democracy—the true administration of justice.

GEORGE G. HOLLINGSHEAD

Treasurer, Longo Defense Committee
Jersey City, N. J. February 14

To Put It Briefly

Dear Sirs: This should be a statement of the times: The trouble with private industry is, it's too damned private.

ELI SIEGEL

New York, March 5

Pepsi-Cola vs. Salon

Dear Sirs: I have a slight suspicion that your Clement Greenberg is a bit of a snob. His resentment against the Associated American Artists is typical of the academic and darned near esoteric attitude that many art critics demonstrate when it seems that art is getting nearer to the people and farther away from the upper brackets and salons.

I have no interest in the business success of the Associated American Artists, but I think thousands of people like myself would not have had the pleasant contact with art if this project had not made a great deal of it available in mass-production form.

I don't see why the million of Pepsi-Cola drinkers should not also be patrons of the Pepsi-Cola art exhibit which Mr. Greenberg finds slightly on the Kitsch side. Is there any reason why talented artists cannot develop properly merely because they pick up a few extra bucks through the Associated American Artists and Lucky Strike cigarettes, who were smart enough to buy a series of paintings from Associated for an advertising campaign.

I don't think we'll ever have any improvement in the public's taste for art as long as critics like Mr. Greenberg advocate a new cultural élite "to counterbalance the pressure of the new mass market." Everytime I go to a stuffy museum to look at a painting I realize it's snobs like Clement Greenberg who are responsible for taking art farther

away from the people and bringing words like "Kitsch" nearer to the phonies who have the dough to buy the kind of paintings that are beyond both the comprehension and the pocket-books of the masses.

One more word: Benton and Grant Wood were popularized by the Associated American Artists. That's enough to justify Associated American Artists.

TONI GALE

New York, February 25

Cultivation, Not Concession

Dear Sirs: It is one of the tragedies of our time that solicitude for any of the arts forces one to be a snob. The mass public of industrial countries, wittingly or unwittingly, asks for such concessions to the limitations of its taste as cannot but debase the arts. The real trouble lies deeper, of course—in the causes of these limitations rather than in the limitations themselves. The fact is that most people in our society lack the security, leisure, and comfort indispensable to the cultivation of taste; and only a socialist society can provide security, leisure, and comfort.

Whether the Associated American Artists justified itself by popularizing Benton and Wood is a question I cannot decide. What I do know is that Benton is and Wood was among the notable vulgarizers of our period: they offered us an inferior product under the guise of high art.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

New York, February 28

A Bad State of Affairs

Dear Sirs: A few days ago I remarked that we should get some nice Americans over here to counteract the anti-American feeling which is now so apparent in England. The answer was, "Are there any nice Americans?" That is a very bad state of affairs, and I think we ought to face up to it, and try to see, without prejudice, what has caused it.

We all know about the misunderstandings that arise when two peoples, speaking more or less the same language, do not observe the same behavior patterns. But what is happening now is special. I want to try and explain our side, not to say it is right, but simply in order that the bad situation may have a chance of healing.

I have talked with a number of people who would by any standards be considered intelligent and progressive. Many of them, like myself, find them-

selves in the grip of anti-American feeling which they know is irrational and therefore wrong, but which none the less tends to influence their actions. It is partly due, of course, to the continued presence of an American army. No armies ever behave as well as would their constituent members acting as individuals. The American army was no worse than other armies; probably it was better than some. The difficulty was that there was more of it, and it certainly attracted some of the silliest and worst of our own population who had taken Hollywood films at their face value. I think the Poles were fully as unpopular, but I doubt whether the Norwegians or Czechs ever were. However, there were many fewer of them! Apart from the obvious bad feeling caused by higher pay in a country where shortages have sent up the prices of minor unrationed luxuries, country people and British soldiers living near the camps have been very much upset by the waste of what is, to us, precious food in the American camps.

But that is not the immediate cause of the sharp fall in friendliness toward the United States. It started, I suppose, with lend-lease. It was not that we were unprepared for the end of lend-lease, or indeed that any of us supposed that it ought to go on, but the manner of ending was rather a shock, and followed too closely on the coming of the Labor government for us not to be suspicious that there was some connection between the two events. The real thing, however, was Bretton Woods. I wonder whether you realize in America that we have a particular historical reason for our unwillingness to be tied to the gold standard. All of us in the Labor movement remember only too clearly the summer of 1931 when the crash came. Ramsay MacDonald betrayed his own people for the sake of sticking to the American gold standard, and split the Labor movement so deeply that the Tories were in for eight years, and the last hope of peace for Europe vanished. All that left a scar on us, and we felt that the latest proposals were a preparation for the same thing happening again. I know you had the same slump, but it did not involve betrayal by a trusted leader and the ending of very bright hopes.

Intellectually I admitted, after talking the thing over, that the proposals were really very reasonable, and yet I felt sore about them. Our dollars were apparently going to buy tobacco, films, and wheat. I don't smoke; I grow oats;

Crossword Puzzle No. 152

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Bird which makes pin lace
- 5 Old weapon with which you might fell a tree without getting too close to it (hyphen, 4-3)
- 9 A rich piece of furniture
- 10 Never-mind-Who suggested that we should hate them, but love their wives
- 11 A frock coat is not part of it (two words, 5 & 4)
- 12 "A -----, hollow-eyed, sharp-looking wretch"
- 13 Rehearse (hyphen, 2-5)
- 15 Tigers, zebras and sergeant-majors are
- 17 Composed
- 19 Has been defined as "one who redoubles his efforts after he has lost sight of his objectives"
- 21 Easy to make this horse caper
- 23 Captured Italian island that equipped America with lamps
- 25 Where the vast anger of the Norwegians is in evidence
- 26 Anagram of 22
- 27 Improved
- 28 He started out by being a beastly king

DOWN

- 1 This bullfighter is a boulder at heart
- 2 Terms for the provisions of "the tools" (hyphen, 5-4)
- 3 Division of an army made up of other divisions

- 4 It is not in us to give judgment against plaintiff
- 5 Where do those who never change their attitude stand today?
- 6 The Knight of the Swan
- 7 Pin it on a girl
- 8 Sad eyes (anag.)
- 14 You may get a fat reward for this later
- 16 It was no mouse he tamed
- 17 Devil and donkey start it, but don't get on together
- 18 Snowed under?
- 19 This artery is in your thigh
- 20 Arranged methodically, with a dolt in the center
- 22 Not a sedentary pursuit; except for the metal-worker
- 24 Do get her a tonic, Henry (hidden)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 151

ACROSS:—1 REMADE; 5 DISCUS; 9 ALIGNED; 11 BARKIS; 12 ALHINO; 13 SEA MILE; 14 NOOK; 17 WINK; 19 SURE THING; 22 VICES; 23 EDILE; 25 FUROR; 26 EARWIG; 27 EASES; 29 SONNY; 31 LADYSMITH; 34 TWIG; 36 SNEB; 37 FASHION; 39 MISSIS; 40 IONIAN; 41 REASONS; 42 SINGED; 43 GEE-CEE.

DOWN:—1 ROBINS; 2 MIRROR; 3 DAIS; 4 ELSEWHERE; 5 DEALT; 6 IDLE; 7 CRITIC; 8 STORKS; 10 GEMINI; 15 OUTFLOW; 16 KEYRING; 17 WIGWAMS; 18 NEWGATE; 20 IDEAL; 21 GLEED; 24 EASYGOING; 28 SASHEE; 29 STAMPS; 30 NISSEN; 32 INNING; 33 HEINIE; 35 RASED; 37 FIRE; 38 NOSE.

and I very rarely go to a Hollywood film. I felt aggrieved, and I noticed it was affecting me in such a way that I did not even want to go to one of the few good American films which had come over among the dozens of bad ones.

We in Great Britain feel ourselves increasingly part of Europe. We just missed the complete ruin which overtook other European countries. As a general population, we were in the war, and we cannot now disassociate ourselves from the rest of Europe, which is cold and hungry. Our own food is adequate but dull, and our clothes the same. We are thoroughly tired of war restrictions, and yet we know that, for the general good, we must keep on with most of them. We have tried to send food and clothes to European countries which are worse off than we are. It was something of a shock, while we were having another Christmas of making do, to find that all rationing was off in the States, and to read about what was being eaten and worn.

Here again I find myself understanding the position intellectually and realizing too that your over-rapid demobilization has put you into great difficulties. I know that your housing problems are as acute as our own in the normal parts of Great Britain, though of course nothing like ours in the bombed areas. I also know that millions of you are adult, generous, and acting for the good of mankind. Such knowledge, however, does not always affect one's underlying emotions.

This is perhaps partly the fault of the newspapers on both sides, which seem to delight in making mischief for its own sake. But manners as between nations are as important as manners between people, and on both sides of the Atlantic there are those who should be slapped and put in the corner. I am quite sure that you feel the same kind of things about us, and I am terribly afraid that it will react on the British girls who have married American soldiers. I do hope that those of you who have a chance will go out of your way to help them. I also hope that the "nice Americans" will come soon. I think that if a thousand men and women would come here, determined to be ambassadors of good-will, and to smooth down our hurts and suspicions by personal contact—the only thing that we can be really sure of in this world—something could be done.

NAOMI MITCHISON

Argyll, Scotland, January 20

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 23, 1946

NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

HAROLD E. STASSEN, WARILY STALKING THE 1948 Republican nomination for President, made a difficult choice last week when he decided against running for the Senate. Two years of oratory on Capitol Hill would keep his name in the news and provide that build-up without which there is small hope for success at the convention. On the other hand, Stassen was well aware that the road to the Senate lay through a bitter primary in which that venerable anachronism Henrik Shipstead would have had to be pried loose from the Senate seat he has clung to for nearly a quarter of a century. Tradition dies hard in Minnesota as elsewhere, and many a Scandinavian farmer still thinks of the Shipstead of 1922—pioneer of the Farmer-Labor movement, colleague of "Old Bob" La Follette, and champion, in general, of the progressive way. The sad truth is that of the old Shipstead only the passionate isolationism remains. He contributed one of the Senate's two votes against ratification of the United Nations charter—a position too extreme even for Burt Wheeler. A defeat by Shipstead in the senatorial primary would have completely eliminated Stassen as a Presidential candidate, and he was not disposed to take the risk. As a result, he will have to keep himself in the limelight as a public-spirited citizen, absorbed in the momentous questions of the day and devoted to constructive criticism of the Administration. That is a hard row for a Republican candidate to hoe. Wendell Willkie tried it between 1940 and 1944, and added so much to his stature that the party turned in panic to Tom Dewey. *

IN NEIGHBORING NORTH DAKOTA AN EVEN more rabid isolationist than Shipstead has suffered a reverse that may finish him as a political figure. Attempting a comeback, Gerald P. Nye went before the Republican State Convention as a candidate for Senator Young's short-term seat. Young was nominated to succeed himself, with 195 votes; Dr. George Schatz, runner-up, got 151 votes; and to Gerald Nye, once a power in the state, went all of 34 votes. The man who couldn't wait for the smoke to lift over Pearl Harbor before attacking Roosevelt for "maneuvering" us into the war has said that he would not compete with Senator Langer for the long-term nomination that comes up in June. If he changes

his mind, or if he runs as an independent in November, he is likely to make a better showing than his convention vote indicates; but his chances are **not** bright. Since his defeat in 1944 he has been living in Maryland, a source of resentment back home. His machine has crumbled, and his ear is no longer attuned to the political breeze of the prairie. With handicaps of such magnitude and a record of warm relations with the shadiest operators of America First, Nye is set not so much for a campaign as for a last gasp.

★

LAST WEEK'S STATEMENT ON INDIA BY PRIME Minister Attlee marked a substantial advance in the thinking of the British government. If its fine words are soon given substance by firm deeds, the world may be spared the horror of a bloody nationalist uprising and the Labor Party will lose much of the stigma of continuing Tory policy in that area. Mr. Attlee declared that India itself must decide its future constitution and its relation to the British Commonwealth and must solve the problems of its minorities and of the position of the feudal princes. He spoke out unequivocally against the use of the Moslems and the princes to bar India's road to independence. It is heartening that Mr. Attlee has recognized that this is the only constructive approach possible at a time when the nationalist movement has reached a new breadth and fervor and has for the first time won the support of the Indian armed forces. It would now seem advisable for Britain to transfer substantial power in New Delhi to a provisional coalition government, proportioned according to the recent provincial elections and empowered to convoke a sovereign Constituent Assembly. Left alone, this Constituent Assembly could probably reach a fair settlement on the broad question of a workable Indian constitution and on minority rights, for the Provincial legislatures from

IN NEXT WEEK'S NATION

Freda Kirchwey

Just back from Buenos Aires gives her
Report on Argentina

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	329
The World Bank	331
Agenda for Security	331
First Round to Labor	333
The Army and the Atom	333
A Note from Paris	334

ARTICLES

Fumbling with Famine <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	335
Can the UNO Keep the Peace? <i>by Percy E. Corbett</i>	336
Salazar Is Next <i>by J. L. Teller</i>	339
The Slickest Lobby <i>by Tris Coffin</i>	340
Pro Memoria <i>by Ignazio Silone</i>	342
Poverty Follows the Crops <i>by Carey McWilliams</i>	343
Remember? <i>A Poem by Richard Armour</i>	344
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	345
The People's Front <i>by Del Vayo</i>	346

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Poetry of Hopkins <i>by Delmore Schwartz</i>	347
Top Secret <i>by Arthur J. Goldberg</i>	348
The Danger of Deflation <i>by Leo Barnes</i>	350
Briefer Comment	350
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	353
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	354
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	354

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

355

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 153

by Jack Barrett 356

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor *Literary Editor*
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editors:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau; 313 Kellogg Building, Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Price: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

which it would be drawn are already heavily weighted with the representatives of minorities. Furthermore, India's representatives, under the scrutiny of world opinion, would wish to prove themselves worthy of such an opportunity.

✱

JOLLY HERMANN GOERING HAS DELIVERED the blandest indictment of the Nazi regime to date, complete with evidence of its ruthless aims and cynical methods. Hitler was nervous about marching into Austria, Goering told the tribunal at Nuremberg, and wanted to wait for Seyss-Inquart, the Austrian quisling, to ask for German troops "to restore order." Whereupon Goering drafted a telegram for Seyss-Inquart to send and then told him not to bother sending it since he had the text already on his desk. Goering also told the court how he used the Spanish civil war as a testing ground for the *Luftwaffe* and how Hitler summoned Emil Hacha, president of the already truncated Czech Republic, and informed him that he had decided to "eliminate" his country altogether. The horrors of the concentration camps Goering defended on the ground that "We decided to keep power under all circumstances." As simple as that. Without batting an eye, he explained that the "Communists" were the next strongest party in the Reich and therefore, as a matter of course, had to be liquidated, just as "unions were regarded as inimical to our new state and had to be dissolved." No pretense here, no attempt to brand such stories as lies circulated by refugees—an effort frequently resorted to by Hitler's American apologists before and after Pearl Harbor. Raymond Daniell, reporting the trial for the *New York Times*, writes that Goering admitted he had given the Czechoslovak Ambassador his word of honor that Germany had no designs on his country. "But of course, Goering pointed out, only an imbecile would read into his words any long-term commitment." His testimony will seem ungracious to countless "imbeciles"—a few of whom still sit in the Congress of the United States.

✱

THE POLISH ARMY IN EXILE IS ABOUT TO BE disbanded, according to a report from London. This army numbers some 200,000 men, of whom 107,000 are under the Command of General Anders in Italy, the remainder being in Great Britain, the Middle East and northern Germany. A statement by the present Polish government promising fair treatment to those who return to Poland is being distributed to all ranks in the army. Those who desire to go home will be sent back. Those who refuse will be offered a livelihood elsewhere, but it is stipulated that they must become civilians. Once the Allies recognized the present government of Poland, Britain's maintenance of a Polish army under the command of a general who is anti-Russian and violently opposed to the Warsaw government became intolerable. On the

other hand, it is understandable that the British should feel a sense of obligation toward a Polish army which fought bravely on the Allied side. Certainly they have no moral right to force its members to return to Poland. The civilian settlement of those who refuse to go home will not be easy—and we doubt whether it is possible to make a civilian out of General Anders except in name—but the proposed arrangement seems to us both sensible and humane, if a little belated; and it should relieve the UNO of at least one small headache.

The World Bank

Savannah, March 18

THE inaugural meeting of the World Bank and Monetary Fund has appeared on the surface a pretty cut-and-dried affair. Questions of procedure and mechanics which it has discussed have made thin gruel for the large newspaper contingent attracted by the over-grandiose setup of the conference. Such disputes as have occurred were mainly kept behind closed doors, so that to the world this assembly of financial experts has presented, through its spokesman, Secretary of the Treasury Fred Vinson, a face of almost unwrinkled unanimity. Privately, however, some delegates have complained about American steam-roller tactics, and it is clear that when there has been opposition to American views it has been thrust aside.

One instance was the question of the location of the Bank and Fund. Britain, Canada, France, and India, among others, favored New York because there the new institutions would be removed from political influences, in contact with the activities of the world's financial and commercial center, and in proximity to the UNO. The United States, however, insisted on Washington, arguing the desirability of keeping the Bank and Fund as free as possible from private financial interests and pointing out that international economic policy-making had shifted from New York to Washington. And Washington it is to be.

Another Anglo-American dispute concerned the payment and functions of the executive directors. The United States, which envisages the board as a kind of world economic general staff, wanted full-time members at salaries high enough to attract first-class men, while Britain held out for part-time appointments at modest salaries. Again the American view prevailed. In both cases the American delegates had good arguments, but undoubtedly the strongest one was the power of the purse. No countries care to offend the nation to which they are looking for credit infusions to restore their economic health.

Thus the fears of the Bretton Woods critics that Uncle Sam, while paying the piper, would be voted down on the tunes have so far proved baseless.

K. H.

Agenda for Security

ALTHOUGH the international storm continues, the barometer has risen and the wind has abated somewhat. There has been altogether too much wind of late. It has done no skipper any good and has left in its wake a lot of battered gear that now needs considerable mending.

There are hopeful signs of improved conditions. The Security Council meeting, as we go to press, is scheduled for next week. Mr. Bevin has renewed his offer to extend the treaty with Russia and thereby has reminded Tories the world over that ex-prime ministers don't speak for current British governments. Mr. Attlee's statement on India—a body blow perhaps to Mr. Churchill's empire—is one of the first indications that the Labor Party means the kind of business it talked—before its election. But of all the good signs, Mr. Byrnes's St. Patrick's Day address on American policy was most significant. Four sentences are worth quoting in full:

I cannot emphasize too strongly that the United States looks to the United Nations as the path to enduring peace.

We do not propose to seek security in an alliance with the Soviet Union against Great Britain or in an alliance with Great Britain against the Soviet Union.

We propose to stand with the United Nations in our efforts to secure equal justice for all nations and special privileges for no nation.

We must maintain our strength, therefore, for the primary purpose of preserving and using our influence in support of the United Nations. We will not use our strength for aggressive purposes. Neither will we use it to support tyranny or special privileges.

Such linking together of responsibility and power is a healthy note to introduce into American foreign policy today. We do not agree with Mr. Byrnes that our commitment under the charter of the United Nations contains within it the logic of compulsory military training. We believe that in the age of atomic energy such a defense measure is a clumsy anachronism which, purely from a military standpoint, is likely to be highly inefficient. But armed strength should be related to foreign policy. For without clearly defined policy armed strength is as dangerous to international security as the policy of unilateral disagreement which Mr. Byrnes decried.

The place for the clear articulation of the foreign policy stated so eloquently in terms of broad principle is obviously at next week's meeting of the Security Council. We should be warned, however, not to expect too much from the UNO meeting. All the issues will not be disposed of satisfactorily. Some are apt to grow more critical. For, as Mr. Byrnes cautioned, "it takes time to pass from the psychology of war to the psychol-



Winston Churchill
As seen by Oscar Berger

ogy of peace. We must have patience as well as firmness."

Iran is a good place to begin spelling out the meaning of "equal justice for all nations and special privileges for no nation." Mr. Byrnes had a sharp word for those who "think that whatever they want should be taken by force instead of making their claims the basis of peaceful negotiations." The Soviets, as if in reply to our notes, made reference to the "monopolistic British oil concessions" which Iran is allegedly defending. Now oil may be considered as a prize in the struggle between competing imperialisms or as the necessary basis of modern existence. Unless we want to align ourselves with British and American capitalist claims in the Near East, we must assure the Russians, as well as other peoples, of free access to the rich resources in the Persian Gulf area. In practical terms, this may call for the working out of a development plan by the Economic and Social Council of the UNO. There can be no unilateral solution.

The other objective of Russian expansion in the Near East is a free passage to the Mediterranean—a reasonable enough ambition for a great land-locked nation. But what Russia must remember is that in an ordered world this objective cannot be gained by a demonstration of or actual application of force. The security of our interests as well as of Turkey's requires that the Straits be made an

international zone under the United Nations. This principle should also be applied to the other important strategic waterways of the world.

Manchuria is a more complicated and a more obscure picture. General Marshall's report that the situation remains very critical should be taken seriously. Incidentally, his report showed, too, that there is no short cut to establishing stable conditions in such a vast territory, with communications disrupted and with a long, bitter record of war and civil war. This is not to excuse the Red Army's tardy withdrawal from Manchuria or its dismemberment of Manchurian industry. The latter, it appears, expressed a fear of potential American aggression on the basis of its war-won dominance of the Pacific. Our intentions in Eastern Asia must be made clear. Here too the Economic and Social Council could be of service in advising on a scheme of reconstruction which would be directed primarily to the pressing needs of the Chinese people but which would also recognize the special Russian claims in Manchuria, as well as the necessity of bringing China within reach of Western science, techniques, and trade. The recovery of China must be no mere by-product of American economic imperialism.

The moral principles of the Byrnes address must also be applied in reference to the unfinished business of Franco and Perón. Mr. Stettinius, pursuing the logic of the State Department documentation, should be instructed to back France in invoking sanctions against the last European satellite of the Nazi state. As for Perón, his recent election has annulled not one jot of the evidence against him contained in the State Department's Blue Book and *The Nation's* memorandum. Until he has given proof of the elimination of the fascist menace in Argentina and the restoration of civil rights he should have no place in the councils of the nations.

Two other steps must be taken if outside nations are to regard our declared intentions seriously.

First, we must accept our responsibility in meeting the world's hunger. High-sounding principles of justice and human rights mean little or nothing to starving people. Our belief that men should live as free and peaceful beings must come after and not before our belief that men have a right to live. Our action in the face of the famine that threatens Europe and Asia is, in fact, a declaration of our commitment to the concept of one world.

Second, our recent action in strengthening rather than diminishing military control over atomic energy cannot but be interpreted as a threat by other nations. If our intentions are genuine, then we had better get "that dread agency," to use Mr. Churchill's phrase, into the hands of a functioning Security Council organization as soon as possible. For as long as we guard the secret and, worse, keep making bombs, who but trusting Americans will believe Secretary Byrnes when he says he "looks to the United Nations as the path to enduring peace"?

First Round to Labor

WITH the settlement of the General Motors and General Electric strikes, the country has emerged from the first phase of the struggle to find a satisfactory post-war equilibrium of wages and prices. The pattern of settlement which was first worked out by the oil fact-finding board and later applied to the steel strike has now gained general acceptance. A few minor strikes remain unsettled, the most important being the one at Westinghouse. Other strikes will doubtless occur. But it seems fair to assume that all of them, with the possible exception of John L. Lewis's threatened coal strike, can be settled within the limits of the President's wage-price formula. And Lewis has not yet made demands that go beyond the zone of compromise indicated by the settlement in oil, steel, motors, and other industries.

In many respects the General Motors strike was the most crucial of the post-war tests of strength between management and labor. It was the first big strike as well as the most bitter and the most protracted. Both management and labor chose to make it a test of principle. For management it was a fight to preserve the free-enterprise system, to resist government interference, and, above all, to repudiate the idea that either labor or the public had the right to study the company's books or otherwise concern themselves with its level of profits. The U. A. W., under Walter Reuther's able leadership, fought for higher wages with no increase in prices and for union security, not as immediate ends but in order to formulate a national policy which would prevent a recurrence of the chronic underemployment and depression of the 1930's.

On these principles, as on wages, both sides ultimately compromised. Although Robert R. Wason, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, asserted that General Motors "has saved American enterprise and the American way of life," it is doubtful whether many General Motors stockholders feel that anything has been gained by the long shutdown, since the terms of the settlement approximated those of the President's fact-finding board. Nor did the union achieve a clear-cut victory. Although the wage boost was not linked directly to a rise in prices, General Motors will undoubtedly apply for increased prices under the President's wage-price formula, and in view of the recent increases obtained by Chrysler, Ford, and Hudson, one may assume that its application will be granted. The union was successful, however, in resisting the company's efforts to undermine the union-security provisions of the contract, and on minor issues, such as vacation pay and seniority, it improved its position substantially.

The triumph of the General Electric employees was somewhat more evident because the company had refused, until the final day, to grant a substantial pay in-

crease, and the management was definitely rebuffed in its effort to obtain a prior promise of increased prices.

On the whole, organized labor has more than held its own in the bitter struggles that marked the reconversion period. While it has not succeeded in maintaining take-home pay at war-time levels, it has won wage boosts which in most instances offset the increased cost of living. And it has repelled a vigorous and apparently well-organized attempt on the part of management to take advantage of the readjustment period to undermine the strength of the unions. By and large, labor's war-time economic gains have been maintained; it remains to be seen whether its political gains have been similarly consolidated. The coming struggle between the Reuther and Thomas factions of the U. A. W. at the Atlantic City convention will throw some light on this question. If, as now seems likely, the Thomas faction wins, the U. A. W. may be expected to play a somewhat restricted political role in the next few years. A Reuther victory, on the other hand, would indicate a much more active political role for the union. Although labor has reason to be satisfied with the results of the strikes, this is clearly no time for it to rest on its laurels. Intensified political activity is essential if labor expects to hold the gains that it has won on the picket line.

The Army and the Atom

NO PRINCIPLE is more fundamental to freedom than that the military must be subordinate to civilian authority. It is a principle which permits no compromise. The enormous power inherent in modern arms can be held in check only if it is kept under absolute control. In a democratic society armies must be mere instruments, devoid of any will of their own. To let them share in the formulation of the policies they are designed to implement is altogether foreign and perilous to the democratic tradition; it is to accord them a power which cannot fail to grow and cannot fail to be abused. Yet it is precisely such power that the Senate Atomic Energy Committee now proposes to confer upon the United States Army by allowing it a voice in shaping national policy with respect to the most momentous scientific development of modern times.

It is proposed, under an amendment to the McMahon bill sponsored by Senator Vandenberg, to set up a military liaison board with authority to review and to checkmate the decisions of a civilian atomic-energy commission. This military board could on its own initiative submit recommendations to the commission on any question which in its judgment affected national defense; and if the commission rejected its recommendations, it could take its case to the President for settlement. It is astonishing that of the eleven members of the committee only Senator McMahon resisted this proposal, for its

effect is to enthrone the army and to leave the civilian commission with responsibility but no real control.

The army, as General Groves has made abundantly plain, looks upon atomic energy only as a weapon. It will, then, view every decision of the civilian commission as having an effect upon national defense. Consequently it will be able to extend its veto power to every effort toward the development of atomic energy for industrial purposes. It will be able to extend it, and will undoubtedly do so, into the regulations governing the exchange of scientific information. Let the civilian commission attempt to strike off the manacles which General Groves has put upon the nuclear physicists and the military board will scream that this freedom is inimical to national security. Research and experimentation respecting the potentialities of atomic energy in the field of medicine—believed by those best informed to be soon realizable—would be arrested and blighted by the narrow military concept that the atom is nothing but a bomb.

Even from the narrow standpoint of security, this military chaperonage of a civilian commission can produce only frustration. For men of science will not, and indeed cannot, work in the atmosphere of repression, intimidation, and secrecy with which General Groves has surrounded them. Ideas kept secret are sterile; they germinate only when afforded fertilization through contact with others, through free circulation. American scientists must have this freedom if they are to retain the leadership they have achieved in the atomic field.

More serious still, the world will be plunged into an arms contest which must inevitably prove catastrophic. The Federation of Atomic Scientists did no more than illuminate the self-evident when it called the Vandenberg amendment "a clear declaration to the world that the people of the United States will put their faith only in military might."

But let us go back to where we began. More odious and more alien to the American system than a reliance upon military might is an acceptance of military rule. And this is the inescapable implication of what has been proposed. Congress enacted a statute in 1870 providing that "no officer of the army on the active list shall hold any civil office, whether by election or appointment." This was mere formal recognition of what had long before become established tradition. For the armed services to be represented on the Atomic Energy Commission by their civilian chiefs is reasonable enough. For their own uniformed personnel to act for them as constituent elements in the government would mean that militarism reigned. There would be no end to such authority, since every phase of our life impinges upon national security. If the army is permitted to review the decisions of the Atomic Energy Commission, it will in time insist upon reviewing the decisions of the Department of State or the Department of Agriculture. We can embrace such an innovation only at the most fearful peril.

A Note From Paris

Paris, March 15

AFTER the nationalization of the banks France is getting ready for a more ambitious step, the nationalization of the electric and gas industries. The first draft of this measure was defeated in the Commission de l'Equipeement of the Constituent Assembly last Thursday night. However, at the end of a long session, the commission adopted a new draft prepared under the personal supervision of Prime Minister Gouin. Concessions had to be made by all the parties, and the result was naturally a compromise. But even in its present form the measure is of tremendous significance and cannot fail to have important repercussions on the rest of Europe, which is following with passionate interest France's daring program in the direction of planned economy. By combining nationalization of the big networks with private control of certain companies, France expects to reach the maximum of its electrical potential. The country cannot rely entirely on coal, particularly since coal imports from Germany are tied up in the complicated international issue of the Ruhr. What coal cannot provide, electricity must. Every industry, especially iron and steel, is waiting impatiently for power. The French workers are waiting too. The story of the French miners contains a wonderful lesson for the world. American workers' delegations should visit the French pits; they would come away with a better understanding of this country's extraordinary effort toward recovery. The miners' example was one of the strong arguments for the nationalization of electricity; in the light of it, all the talk about private initiative sounded quite ridiculous. I think their example has also given courage to Léon Blum. I talked with him for a few minutes last night just before he left by plane for Washington. With his unusual critical insight, he realizes perhaps more clearly than anyone the difficulty of his mission. Few men would have undertaken it with his deep conviction that he speaks for a very poor country, but one now awakening to the slogan heard in every public gathering of the left: "Produce and Work."

A. DEL V.

Important Announcement

Nation readers are cordially invited to hear the first report on Perón and Argentina by Freda Kirchwey, who has just returned from a survey of conditions in that country.

Miss Kirchwey will present her report at a special meeting arranged by The Nation Associates on Sunday, March 24, at 2:30 o'clock at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, 49th Street and Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Fumbling with Famine

BY I. F. STONE

Atlantic City, March 18

AT NIGHT on the boardwalk outside the huge brown pile of the fashionable Traymore, where the Council of UNRRA is meeting, there are still reminders of World War II. G. I.'s with one leg or none pass in their wheelchairs, pushed by a buddy or a nurse. These are the finished business of the war. The unfinished business—the task of cleaning up the debris, of making torn earth fruitful again, of saving half a billion people from a famine which may prove more deadly than the conflict itself—depends in part on the efforts of the delegates from forty-three nations gathered in the immense hotel.

This is a serious meeting, with little pageantry or platitude. There was just enough of the former at the opening session in the main dining-room, with the massed flags of the United Nations in the background under the high-arched cream-and-gilt ceiling. The delegates sat at long tables covered with fresh green baize. Beside each delegate was a black-and-white printed card with the name of his country on it. The camera men, kings of such occasions, took over at the very start, and the faces around the table composed themselves into properly statesman-like lines as the flashlight bulbs went off and the movie cameras churned.

The opening messages and speeches by the President, Governor Lehman, the local mayor, and Sol Bloom were decently brief. Representative Bloom, an old trouter, departed from text to picture millions abroad "with outstretched hands . . . praying, praying, praying" to UNRRA for help. The appeal did not seem as corny as it might have to those who had caught a glimpse of the confidential cables coming in from UNRRA men in the field. Governor Lehman, whose sudden resignation as Director General is deeply regretted here, said gravely at his first press conference, "I'm afraid there will be great suffering." He spoke like one who had taken worry to his bed at night and to breakfast in the morning.

The rapidly developing famine abroad is not entirely due to the war, devastating as that was. It is as though some angry providence were visiting affliction on destructive mankind, for there has been a succession of natural catastrophes. Severe droughts in the last two seasons have reduced the wheat crops in several of the world's granaries—Argentina, Australia, South Africa, French North Africa. The supply of man's other great staple, rice, has been cut not only by war in Burma and Indo-China but by recent typhoons in Japan and the failure

of the moisture-bearing monsoon in India. In the rice-producing areas of China, as in the Balkans, drought moved in as occupying armies moved out. Even Antarctic wastes did not produce as expected; one of the reasons for the crucial shortage in fats and oils is the poor catch of the British and Norwegian whalers, which headed south again as soon as peace came.

The dimensions of the emergency may be gathered from the report made by the Combined Food Board to the UNRRA Council. Although world wheat and flour exports during the twelve months ending next June 30 will be about 60 per cent above the pre-war average, they will be about 60 per cent below the minimum requirements of a war-ravaged and drought-stricken world. These requirements are understated at 20,000,000 tons; the estimated available supply of wheat and wheat substitutes is only 12,000,000 tons. MacArthur's request for 1,500,000 tons of wheat for Japan, on top of catastrophic crop conditions in India, has made the problem "insoluble in full." The phrase is the Combined Board's. It means starvation for millions.

The responsibility for most of the deaths will be upon the American doorstep. The fatal and shameful error was President Truman's lifting of meat rationing last September, a move which shocked our European Allies. At the food conference held at Hot Springs after we entered the war it was agreed that it would be necessary to continue rationing in this country for eighteen months to two years after V-Day if devastated areas abroad were to be fed. Judge Samuel I. Rosenman's report to Mr. Truman last April 26 was more than a reminder of this obligation. His comprehensive 236-page survey showed the inescapable necessity for continued rationing if Europe was to be fed and put back on its feet again. This was the main point of a State Department broadcast last August 11 in which Joseph C. Grew, Archibald MacLeish, and Willard Thorp participated.

Past warning, advice, and policy were brushed aside by the White House. The lifting of meat rationing at a time when much pent-up purchasing power was available provided a boom market for the packers and made it more profitable for farmers to feed grain to livestock than to sell it for bread. There were bumper crops, and the Department of Agriculture was far more interested in absorbing surpluses through expanded meat production than in providing against hunger abroad. When Governor Lehman, presenting his final report to the UNRRA Council today, said, "The premature removal

of food controls in certain countries was, in my judgment, quite unjustified and has contributed greatly to the present tragic position," he meant only one country, the United States. Canada and Britain have intensified their rationing since the war ended. Canada's magnificent contribution to the fight against post-war hunger puts our own country to shame, and Britain, despite its own incredibly meager rations, has shipped over 700,000 tons of cereals and cereal products to Europe in the past eighteen months.

Recent Administration statements on food are building up into an anthology of sour humor. At the White House food conference on March 1 Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson said we would have to "strain ourselves a little more" to prevent starvation abroad. The strain is hardly perceptible. Food consumption is about one-third above last year, and meat consumption during the last quarter of 1945 was one-fourth above the pre-war level. With the removal in November of ration controls on fats and oils American consumption hit a per capita rate of 45 pounds a year as compared with 3.3 pounds in Poland and 4.8 in Italy.

"I am taking every practicable measure," President Truman said in his message to the UNRRA Council, "to assure that the United States does not fall behind the other supplying nations of the world." The joker is in the word "practicable"; there are few at this meeting who think the voluntary methods on which the Hoover Famine Committee is relying can come anywhere near doing the job. Again it was the United States and President Truman whom Governor Lehman had in mind when he told the council today he was convinced that "much more can still be done" if the leaders of the United Nations "are sufficiently courageous in their actions" to take "strong and . . . politically unpleasant measures." Washington is the only United Nations capital to which those phrases could apply. Reimposed rationing and measures to liquidate expanding herds of livestock are essential if millions abroad are to have a bare minimum of bread. In what promises to be a turbulent and controversial session there will be general agreement on one point. For all the instinctive kindness of the American people, on the famine front their government has been doing a shabby job.

Can the UNO Keep the Peace?

BY PERCY E. CORBETT

Professor of Government at Yale University; author of "Post-War Worlds"

THE first meeting of the United Nations Organization, held in London in January and February, plowed its dogged way through a large amount of indispensable work. The meeting was designed primarily to set up the considerable machinery necessary for the new league of nations. Some of these primary agenda items, such as fixing on a site for headquarters and appointing the Secretary General, were sufficiently contentious to make headline news. But for the most part they had to yield in publicity to the substantive problems of world politics, which were supposed to form only a subsidiary item in the program of this first and principally constituent session.

That public attention should focus mainly on the UNO's substantive business rather than on its structure is natural and right. But if the choice of a Norwegian Secretary General and a New York-Connecticut site, together with some inconclusive skirmishing on northern Iran, Greece, Syria, Lebanon, and the Dutch East Indies, were all that stuck in the popular memory of a month's deliberation, there would be ample excuse for an initial impression of futility. As a counter-agent, some emphasis on the structural achievement is warranted.

From now on the General Assembly will figure chiefly as an agency for regulating the internal economy of the

United Nations Organization and a forum for the discussion, not the decision, of international questions. But in London it was the essential constituent organ. It even had to create the Security Council, which henceforward will overshadow it in the actual disposition of international business. The practical reason for this temporary precedence is plain. The General Assembly was, as it were, ready-made. No election was necessary. It consists of representatives of all the United Nations.

For itself the General Assembly adopted and tested a code of procedure and a pattern of committee assignment made ready last fall by a Preparatory Committee adequate to its wide field of consultative and electoral activity. It elected the non-permanent members of the Security Council and set that body on its way. It picked eighteen states to constitute the Economic and Social Council, which promptly began its work. Ballots in the Security Council and General Assembly provided the International Court of Justice with its bench of fifteen judges, and the court was given the prospect of immediate business by Britain's offer to submit for decision its dispute with Guatemala over the territory of Belize. Steps were taken to set up the Commission for the Promotion of Human Rights, promised in Article 68 of the San Francisco Charter. Other organs for social tasks were

established, among which should be mentioned a committee on refugees and displaced persons and a commission to continue the League of Nations' control of narcotic drugs. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, provision was made for a commission on atomic energy.

This record is enough to dispel any notion that the London session was an idle performance. The San Francisco Charter has at least received its essential mechanical implementation. The important question remains whether the meeting provided any indications as to how the machinery may work and what beneficial results may be expected from its operation.

There were in the first place some significant negative indications. It should be abundantly plain now, if it was not so before, that the most destructive war in history has not produced any revolutionary change in the nature or tone of world politics. The record shows few demonstrations of brotherly love and plenty of bickering. The election of non-permanent members of the Security Council, the appointment of a Secretary General, and the choice of a site were field days for balance-of-power tactics and the sharpest type of diplomatic horse-trading. Great and small powers alike showed their traditional concern for sovereignty and prestige. Far from marking any closer approach to world federation, the session emphasized the difficulties to be anticipated in operating even a league type of international association.

This revelation of the sameness of things has evoked a variety of responses. One is a fresh blast of scorn for the unreality of international organization and a call to isolationist nationalism. Another is righteous indignation—at once the easiest and the most respectable escape from the hardship of thinking things through—over the stupidity of our own and the knavery of foreign governments. This leads sometimes to the isolationist camp and sometimes to its direct opposite, namely, the appeal to the peoples behind governments for an immediate fusion in one world union. Finally, there is a response which may be hoped to be that of the majority of the persons who are actively concerned. This is a fairly cheerful acceptance of human limitations, coupled with determination to get on with the business of strengthening the restraints on the arbitrary conduct of states.

Isolationism is blind retreat into a vanished past. The world-federation response is ideally good but ignores some stubborn facts that were thrown into sharp relief once more by the London meeting. It looks as if the attitude with the most potentialities of progress were the unspectacular and uninspiring refusal either to abandon effort or to demand the impossible.

Once we stop talking, even to ourselves, in the temptingly sonorous terms of "new eras," we may find some comfort in the very plain language used by Mr. Bevin and Mr. Vishinsky in their frequent jousts in the Security Council. It had at least the merit of not con-

cealing in euphemistic vapor the broad divergences of outlook and interest that separate the Soviet Union from Britain and the United States. Security will probably not suffer if diplomacy dispenses with the ruse of glossing over disagreement with tributes to "essential harmony of interests" and "the universal spirit of cooperation."

As for the proceedings in which these clashes occurred, it is too early yet to say whether they advanced the prospect of an equitable settlement of the Russian-Iranian dispute concerning the Azerbaijan province and its autonomy movement, improved the chances of democratic government in Greece, or contributed anything to the achievement of self-government in Indonesia. There is some evidence that they accelerated the withdrawal of at least the British troops from the Levant states. Apart from the question of any immediate results, however, the solicitude of the Soviet government for the liberty of weak or dependent peoples would have given firmer ground for satisfaction if the situation as a whole had not suggested (a) that this solicitude extended chiefly to peoples outside the Russian "joint defense zone," and (b) that its manifestation on this occasion was a diversionary move to distract attention from current complaints against Moscow. Certainly Americans will welcome any consistent support of those anti-imperialist principles which their delegates have championed throughout the discussion of trusteeship.

The Soviet use of the veto during the session has aroused some justified anxiety about the future effectiveness of the Security Council. The veto was reluctantly accepted by the small nations, and by advocates of international organization the world over, as a recognition in law of the practical consideration that no coercive action could in fact be taken against one of the super-powers without the gravest risk of a world war. As they have officially declared in their report, the Canadian delegates at San Francisco "were influenced in their decisions in this matter by the statements of the great powers that their special voting position would be used with a sense of responsibility and consideration for the interests of the smaller states, and that therefore the veto would be used sparingly." Nor were these statements made to influence merely the Canadian delegation.

In London the Soviet delegation had recourse to the veto formally or informally in three cases—first to prevent the selection of the British and American candidate for the office of Secretary General, then to prevent Britain's formal acquittal of the charge of threatening the peace by maintaining troops in Greece, and finally to defeat a resolution expressing the Security Council's "confidence that the foreign troops in Syria and Lebanon will be withdrawn as soon as practicable."

This could hardly be called sparing use. Moreover, the type of occasion was no less disturbing than its frequency. It was scarcely contemplated, for example, that

the will of a majority would not be allowed to prevail in matters of appointment, or that the veto might be used—whether or not any question of action was involved—at any point in the Council's examination of a case where a permanent member felt displeased with the turn things had taken. At this rate all substantive business must hang on the mere pleasure of each permanent member. The experience is eloquent on the worth of "understandings" designed to qualify a written text.

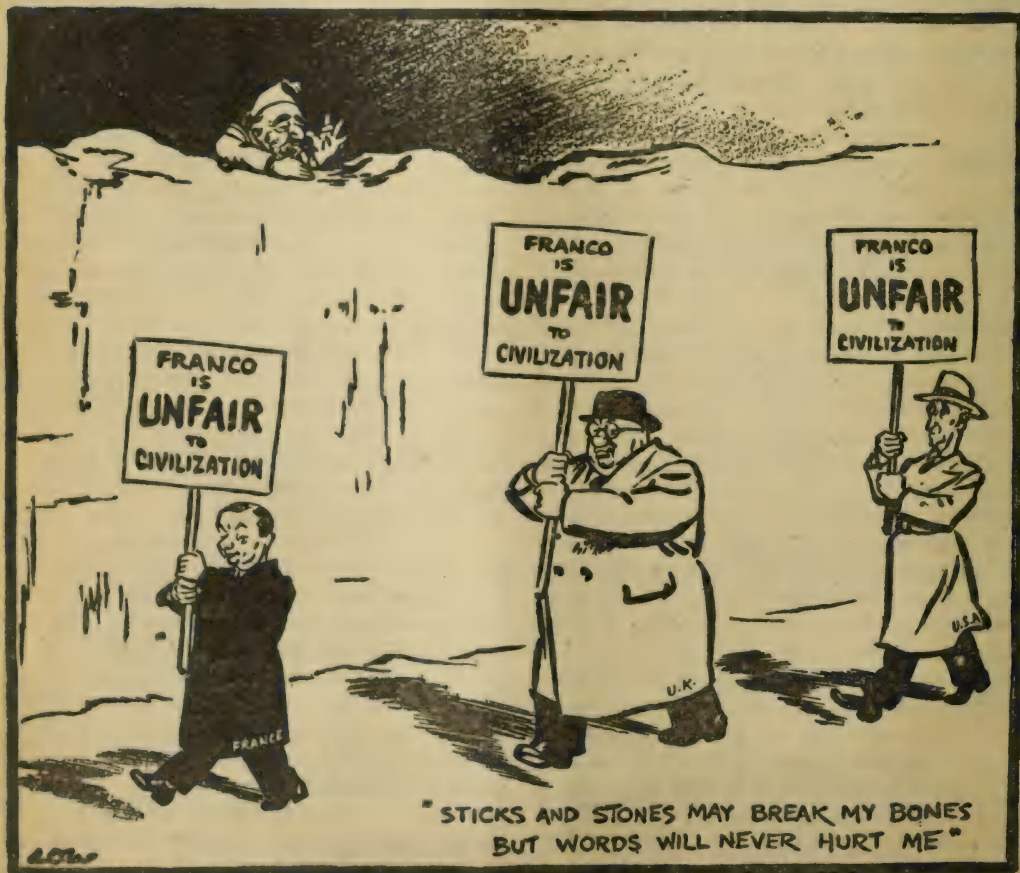
On the other hand, it might well have been wiser strategy for Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States to welcome inquiry on the spot into all the charges preferred by the Soviet Union. In the case of Greece and the Levant states immediate evacuation rather than inquiry was asked; but there too it would have been possible to offer compliance with any decision reached by the Security Council after first-hand investigation.

If it be one of the major problems of the moment, first, to convince the U. S. S. R. that the Western world has no designs on its security, and secondly to make it believe that the UNO will be a more effective instrumentality than military might in furthering its over-all interests, then it will pay to permit it to utilize to the full all UNO

procedures. This would not be appeasement. It could take the form of laying everything open to impartial examination and firmly asking the same freedom in return. It will probably be bad for Britain and for peace in general if Mr. Bevin, in his devotion to the Churchill policy of saving the empire, finds it necessary to take the high tone of perfect righteousness every time imperial activities are called in question.

Nor, in this effort to demonstrate that all the resources of investigation and adjustment belonging to the UNO are as open to the Soviet Union as to anyone else, should we stick pedantically to the abstract criteria suggested by Mr. Stettinius on February 11. The permanent delegate of the United States holds that no investigation should be ordered unless the Security Council believes that "continuance of the situation" is likely to endanger international peace and that investigation will not introduce new complications but will promote just settlement. The peace will undoubtedly be endangered if the Soviet government becomes convinced that any UNO procedure is being held closed to it.

It is fairly clear from the comment on Mr. Churchill's speech of March 5 that the United States will be in no



hurry to formalize its de facto alliance with Britain. Little would be gained and much might be lost by doing that now. The problem at the present stage is not security against Russia; it is the discovery of solid common ground with Russia. Geography and a certain community of values conspire to throw Britain and the United States into the same camp on the major issues of foreign policy. That, plus a number of joint working arrangements which Mr. Churchill passed over too lightly, is alliance enough for the moment. Already the American and British delegations to international conferences manifest a marked tendency to solidarity. To put this on a contractual basis would reduce, not increase, the chance of making the UNO a successful agency of collective

security, for that chance depends on serious Russian participation. The essential thing at the moment is to work the UNO for all it is worth, not to make fresh international arrangements against the event of its failure.

The Security Council is holding its second session in New York this month. We have another chance of appraising its capacity to find peaceful methods of composing conflicts of interest between the great powers. But an even stiffer test is just in the offing. The Atomic Energy Commission, which is the Security Council plus Canada, will begin its work this spring, and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the prospect of peace is only as great as the prospect that this commission may in good time devise an acceptable plan of control.

Salazar Is Next

BY J. L. TELLER

Editor of the Independent Jewish Press Service on leave abroad; foreign correspondent for the Jewish Morning Journal

Lisbon, March 9

EVENTS in Spain and Portugal run closely parallel. Leaders of the anti-fascist underground and their confederates in the army and navy tell me that the deadline for Salazar's overthrow has been fixed. It will come within a fortnight after the fall of Franco; it may even precede the change of government in Spain. Those who are planning the coup intend to set up a provisional military regime which will supervise the first free democratic elections held in Portugal in twenty years.

The Anti-Fascist Committee is composed of representatives of the Republican Party, a progressive middle-class party; two Socialist factions, the Socialist Party and the Union of Socialists; the Communist Party; and various prominent individuals without political affiliations. Working with the committee are a number of naval officers—almost congenitally anti-Salazar—and army officers who have turned against Salazar under the impact of recent events in Spain. The anti-fascists now boast of considerable infiltration into the garrisons in the environs of Lisbon, which were formerly among the regime's most loyal supporters. These garrisons are given everything that Portugal can afford in the matter of equipment, while the suspect provincial garrisons are kept under-supplied.

The rebels chafe under the alleged indifference of public opinion in the democratic countries to conditions in Portugal and charge the governments of Britain and the United States with conspiring to maintain the Salazar regime. Some prefer to retain their faith in America and contend that the actions and utterances of Ambassador Baruch should not be confounded with official

American policy, but even these patient souls were shocked by Baruch's speech at a reception for Cardinal Spellman, in which our ambassador praised the government of Salazar just as the United States was signing, with Britain and France, a virtual ultimatum to Franco.

It is hard for friends of the United States to comprehend how this country can play Britain's game of supporting Salazar when it is generally acknowledged that Britain's special economic privileges in Portugal derive from Salazar. The only explanation, Portugal's progressives say, is the influence of the Vatican on American policy. Each time Baruch delivers a speech lauding the regime, fence straddlers among high army officers reiterate their view that the overthrow of Salazar might alienate Britain and the United States. When Baruch first arrived in Lisbon, the liberals here pinned great hopes on him. Hundreds of persons flocked to the embassy and left cards on which they had scribbled a single word, "democrat." Baruch's acknowledgment of this touching demonstration came several days later when he delivered his first speech for Salazar. His generous praise of the dictator ever since has embarrassingly exceeded all requirements of protocol. One of Portugal's leading progressives once asked him, "When will you help us achieve free elections?" And he replied—the story was told me by the person who put the question—"Why elections? They only bring sanguinary repercussions."

Britain has good reasons to fear the overthrow of Salazar. Tied to the sterling group, Portugal can carry on very little trade with other countries. Britain, furthermore, holds exclusive purchasing rights to some of Portugal's major products, so that Portuguese exporters can-

not sell at the higher prices other clients would pay. Take sardines, for example. Britain pays 285 escudos a case and sells them to other countries at nearly double that rate; the Portuguese are helpless since the entire sardine output has been sold in advance to Britain at its own price. Britain's debt to Portugal, incurred in less than two years, now amounts to nearly a hundred million pounds sterling. The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Company is a British concern, as is Lisbon's tram corporation. Portugal's democrats are convinced that Britain would be reluctant to see the overthrow of the regime which gave it these concessions.

A few months ago British secret agents made contact with the anti-Salazar underground, but their overtures were rebuffed. The Anti-Fascist Committee prefers to ascribe obtuseness rather than malice to the British newspaper correspondent who, having obtained the confidence of underground leaders, published a list of provincial garrison commanders who allegedly headed the anti-Salazar movement in the army. It is confident that despite all vacillations the army will follow through once the first step has been taken, but it recognizes that the army's frame of mind depends greatly on the attitude of Britain and the United States.

The underground leaders were greatly encouraged last October when the dictator in a spurious pre-election gesture—there was only one candidate for the Presidency, a man hand-picked by Salazar—granted his people freedom of political assembly. *República*, an insignificant daily with a total circulation of 15,000, primarily in the provinces, accepted in good faith the dictator's change of heart and ran a series of editorials critical of the

regime. Within a few days its circulation in Lisbon alone rose to 100,000 (Lisbon's total population is 750,000, of whom 60 per cent are illiterate). A committee for democratic unity circulated petitions requesting that the government defer the elections for six months to permit the opposition to present its case to the voters. In less than a week some fifty thousand persons, including army officers and civil servants, had signed the petition. Thereupon the frightened government rescinded the privilege it had granted, and the police began a diligent scrutiny of the petitions. Many signers were held for questioning.

All this revealed the latent strength of the opposition. Business men and industrialists now see Salazar's regime as a peril to Portugal's post-war prosperity. Exporters especially are annoyed by Britain's maintenance of blockade regulations in peace time, its requirement that goods exported from Portugal have a British navicert. While Salazar has the backing of the Catholic church, the strongly Catholic rural population has been turned against him by the mulcting practices of the bureaucrats of the state-controlled agricultural cooperatives. The disaffection of the industrial workers, who have always been regarded as a medium for anti-Salazar ferment, was heightened during the war years, when they obtained no increase in wages though the cost of living rose between 400 and 500 per cent. Those who have set the deadline for Salazar wonder whether our State Department has established an axis with the Portuguese bankers, Espirito Santo and Fonseca Santos e Viana, who are Salazar's main supporters. They say, "We shall meet the deadline regardless."

The Slickest Lobby

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting Company

Washington, March 12

THE housing needs of millions of veterans and other Americans are being frustrated by one of the most powerful and versatile lobbies ever to descend on Washington. The combined pressure of big builders, real-estate men, and lumber and materials interests has virtually smothered any large-scale housing—in spite of the desperate emergency.

The brains behind the lobby are Herbert U. Nelson, a charming old man who is executive secretary of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, and Cotton Northrup, short-tempered, sarcastic representative of the National Retail Lumber Dealers' Association. Some days ago a Congressman pleaded with Northrup not to block veterans' housing. "These men were overseas fight-

ing for you," he said. "They weren't fighting for me," Northrup snapped back.

Reputed to have from \$1,000,000 to \$5,000,000 to spread around, the lobby is not at all modest about its achievements. Nelson is very proud that it was able to water down the Patman emergency home-building bill and tie the hands of Housing Coordinator Wyatt.

In opposing the Administration's efforts to promote low-cost building the lobby has used five different methods. The first was infiltration into the government. Builders, real-estate men, and supply experts were brought to Washington by every train in the early days of the war to help in the great building program of the army, navy, and other agencies. By whispering in the right ears these men succeeded in keeping price controls

off real estate and housing, the fourth largest industry in the nation.

The slickest play by the infiltration technique was made last fall when an inter-agency construction committee was created to work with the builders on reconversion. The real-estate interests induced Reconversion Director John W. Snyder, the little Missouri banker who became President Truman's economic adviser, to name Hugh Potter, one of the biggest speculative builders in the United States, as head of this committee. The story of how Potter made it his first task to get rid of WPB Order L-41 was told by Maurice Rosenblatt in *The Nation* of February 9.

L-41 was the control order that gave priorities to low-cost housing—under \$8,000—and left more expensive building to scabble for scarce materials. With L-41 out of the way, the builders could go merrily into the construction of stores, theaters, and expensive houses, which meant bigger money. This should be quite plain to Congressmen, for many stores in Washington are getting fancy new fronts while houses can't be found. Hugh Potter is now back in Texas, where he has launched several big developments, but his influence on Snyder has not entirely worn off. The President's Reconversion Director remained practically neutral on the Patman bill, damning it with faint praise.

The second method of the lobby was to bombard builders, lumber dealers, and real-estate men throughout the nation with inflammatory "news letters." One of the most effective of these is *Headlines*, put out by the N. A. R. E. B. An editorial in a recent issue entitled *Property Owners Must Wake Up* lumped together *Colliers*, the OPA, and the C. I. O. as the source of "slurring attacks" and "government propaganda" against the real-estate business and declared that organized labor had a billion dollars and a sinister propaganda machine to defeat the interests of the little real-estate man. "Property ownership," it said, "... needs to have every property-owner fighting mad." Other articles have asserted that the Wyatt housing program would cause builders to lose money.

A third method has been to flood Washington with telegrams signed by local business men. In a two-week period Representative Patman received 257 telegrams from Houston and Dallas, and other Congressmen nearly as many, all protesting violently against the Patman bill. Patman, an old hand in Congress, sniffed suspiciously at these telegrams, but his suspicions were not confirmed until he had politely answered them. Then George Vaughn and Sons of Dallas wrote him that they had sent no telegram. Patman asked Western Union to find out just who had. Investigation revealed that an unidentified man had come into the Western Union Dallas office with a roll of bills and a list of names and asked that the telegrams be sent.

Other interesting information was supplied by the Post Office Department, which returned a score of Patman's replies stamped "Not in Directory" or "Not Called For." Patman asked Attorney General Clark to have the FBI look into the matter, but the Justice Department said there was no violation of a federal law. According to Clark, it is O. K. to sign a false name to a telegram.

A fourth method was for the big pressure groups to send out advertisements for real-estate and building firms to insert in local papers. Some were full-page ads.

The fifth—and this method is as old as the hills—was to round up constituents to buttonhole Congressmen in the corridors and lunch rooms and glare from the galleries during the voting. It is estimated that the N. A. R. E. B. tried to influence 50 per cent of the Congressmen in this way. The local delegations were rotated so there was always some home-town lobby in Washington during the fight on the Patman bill.

The arguments of the buttonholers were direct and blunt. Housing subsidies were "an attempt to communize America"—the alternative proposed was to raise prices all along the line. The Wyatt-Patman program would put half the builders out of business. And as a clincher, "You vote for the Patman bill, and we'll defeat you this fall. At least, you can be damn sure we won't donate anything to your campaign."

On the surface it is a mystery why builders, real-estate men, and materials suppliers should spend so much time and money to defeat a housing program. There are two explanations. The construction of houses costing less than \$10,000 is not very alluring to men excited by the smell of big profits. And a low-cost housing boom would dent and perhaps wreck some very profitable business in lumber and other conventional construction material—since builders would have to find cheaper substitutes. The needed substitutes are already appearing, too. Henry Kaiser testified before the House Banking and Currency Committee that he was using waste lumber and aluminum in his housing developments and that they were working out just as well as lumber. Kaiser said significantly, "The lumber boys had better get the wood out of the forests, or they'll find themselves out of business." Representative Patman has in his office samples of new building materials made of cotton burs, formed plywood, palmetto, and aluminum. Use of these would cut a lot of the gravy out of the materials and lumber business.

The Administration has been no match for this lobby. President Truman does not have the genius of Franklin Roosevelt for organizing the Administration and its friends in Congress into a single, smashing team. Wyatt and Bowles are carrying the load almost by themselves downtown. Patman has had very little hard-working support on Capitol Hill. The old-line veterans' organizations have been lackadaisical. The American Legion took

no stand on the Patman bill; the Veterans of Foreign Wars belatedly supported it. Only the American Veterans' Committee and the Amvets are in there pitching. One of the prize exhibits in Patman's office is a cable from the Tokyo chapter of the American Veterans' Com-

mittee. Wasting no words, it says, "The national housing shortage is apparent to everyone but Congress."

Such a message is fine for a feature story, but it will take a lot more than slogans to pass the Patman bill and get the Wyatt program started.

Pro Memoria

BY IGNAZIO SILONE

Author of "Bread and Wine," "Fontamara," and "Seed Beneath the Snow"

EVERYTHING concerning the causes and effects of this war has already been said, but since people forget so easily, it is necessary to reiterate several points which might be overlooked in the final analysis.

In search of the reason for the political failure of Italian socialism in the last post-war period—that is, after the First World War—Gramsci and Turati, two leaders of the Italian Socialist Party from 1919 to 1922, reached the same conclusion although they started with contrary points of view. This was that the labor movement was annihilated not by Fascism, as is generally thought, but by its own intrinsic incapability. The German labor movement was destroyed in the same way. Before they turned to Hitler, the German masses followed the Social Democratic and Communist parties. Hitler, therefore, represented not the reason for their failure but the result of the confusion in their ranks.

Let us look at the intrinsic incapability which condemned Italian socialism to political sterility and defeat.

In 1919 and 1920 there was organized unity in the labor class in Italy; unfortunately, individual members were not in agreement about their plans and aims. Neither the political organization nor the trade unions were capable of coordinating the workers' conflicting desires or of achieving the necessary changes in the structure of society and the state. Both the maximalist policy of the Socialist Party and the reformist policy of the trade unions and cooperatives had the bad effect of isolating the working class; they discouraged the farmers and the middle class and pushed them into the arms of the reactionary agrarian bloc and the capitalists. The anti-patriotic and anti-religious attitude of the Socialist Party also contributed to the isolation of the proletariat and facilitated the treason of Fascism, which was able to disguise its purpose as the salvation of family, country, and civilization.

These reasons for defeat were frequently and sadly enumerated by the Socialists and Communists during the long period of Fascist oppression. But now they do not seem to be present in the consciousness of the leaders. We ought to realize that the most serious menace to the development of Italian democracy and socialism is the

idea that if we are defeated, it will be the work of "secret reactionary forces." It will be our fault if such a dangerous hypothesis is generally accepted. The danger evidently lies in the timid detachment of the numerous anti-Fascist groups, in their anxious expectation of a panacea which does not exist, in the sacrifice of the effective concord of free minds to the fetish of organizational unity. Unfortunately, the danger also lies in the illusion that the agitation of the masses can clear a path toward a definite goal and that all structural changes can be postponed till better times.

The most alarming aspect of the violence now prevalent in many Italian provinces is not its intensity but the rioters' lack of common aims correlated with a national plan. This situation invites disaster. The parties of the left will fail in their duty completely if they do not succeed in utilizing, in an intelligent and constructive way, the vital forces at their disposal.

All this reminds us, with despairing monotony, of the events of 1919. Is it really necessary to show that not all agitation is by definition revolutionary? The difference between a movement which seeks its goal within itself and a *creative* revolution is as the difference between black and white. As for the present delay in political activity, one should remember that time plays a decisive role in all political crises—revolutionary energies cannot be preserved like plums, to be used later. The moment comes when a political crisis stops maturing and begins to rot. One would have to be ignorant of the ABC's of political history to believe in a gradual and progressive accumulation of strength for the left. A political crisis which drags on indefinitely without evolving into anything new and permanent becomes subject to a complete psychological reversal among the people; those who today support the revolution may tomorrow hail the counter-revolution. It is not necessary to re-examine the course of events in 1919 to be convinced of the truth of this statement; one need merely consider the developments of the last few years in various Mediterranean countries. The best way to fight a danger has always been to recognize it. In this case great intelligence is not required—memory should be sufficient.

Poverty Follows the Crops

BY CAREY MCWILLIAMS

OF THE many social problems brought to public attention since the turn of the century, none has so persistently eluded effective action as seasonal farm labor. The sorry plight of the tatterdemalion army that follows the crops has been exposed time and again. The spotlight of many official inquiries has been focused on it—the Industrial Commission hearings of 1900, the Immigration Commission hearings of 1909, the Industrial Relations Commission inquiry of 1914, the La Follette committee hearings of 1939-40, and the Tolan committee hearings of 1940-41. One of the most powerful and widely read novels of our time, "The Grapes of Wrath," brought the story of seasonal farm labor to a wide audience in America, and John Ford's superb adaptation of the novel to the screen reached uncounted millions. Despite this publicity, however, and making generous allowance for the early work of the Farm Security Administration, seasonal farm labor is worse off today than it was in 1910 or 1920.

The latest, and one of the ablest, analyses of the problem is found in "Seasonal Farm Laborers in the United States," by Harry Schwarz (Columbia University Press). Emphasizing the distinction between "hired hands" and "seasonal farm laborers," Mr. Schwarz estimates that approximately 3,100,000 workers did some seasonal labor in 1943. Most of the seasonal farm workers are of course employed on the large-scale commercial farms. In the last week of March, 1940, a low period for seasonal farm work, 58,000 farms whose 1939 production was valued at \$10,000 or more each—1 per cent of all farms by number—employed about 25 per cent of all seasonal farm workers. Analyzing comparative earnings for the period 1910 to 1943, Schwarz finds that "whether measured in terms of money return or adjusted to allow for changes in living costs, farm workers' earnings all during this period were appreciably and *increasingly* lower than factory earnings" (my emphasis).

In view of this fact, how did it happen that during most of this period there was a vast surplus of seasonal farm workers? The answer, of course, is that there was no alternative employment for them. They were barred from other kinds of work by lack of skill, racial origin, exclusionist trade-union policies, sex, age, physical condition, or a scarcity of industrial jobs. The migrant life, the short periods of employment, and the ever-present surplus of workers have made it next to impossible to organize seasonal farm labor.

In analyzing the economic set-up of the two industries with which he is specifically concerned—fruits and veg-

etables, and sugar beets—Mr. Schwarz puts his finger on the three factors that have long made for acute conflict between employers and employees. First, labor has always constituted a key item of cost in the production of fruits and vegetables, and to a lesser degree of sugar beets. In some vegetable crops labor costs apparently run as high as 50 per cent of the total cost of production. Secondly, harvest-labor costs are of peculiar importance. When a crop is ready for harvest, most of the previous costs—for fertilizer, seed, and labor for pruning and cultivation—have already been paid. Since the grower can then do nothing about reducing these items, he tends to regard them as overhead. In fact, he comes to believe that his profits will be measured by the amount he can cut from his harvest-labor bill. This tendency is emphasized by the third factor, which is that harvest wage rates can be more easily influenced than the other items of cost. The average grower can do little about reducing taxes, interest rates, irrigation assessments, rent, freight charges, farm-machinery costs, and similar items. Hence his preoccupation—his obsession—with harvest-labor costs. The "squeeze" that is put on unorganized farm workers represents not merely the pressure of organized growers but the cumulative pressures which monopolistic industries are able to exert on organized growers. Small wonder, then, that the seasonal farm worker has always been the low man on our economic totem pole.

One would have expected that during the acute wartime man-power shortage farm labor would score impressive social gains. But while some wage rates did increase between 1940 and 1945, no general gains were recorded. Pursuing an age-old strategy, the large grower interests successfully maintained the insulation of farm labor from the rest of the labor market. They were able to do this by obtaining deferments for regular "hired hands" and by augmenting the supply of seasonal farm labor from groups and classifications outside the normal labor market. For example, they employed 45,000 prisoners of war (in 1943), 12,600 Japanese American evacuees, 4,400 inmates of penal institutions, 2,500 conscientious objectors, 62,000 soldiers, sailors, and marines, tens of thousands of patriotic townspeople, and thousands of workers imported from Mexico and the Bahamas. By such stratagems the large growers avoided the necessity of having to compete with industry for workers.

Using their vast political power, these same interests forced the Administration to transfer control of the

farm-labor program from the Farm Security Administration to the Extension Service, that is, to the growers themselves. Thus the excellent policy of holding hearings to determine "fair and reasonable" farm wage rates was quickly reduced to a slick device for maintaining uniform substandard wages. Wages in the sugar-beet industry were fixed at the same rate for 1939, 1940, and 1941 despite the fact that the average price received by growers rose 35 per cent between 1939 and 1941. At these farcical wage hearings labor was seldom represented and the decisions were strictly unilateral.

While agriculture suffered no real man-power shortage during the war, the incentives for increased production coupled with the threat of a shortage accelerated the trend toward mechanization. Actually agricultural employment declined from 1939 to 1944 by 7 per cent, that is, at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year, or three times the pre-war rate, although production was greatly expanded. This expansion was achieved, of course, largely through the increased productivity of farm labor.

It should be noted, furthermore, that the technological revolution in agriculture has only just begun. For example, the use of segmented seed, which dispenses with the need for labor in the thinning and blocking processes, first became widespread in the sugar-beet industry in 1943. The new mechanical beet-blocker, introduced in 1942, is reported to reduce labor requirements for blocking from 27.2 man-hours to 2.5 man-hours per acre. The mechanical sugar-beet harvester is just coming into general use. Through these three devices, the jobs of some 93,000 workers are threatened.

In a story carried in the *New York Times* on January 2, 1946, the International Harvester Company announced that it plans to construct a huge plant in Memphis for the mass production of its new cotton-picker. This machine will pick up to 1,000 pounds of cotton an hour, while the average worker picks only 15 or 20 pounds. One great objection to the cotton harvester combine has been that it picks the leaves as well as the bolls, and in consequence the cotton becomes discolored. Now experiments in California have shown that if the cotton leaves are sprayed with a cyanamid solution while they are covered with dew, the leaves fall off. The difficulty is thus overcome. Once the cotton harvest is mechanized, the demand for labor in cotton areas will be reduced 15 or 20 per cent. This possibility, incidentally, lends real force to Adam Clayton Powell's recent argument that the Negro should "evacuate" the South. However, the demand for labor in the fruit and vegetable industry of the South and West will almost certainly increase.

Despite the mild experimentation with government controls during the war, the farm-labor market is still a chaos systematically exploited by large-scale growers to the detriment alike of the farm laborer and the small farmer. When I wrote "Factories in the Field" in 1939,

I naively predicted that the arrival of the Okies and the Arkies would make it no longer possible for the large-scale growers to manipulate the labor market as they had been doing for fifty years. A large proportion of the thousands of Mexicans they brought in from 1920 to 1929 had had to be repatriated by the cities and counties during the depression, and it hardly seemed credible that the ruse could be worked a second time. However, when the war program drew most of the Okies and Arkies into the defense plants, the Associated Farmers brought about another importation of Mexican labor, this time at the cost of the federal government—a vast improvement over the 1920-29 deal. At the present time a delegation of California growers is in Mexico City lobbying for a renewal of the war-time importation agreement and soliciting 50,000 Mexican *braceros* for exclusive employment in California agriculture in 1946.

Now, as always, seasonal farm labor is excepted from the protection of unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, wages-and-hours legislation, and the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. Inasmuch as the prices of the major farm commodities have been artificially sustained by government action since 1933—with the promise of aid for two years after the war—one might expect the concept of "parity" to be extended to seasonal farm workers. But the prospects for the enactment of the farm-labor legislation which Senator La Follette presented to the Senate on October 19, 1942, are less bright today than they were then. This legislation would extend the protection of the National Labor Relations Act to agricultural labor on large industrial farms, give the same group of workers the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, regulate private employment agencies dealing with agricultural labor, provide a wage-fixing mechanism by the establishment of an Agricultural Wages Board, and in general extend to farm labor on the large-scale commercial farms the protection of our existing social-security legislation. How far must the industrial revolution in agriculture be carried before Congress sees the wisdom of assisting the victims of this revolution rather than of rewarding its beneficiaries?

Remember?

Is there no memory in mind of man
To recollect the way it was before?
By soon forgetting how it all began,
Must we go through the ghastly thing once more?

Already in a time of still-new peace
The siren voices may be heard to say:
"Manchuria, Iran, Malaya, Greece
Are no concern of ours . . . too far away."

RICHARD ARMOUR



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



Information, Please!

LET'S stop inflation," cries the National Association of Manufacturers in a full-page spread which is the latest instalment of its super-colossal advertising campaign. Pointing out that the government is planning to spend four times as much in 1946-47 as it spent in the highest pre-war year, the N. A. M. tells us: "Most thoughtful people believe that government . . . should not spend more than it takes in . . . that it should not keep on going deeper into debt. Yet that is exactly what's happening today. . . . This is the kind of money-handling that causes inflation." As a counter-measure the advertising suggests that people write their Congressmen urging them "to cut the cost of government, eliminating all waste, all unnecessary services, and postponing all expenditures that can be put off until our war bills have been paid." If these things are done, we are assured, we shall soon see results in a fall in the cost of living.

The outstanding feature of this very expensive example of the copy-writer's art is its extreme vagueness. All it really says is that a balanced budget would be a good thing and could be achieved by reducing government expenditures. Yet it seems to me that people who advocate a program of public economy ought to be prepared to show specifically how it can be accomplished. We are entitled to know just what "waste" the N. A. M. considers ought to be eliminated, what services it believes are "unnecessary," and what expenditures it thinks can be postponed. Only when we have such information shall we have a proposition that can be analyzed and debated.

Of course I understand why the N. A. M., like other champions of public economy, is coy about getting down to brass tacks. Economy in general is a popular concept just because it is so noncommittal; economies in detail are bound to be at the expense of particular groups which the apostles of budget-balancing hesitate to upset. For instance, one very useful economy would be to end the mail subsidy given to newspaper and magazine publishers. But if the N. A. M. proposed this practical step it would offend just the men it relies upon for favorable publicity.

However, as long as we talk about economy *in vacuo*, we shall not get very far. I propose, therefore, to try to make up for the N. A. M.'s reticence by examining the budget for 1946-47 with a view to seeing where cuts might be made.

By far the biggest single item in the budget is national defense, for which \$16 billion is provided. Included in this sum are relief appropriations and provision for various other activities connected with winding up the war. Since the services are notoriously wasteful, even though so much of their administrative work has been done by ace business executives in uniform, there might well be room for economy here. But any really important cuts will be dependent on decisions concerning the future size of the army and navy. What are the views of the N. A. M. on this

question? It must have some if it is going to talk seriously about budget reduction.

The next largest item is \$5 billion for debt interest, which I cannot imagine the N. A. M. would propose to trim in any way. In fact, the banking community, with whom the N. A. M. is reputed to be on fairly intimate terms, is putting on a powerful campaign against the Treasury's cheap-money policy which, if successful, will mean a gradual increase in the cost of carrying the debt. So perhaps we should dismiss any hope of economy in this direction. Nor, I suppose, can we hope for N. A. M. support in reducing or eliminating the \$1,585,000,000 set aside for tax refunds. It would never do to deprive industry of its strike reserves!

Now we come to \$4,208,000,000 for veterans' benefits and pensions. Obviously there is room for economy here, particularly when we consider the way generous benefits tend to make demobilized men snooty about taking low-paid jobs. What do you say, N. A. M. members, to a cut of at least 25 per cent? Did I hear a murmur about unfortunate political reactions? Well, perhaps you are right; veterans do have a lot of votes. Let's pass on, then, to public works, on which agreement should be easier. Over a billion is provided for the general public-works program, and in his message the President mentioned a total expenditure of \$1,740,000,000 for direct public works and grants and loans. Highways and airports are down for something over \$300,000,000. Why not leave the first to the states and the second to private enterprise? Or should we first hear the view of manufacturers of automobiles and aircraft?

If I had space, I might go on examining the estimates to show how difficult it would be to get agreement on reducing government expenditure even among a fairly homogeneous group of business men. This does not mean that economies should not be attempted or efforts made to balance the budget. Most liberal economists, although they are supposed to believe in deficits for their own sake, would actually be much happier if we had a balanced budget at this moment. And we might have had one if Congress had not insisted on so large a measure of tax relief last fall. So far as I recall, the N. A. M. raised no protest about that. As for economies in government, I could suggest a lot, most of which would be fought tooth and nail by one or another of the business lobbies.

What is needed just now more than economies is measures to prevent a rise in the cost of government activities. The biggest threat in that direction is a general rise in prices such as is bound to occur if the N. A. M. is successful in its battle to overthrow the OPA. A return to the free market, for which it is clamoring, would under present conditions send prices soaring, raising the cost of a host of government purchases and forcing increases in government salaries beyond those already overdue. For all its ostensible opposition to inflation, the N. A. M. today is its most persistent champion.

KEITH HUTCHISON

[Mr. Hutchison has gone to Savannah to observe the proceedings of the International Monetary Conference and will report on them next week.]

INGRAM
LIBRARY
Springfield, Co.

The People's Front

Paris, March 15

THE arrival of Martínez Barrio and Negrín in Paris this week has focused paramount attention on the chances of creating a genuinely representative Spanish Republican government. The French Cabinet, without participating in any way, is following the conversations among the Spanish leaders with deep interest. Winning the battle of democracy in Spain is decisive for France. The fear that lack of action, by the United States and Great Britain would strengthen Franco was expressed today by Salomon Grumbach, chairman of the French Foreign Affairs Commission. "If nothing is done to implement the official condemnation of Franco," he declared, "the joint note of the three powers would have the unfortunate effect of bolstering rather than weakening Franco's position." If France is left to stand alone, if after a few months it finds itself obliged to reopen the frontier, Franco will have won another victory, and much Spanish blood—perhaps not only Spanish—will have to flow before he is finally overthrown.

I already anticipate that a representative regime will not be effected overnight, even though the pressure from below is enormous. Every Republican, whether in France or Mexico or Spain, but especially in Spain, is counting the hours until a strong, united government moves into action. A few nights ago I went to Montrouge, a Paris suburb, to visit four hundred Spaniards who have just returned to France from the Nazi slave-labor camps. It is impossible to describe their misery—and equally impossible to describe their courage. Every shade of political opinion was represented there; yet when I finished my speech an Anarchist, who would normally oppose the Socialist view I expounded, came over to me to express his agreement with everything I had said. All I said was "Unity." And last week-end when I traveled down to the French-Spanish border I found the same agreement. From time to time a Spaniard of the resistance still manages to slip through the frontier barriers. I spoke to one who had just arrived; he brought the same word from home, "Unite, and quickly."

But the problem of creating the kind of government the Republic and the Spanish people need cannot be solved merely by adding a few names to the list of Cabinet members. For the average newspaperman as for the average Spaniard not intimately acquainted with developments in Republican politics since last August, the issue is a simple one: Negrín goes in, a Communist is appointed, and everything is settled. Unfortunately, it is not quite as easy as all that. The question is not one of personalities but of policy. That was true last August when Negrín and I declined Giral's amiable invitation to join his Cabinet; it is still more so now that Giral's obstinacy in handling the problem of the reconquest of the Republic like a Spanish political crisis of twenty-five years ago has resulted in utter failure.

Today as in August two very different policies confront each other. On one side stand the men who believe in the Spanish people, who have no fear of the hard struggle that the reestablishment, the firm reestablishment, of the Republic implies. On the other side are the old-style politicians, tired men who during the Spanish war never had a single moment's faith in victory, whose only hope in exile is that a revolution by the United Nations Organization will spare them the necessity of fighting. The central idea underlying the formation of the Giral Cabinet, as opposed to Negrín's logical solution, was that a government without Negrín and the Communists, a mild regime with a distinct anti-Soviet flavor, would fire the imagination of Washington and London and secure immediate Anglo-American recognition. When this failed to materialize, the faint spark of fighting spirit in the Giral government was extinguished. We refused to enter the Giral Cabinet last August because we felt it was too weak to direct the fight against the fascist Spanish regime; the intervening months have confirmed our original judgment. Certainly eight months of indecision are not likely to strengthen any government in exile.

Here let me make it clear that the "we" refers to those who share Negrín's position. We do not disdain action by the UNO. Indeed, we are convinced that under Franco's terror it would be childish to expect the whole effort for his overthrow to come from the Spanish people themselves; a combination of international action and resistance inside Spain is indispensable to rid the world of a center of fascist activities that constitutes a real menace to the peace. The State Department has told the French government that Franco is no threat to international security. That is what Chamberlain said about Hitler on his return from Munich—and he believed it. Daladier said it too—and he knew he was lying.

From the standpoint of international action as well as that of mobilizing the fight against Franco within Spain, we believe the essential requisite is a strong leadership and a strong Republican government. As Negrín said yesterday in his first talk with the Spanish leaders in Paris, we cannot have the government in exile *remendado*, revamped, every month. What is done now must be definitive. That is why, despite the urgent need for prompt action, a solution cannot be expected within a few days. It is no simple question of "enlarging" the government but of changing the whole attitude, of giving back to the Republic the spirit it had during the Spanish war.

DEL VAYO



BOOKS and the ARTS

The Poetry of Hopkins

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. By the *Kenyon Critics*.
New Directions. \$1.50.

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS wrote that Christ was the best of literary critics. This extraordinary statement may have many meanings, though of course from some points of view it is fabulous or meaningless. Certainly it sets a very high and very obscure standard, since Hopkins probably meant to say that the true evaluation of all things was to be found in God's mind. In this life, where we must manage with less gifted critics, Hopkins's claim for Christ as critic may very well suggest the derivative meaning that the New Testament and the Psalms are touchstones of literary style. And if one judged Hopkins's poetry by this means, the comparison would not be unjust, since Hopkins wrote on religious subjects and since the sonnet, which he often used, resembles the psalm as a lyric form. Such a comparison would make clear how distant Hopkins is for the most part from the economy of expression and the homeliness of metaphor which are the most frequent and most difficult signs of a great style.

To think of the best of literary critics is to be reminded of the best literary criticism and of the best judgments of Hopkins. In the introduction to the "Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins" Charles Williams wrote an excellent essay on Hopkins, and in "After Strange Gods" T. S. Eliot had two pages about Hopkins which are I think unanswerable as an analysis of the limitations of his poetry. It is astonishing that of all the critics in this volume of essays on Hopkins, only F. R. Leavis takes account of Eliot's observations, and Leavis mentions only Eliot's description of Hopkins as a nature poet. This failure to consider Eliot's judgment is all the more astonishing because some of these critics depend so much upon other essays of Eliot, especially the one on the metaphysical poets.

In "After Strange Gods" Eliot, dealing with the effect of religious belief and disbelief on literature, remarked that he might be expected to cite Hopkins as an instance of the beneficial effects of Christian faith. "I wish indeed I could," Eliot said; "Hopkins is a fine poet, to be sure," "the author of some very beautiful devotional verse"; "his innovations certainly were good, but like the mind of their author, they operate only within a narrow range, and are easily imitated, though not adaptable for many purposes; furthermore, they sometimes strike me as lacking inevitability—that is to say, they sometimes come near to being purely *verbal*, in that a whole poem will give us *more* of the same thing, an accumulation, rather than a real development of thought and feeling." And Eliot concludes by saying how inferior as a religious poet Hopkins is to Baudelaire and Villon, how, in an important sense, Hopkins is not a religious poet at all.

Much that the *Kenyon* critics have to say reinforces Eliot's view, and yet in most of these essays there is an extreme over-estimation of Hopkins's poetry. Herbert Marshall McLuhan's

analysis of *The Windhover* is interesting and original, but he ends with the strange judgment "that there is no other poem of comparable length in English, or perhaps in any language, which surpasses its richness and intensity and realized artistic organization"! Josephine Miles deals with Hopkins's "sweet and lovely" language, and though her summary is a helpful one, she fails to recognize the implications of her report that Hopkins used words such as sweet, lovely, and dear more often than any other adjectives. She says that Hopkins was a word painter, an exact characterization, and yet she says also that he was a great master of epithet, an estimate which disregards the defectiveness of such epithets as sweet and lovely. Harold Whitehall examines Hopkins's versification, his theory of sprung rhythm and his actual practice. Like everyone else who has written about meter, Whitehall disagrees with virtually everyone else; meter being, like the freedom of the will, a subject about which there is little doubt in practice and every variety of doubt and certainty in theory. Whitehall's analysis, which is as complicated as income-tax deductions, has the virtue of suggesting that the truth about meter may be elusive because it is very simple. I mean to say that the essence of meter may be any repetitive pattern of words. And the hot and endless arguments about meter result from insisting that some one kind of repetition, such as accent or length of syllable, is the *only* source of meter. Arthur Mizener's essay is the best of the lot because he analyzes the text of Hopkins's poetry and yet at the same time places Hopkins in his time, place, and relationship to other poets. But again the conclusion does not follow from the analysis, for after establishing very well the Victorian character of Hopkins's poetry, Mizener declares that he is the best or the most satisfying of all the Victorian poets, a curious view to come to, after speaking of Tennyson, Arnold, Browning, and Hardy. In Robert Lowell's essay there is an excellent statement of some of Hopkins's failings; the fact that Hopkins as a poet did not show much knowledge of human beings, that he showed "little knowledge of their individuality and character." But Lowell lets go the critical implications of this recognition for the sake of stressing Hopkins's "heroic sanctity" and his concern with "perfection," defining perfection in so broad a sense—"there is very little writing on anything else"—that it means practically everything. It is perhaps the width of this definition of perfection which makes Lowell declare that Hopkins "is probably the finest of English poets of nature," a judgment which must include Wordsworth and Keats.

For all these faults of overestimation and one-sided emphasis, the entire collection of essays is valuable because it focuses the magnifying glass of analysis upon the poetry as poetry. Everyone knows how a passage of verse or prose when quoted in isolation is illuminated as never before. The commentary here works in a like way, however often the close analysis of a poem seems to become a substitute for critical insight and for considerations which are more general and equally important.

Hopkins is a very good poet, but his goodness is of a

special and limited kind. And one cannot fully understand his virtues until one has a clear idea of his faults. For example, in many of his experimental poems he is verbose and self-indulgent virtually as a principle of style. To choose two brief instances, he writes, "Evening strains to be time's vast, womb-of-all, home-of-all, hearse-of-all night," using three images where one adequate image would have served to place less of a strain upon the nature of evening. And in versification there are too many rhymes throughout the poems which are as self-indulgent as "boon he on" and "Communion." In general, he depends too much upon the sound of his language, upon sound for sound's sake, upon the mere addition of details, and upon description as a justification of emotion where a better poet seeks out a dramatic situation. In a handful of poems in which he deals directly with his plight as a Jesuit and as a poet he succeeds by means of main force and violent idiosyncrasy of language, whereas Wordsworth succeeded through directness, simplicity, and lucidity, knowing intuitively that it was best, whenever possible, "to express oneself like the common people, but to think like a wise man." Of course it is often impossible to be faithful to this ideal. It was impossible for Hopkins in the sense that the likeliest alternative was the lucid emptiness of Robert Bridges.

The reason for insisting upon Hopkins's limitations is that he is often admired for the wrong reasons, and this wrong admiration prevents readers of poetry from grasping the qualities of much more important poets, such as Wordsworth

and Hardy, both of whom resemble Hopkins in subject matter. The new reader of poetry, eager to be *appreciative*, finds the passionate and complex surface of Hopkins's poems so exciting that he looks in other poets for the same shock and excitement, and, missing them, decides that Wordsworth and Hardy are pedestrian or not really poets at all, just as other readers, intoxicated by Keats, decide that Pope is not a poet. There is no reason for praising one poet to the exclusion of any other good poet; there is always something wrong with praise or admiration which excludes a distinct kind of poetry; and the most important aim of criticism is to induce that state of mind in which it is possible to enjoy one kind of poetry without becoming blind to the nature of any other kind. As for Hopkins, he deserves to be praised as he himself praised certain things. "Glory be to God," he wrote, for

All things counter, original, spare, strange;
Whatever is fickle, freckled (who knows how?)
With swift, slow; sweet, sour; adazzle, dim;
He fathers-forth whose beauty is past change!
Praise him.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Top Secret

CLOAK AND DAGGER: THE SECRET STORY OF OSS. By Lieutenant Colonel Corey Ford and Major Alastair MacBain. Random House. \$2.50.

SUB ROSA: THE OSS AND AMERICAN ESPIONAGE. By Stewart Alsop and Thomas Braden. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.50.

THE Office of Strategic Services, during the war America's most secret agency, is now rapidly becoming the most open of books. Stories of OSS activities have been told in inspired articles in *Collier's*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Life*, and even in some of the pulps. At least one, and perhaps both, of the books now being reviewed is destined for the movies, and if trade reports are to be credited, the radio and comic strips are seeking publication rights. Even on the official level, the issue of our future espionage service is ventilated in public. The President's executive order creating a central intelligence authority is printed in the *Federal Register*, and the head of the authority, a Missouri admiral, is named at a White House press conference. It is a curious phenomenon of our democratic way and perhaps an unconscious tribute to it that this debate on the continuation of a clandestine intelligence service in peace time should be conducted in so popular and public a forum. While the Klieg lights now play on our war-time intelligence, the secrets of the British counterpart remain unexposed in the dim recesses of the Foreign Office and those of the Russians behind the walls of the Kremlin. Perhaps this explains in part at least the reluctance of our allies to trade intelligence sources with us, a reluctance noted by the authors of "Sub Rosa."

Neither "Cloak and Dagger" nor "Sub Rosa" purports to be a complete history of OSS. Since the authors of "Sub Rosa" were themselves parachutists, their emphasis is naturally on similar operations. "Cloak and Dagger" has a somewhat broader perspective, although it too stresses the work of men who parachuted behind enemy lines to collect intelli-

NIGHTWOOD

is back in print again

Djuna Barnes' extraordinary novel,

which invades areas of feeling and experience few writers have dared explore, is now available again in The New Classics Series at \$1. This edition includes the introduction by T. S. Eliot in which he speaks of *Nightwood's* "great achievement of style, beauty of phrasing, brilliance of wit and characterization, and a quality of horror and doom very nearly related to that of Elizabethan tragedy."

new directions—500 V NYC

gence, commit sabotage, and join forces with the resistance. In both books the major emphasis is laid on intelligence and resistance operations, and as a result the less dramatic work of research and analysis, counter-intelligence, visual presentation, and field photography is not given proper credit.

In view of the wealth of material available, it is somewhat unfortunate that the two books should in several instances deal with the same operations; perhaps in the rush for publication the authors relied to a considerable extent upon official releases. These need not have been so exclusively drawn upon. Almost anyone connected with the agency could contribute other and comparable stories. Several come to my mind, and one at least bears telling since it involves a woman, and very little mention is made in either book of the role played by women in the espionage activity of the organization. A woman named H—, who had been an official of the German trade-union movement and had found safe haven in England, volunteered for a mission in Germany. On her way back after the completion of her mission she was challenged by a German guard at the Swiss frontier. Rather than endanger her contacts, she calmly swallowed the poison pill she carried as part of her equipment. She was one of the many anti-fascists whose participation made the word "agent" a term of honor during this war.

Each of these books, however, is rich in dramatic and well-told stories. Where, as in the case of North Africa, the authors of "Sub Rosa" depart from story telling and engage in political analysis, they are not, in my opinion, on solid ground. They attempt to justify our dealings with Darlan and Giraud with the argument that "the underground in Africa . . . consisted of certain leaders within the French army," and that "there was not in the whole of French North Africa a single cell or unit which owed allegiance to Charles de Gaulle." Certainly this is not the view of such informed observers on the spot as the author of "Conspiracy in Algiers," Renée Gosset, whose conclusion is quite the opposite. Moreover, subsequent events have proved that the resistance in North Africa, as in France itself, was behind General de Gaulle, then the symbol of French freedom. Otherwise how would the authors of "Sub Rosa" explain the inability of General Giraud and the French army leaders in French Africa to maintain power notwithstanding their strong American-British support? The inescapable conclusion is that General de Gaulle and the Free French assumed leadership because in North Africa, as in France, the people were with them.

Both books, by choice of subject matter at least, give untoward emphasis to our contribution to the resistance. They also tend—"Sub Rosa" to the lesser degree—to minimize the difficulties encountered and the mistakes made by OSS. Not the least of these mistakes was the selection by General Donovan of men for the higher echelons of the organization who by background and temperament were unsympathetic with General Donovan's own basic conception of the necessity of unstinting cooperation with the resistance movements.

The authors of the two books speak proudly of the fact that OSS furnished 20,000 tons of supplies and material to the underground. This help was valuable, but how insignificant it appears when we consider that 101,750,000 tons of supplies (see General Marshall's Report) were transported

during the war to the armed forces. While it is true, and officially recognized, that OSS made a unique contribution, its function was essentially one, not of initiation, but of liaison with and support of resistance activities. The complete story, which is yet to be written, will properly evaluate the tremendous part played in the war by the common men, women, and children who made up the *maquis*, the guerrillas, and the partisans in the occupied countries. They established a second front long before we could mass sufficient military strength for our landings in North Africa, Italy, and Normandy. The full story, too, will appraise our own timidities, doubts, and vacillations in recognizing the value of these allies and in giving them the necessary support and encouragement.

The plain fact of the matter is that through ignorance or fear we never gave the democratic forces of the resistance in Europe the help they deserved. There were those who recognized the value of the role of the resistance. J. Alvarez del Vayo, speaking in *The Nation*, stressed this throughout the war in his Political War Section. It is one of General Donovan's great merits that he too recognized the importance of the resistance in saving American lives and shortening the war. That we gave too little and too late and, in some instances, stopped giving too soon was no fault of his. The complete story of OSS will reveal the lack of an over-all American policy for the conduct of political warfare, the jurisdictional difficulties, and the internal defects which limited the scope and effectiveness of OSS activities in support of our allies in the underground. Within these limitations the OSS played an important part.

What can national police forces
teach us about international peace?

Government AGAINST THE People

By ASHER BRYNES

The first book to consider the significance of the internal police systems of single nations in the over-all problem of maintaining international peace. Analyzing the different systems now operating in Russia, Great Britain and the United States, the author finds in them a basis for international law enforcement.

At all bookstores \$3.00

DODD, MEAD

Both books conclude with a special plea for a peace-time intelligence agency modeled on OSS. The President's executive order creating an intelligence authority would seem to indicate that we are in the espionage business for keeps, although one may venture to doubt that this authority creates the unified intelligence system we need. This should not be shocking even to easy-going Americans who at first blush find the idea of peace-time clandestine intelligence repugnant. Every nation maintains intelligence services as a guide to foreign policy. The real issue is the nature and character of such a service and the ends to which intelligence is put. If there is any lesson to be learned from the Pearl Harbor disaster, it is the need for a unified intelligence service and the dangers of divided and uncorrelated activity. There seems to be some public consciousness of this. Whether we have also learned the necessity of gathering facts at a grass-roots level rather than in diplomatic drawing-rooms is a more open question.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

The Danger of Deflation

INFLATION AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY. By Seymour E. Harris. McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$5.

PROFESSOR HARRIS has turned out another instalment in his impressive succession of economic texts. The present volume combines a competent recapitulation of price movements during World War II, a skilful analysis of the longer-run inflationary and deflationary elements in the American economy, and a somewhat less successful account of price tendencies in the current reconversion period.

The author's main conclusion is that the long-run danger facing this country is chronic deflation rather than inflation. However, in the immediate future strong inflationary pressures and pockets resulting from the war will require the federal government to perform the delicate balancing act of minimizing short-run inflation while simultaneously forestalling long-run deflation.

For the enduring problem of deflation Professor Harris indorses most of the answers advanced by his distinguished colleague, Alvin Hansen, to whom the book is dedicated. He probably lays more stress on two associated remedies which enthusiastic proponents of full employment will be inclined to label as defeatist: first, a reduction of the standard work week from forty to thirty-five hours; and, second, a subsidized growth of higher education that will keep substantially more of our youth out of the labor force. Such a joint expansion of leisure, Professor Harris believes, may reduce potential unemployment by ten million. Barring this type of action, the author can "easily envisage a long-run situation with twenty millions of unemployed."

Concerning the immediate task of walking the economic tight rope between inflation and deflation, as outlined by Professor Harris, many readers will raise the embarrassing question whether our government economists and administrators have the foresight and skill to achieve and maintain the precarious equilibrium required. Recent experience is discouragingly adverse. Before and after V-J Day leading economists have badly muffed the facts. Most of them anticipated serious unemployment and sharp deflation as the

government stopped spending more than a billion dollars a week on munitions, together with drastically reduced industrial production and consumer buying as incomes fell and unemployment mounted. However, nothing of the sort has happened. The peculiar difficulty of accurate economic prediction in a private-enterprise economy has never been more strikingly revealed.

The only crumbs of comfort to be gleaned from this forecasting fiasco is the promptness with which government experts reversed themselves when events proved them wrong. As a result, it is still feasible to keep present inflationary pressures under control. Nevertheless, it is devoutly to be hoped that when the forthcoming replenishment boom has subsided and chronic deflation is again an urgent problem, our technicians will have developed more efficient instruments of economic and statistical analysis than they now possess.

The chief stylistic fault of this work is that it is too textbookish, too repetitive, too long and discursive. Professor Harris has permitted thoroughness and industry, rather than clarity, to predominate. Although the argument of the book is not complicated, the reader has to struggle through reams of material just to keep abreast of it. If Professor Harris had allowed himself more time, a good deal of his supporting data could have been boiled down. Indeed, a one-volume amalgamation of this book and its companion work, "Price and Related Controls in the United States," would be an eminently more readable and useful book.

LEO BARNES

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Streets of Berlin

ROBERT GILBERT was well known in Germany, but his songs were known even better than their author's name. Now he has published in this country a book of German verses, "Meine Reime Deine Reime" (Peter Thomas Fisher, \$2.75), which is unique among the works of German literature in exile. Gilbert's songs, though some of them are great poetry, are not at all "literature"; most of them are written in the dialect of Berlin, and they communicate a sense of closeness to the people, to the man in the street, that makes it difficult to realize that they actually were composed during twelve years of exile. Gilbert's "Stempellied," a song of the unemployed, was sung all over Germany during the early thirties, though he himself was not numbered among the celebrities. Such things happen only in cases of direct popularity of the sort which made it possible, for instance, for the Nazis to pretend that the author of the "Lorelei" was unknown.

These verses are a vivid reminder that Berlin was not the Reich, though the Reich certainly conquered and destroyed Berlin. For they recapture the dialect—a language with its own peculiar humor and full of strange, indirect, involved patterns of speech—and the mentality which formed it—extreme skepticism and keenness of mind together with simple kindness and great fear of sentimentality. If Berlin's streets rise again these songs will be a part of them; if not, they exist in these songs.

Gilbert writes with a delightful facility and is quite unpretentious. He does not hesitate to print, along with a number of perfect verses, less perfect songs so long as he feels that their subject matter is important. He even dares to touch the borderline of *Kitsch* and to skirt the gutter—being safe against both as only a genuine poet can be. This wonderful carelessness had great precedents in German poetry. Gilbert has inherited the carelessness and, incidentally, the convincing inner goodness of Heine, the happiness and decency of Liliencron, the political passion and the courage of Arno Holz. Whether this tradition will ever revive in Germany we cannot yet know; but at least it has again found a voice in the German language.

HANNAH ARENDT

Saving the Top Soil

THE NOISELESS CRISIS which is second in urgency only to the peace-war crisis is treated with complete mastery and simplicity in "Food or Famine: The Challenge of Erosion" by Ward Shepard (Macmillan, \$3). The facts set forth show that the agricultural potential of the world is catastrophically dwindling while population grows enormously. The book also shows, on the evidence of concrete, successful experience, that the tide of ruin can be checked and reversed.

In 210 pages—not counting the many pictures—without haste or over-condensation, Mr. Shepard sets down the why and how of soil, water, range, and forest conservation. The book's creative contribution lies in its discussion of the political, economic, and social techniques necessary to overcome the wastage of the bases of life. The author shows why agronomy and engineering are essential for total conservation and why in the long run they are useless unless government and social techniques are equally effective. In the story of the soil-conservation districts is the proof that science can be turned to the uses of the common man in a structure of local democracy. In the last ten years 1,285 of these soil-conservation districts have come into being in the United States; they contain 3,000,000 farmers and comprise a land area of 700,000,000 acres. I do not recall any finer piece of exposition than the author's treatment of the ecology of the top soil, "that thin film, built through eons, which stands between the human race and extinction." It is a film wasted to fatal thinness over much of the used part of the earth; in a few more decades, if present practices continue, in immense regions there will be no film left at all and hence no production of or for life. Mr. Shepard not only brilliantly discusses biology and ecology; around the nature of top soil he constructs a program for conserving prairie and valley, watersheds and whole river and continental systems, and a program of governmental, agricultural, and social reorientation which the salvage and renewal of the top soil require.

Mr. Shepard quietly establishes the claim that in the domain of soil conservation, where the organic basis of human society is at stake, the struggle between "free enterprise" and governmental authority evades the real issue. A democratic local organization integrated into nation-wide enterprise based on the range of watersheds is the soil-conservation district's answer to the problem. Such an organization should be controlled by laymen with the finest

THE Crow on the Spruce



Chenoweth Hall

The regeneration of a Maine cannery town, released by murder from the stranglehold of the sardine tycoon who had robbed both the place and the people of any decency or stability. Here is Maine speech to the life and the life behind that speech.

"It contains a lot of good writing and a fine feeling for the small-community spirit, the gossip and legend and rivalries of village life."

— *Saturday Review of Literature.*

At all bookstores \$2.50 HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO.



A Call to President Truman: **Recognize The Spanish Republic!**

ON February 26 a Memorandum on Spain was submitted to the President signed by Freda Kirohwey, president, The Nation Associates; Raymond Swing, chairman of the board, Americans United for World Organization; Reinhold Niebuhr, president of the Union for Democratic Action; Frank P. Graham, chairman of the Advisory Council, The Nation Associates; William L. Shirer, chairman of The Friends of the Spanish Republic; Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Jo Davidson, chairman of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions; Henry A. Atkinson, secretary of The Church Peace Union; Elmer Benson, chairman of the Executive Committee, National Citizens' Political Action Committee.

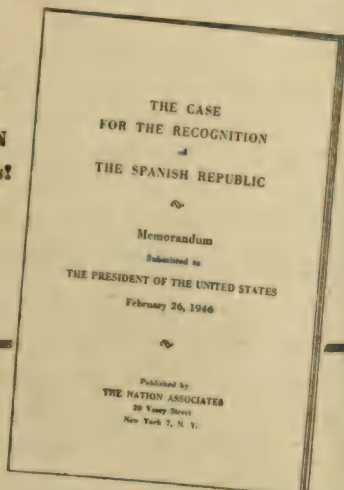
The program proposed by these leaders of eight national organizations assures the liberation of the Spanish people and security for the world. Support their program by writing or wiring President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes.

The joint statement issued by the United States, Great Britain and France places impossible conditions upon the Spanish people. There is great danger that unless we act now Franco will be replaced by a military regime or a monarchy.

Nation readers may obtain full text of the Memorandum, free, by filling out and mailing the coupon below.

free
to
**NATION
Readers!**

The NATION
ASSOCIATES,
20 Vesey St.
New York 7
N. Y.



Please send me at once a free copy of the 28-page Memorandum "The Case for the Recognition of the Spanish Republic."

NAME
STREET
CITY ZONE & STATE.....

3-23-46

technical advice at their disposal. The implications of this answer go far beyond agriculture and the conservation of natural resources. Mr. Shepard discusses them with moderation and clarity.

JOHN COLLIER

FICTION IN REVIEW

THERE are certain familiar fictional themes—the Bible story of David on which Gladys Schmitt bases her new novel, "David the King" (Dial, \$3), is one of them—of which it is often said that they are so great that they cannot possibly be spoilt. But it seems to me that just the opposite is so, and that the greater and more familiar the theme the more blatantly any inadequacies show themselves and the more we resent them. Perhaps the simplest test of our response to a fresh treatment of an old story is the mood in which we return to the original, whether we return for confirmation of the new experience or for a corrective to it. And by this test Miss Schmitt's book is very successful indeed. We turn back to the Old Testament to recapitulate our pleasure in one of the most magnificent stories ever told.

"David the King" is Miss Schmitt's second novel. Having only skimmed her first, "The Gates of Aulis," I cannot fairly compare the two, but it is my impression that "The Gates of Aulis" was a work of unmistakable talent, marred by over-emotionalism; and if this impression is correct, then Miss Schmitt has made large strides in correcting her major fault—in disciplining her feelings, in checking the indulgence of her sensibility, in pacing down her too poetical language. And this much advance in discipline from a first to a second novel promises that as she continues writing she will increasingly trust her story and depend less and less upon an embroidery of intensities. On the other hand, in the fact that there is still so much work of simplification for Miss Schmitt to do lies the explanation of why "David the King" finally falls short of the stature it constantly approaches. For while there is no touch of fussiness in Miss Schmitt's fundamental reading of her characters, there is a fussiness of detail in the narration which considerably blurs its large human outlines. Judicious cutting would have been of some help. There are too many places, too many incidents, too many conversations. I suspect, however, that even reduced in size "David the King" would be diminished in moral scale by its manner. Over-conscious of taste, Miss Schmitt labors too hard to achieve a style equal to the moral circumstances; she is always writing up to her story—an effort which inevitably pulls the drama down to the level of a literary composition. And this lack of confidence in the power of her story to stand by itself, without decoration, is particularly regrettable because Miss Schmitt's human-dramatic imagination is so fine.

"David the King" starts well back of the period of David's rule over Israel, when he was still a shepherd in Bethlehem, a bewildered boy sanctified—doomed—to a life quite beyond his imaginings. These early sections of the novel, which deal with the court of the house of Kish, with David's love for Jonathan, and with the relationship of the two boys to the mad Saul, are the parts I liked best. Admittedly this portion of the biography is easier to dramatize than the years of

David's exile and kingship, but it is also the part of the story that could most easily have lent itself to sentimentality and over-interpretation. That Miss Schmitt has been able to evoke so much sweetness both of youth and of age without a hint either of mawkishness or psychological chic is testimony to a wonderful novelistic heart.

For surely it takes quite a novelistic heart, these days, to write a love story. Love stories—except self-love stories—have almost entirely disappeared from modern fiction, just as love poetry is disappearing from modern poetry. I do not know what this means about modern life: perhaps it manifests our fear, perhaps it is an aspect of our present-day spiritual and emotional sterility, perhaps it is an example in the domestic sphere of the general reactionary tendency of contemporary life. Even the novels of Hemingway, which are usually pointed to as love stories, celebrate a singularly unexpansive kind of love; it is always a wall between the lovers and the rest of the world, exclusive instead of inclusive and irradiating. Of course the most important love emotions in "David the King" are homosexual; alongside the ecstasy of David's and Jonathan's feeling for each other or even of Saul's feeling for each of the boys, the relations between the men and women of the story are pretty meager. But while we note an increased homosexual impulse in so much of our contemporary fiction, we do not find grandeur even in the homosexual emotions it portrays. Evidently in order to believe in the expansive possibilities of any kind of love, heterosexual or homosexual, we must set our love stories far back, in a time when life itself was more open and full of good possibility.

DIANA TRILLING

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Musio by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille with John Raitt • Eva Withers

Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Edie Afton
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Musio by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston

ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times

Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

From Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4038
Evgs. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

"GREAT STUFF"—Kronenberger, FM
KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Musio by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2d.
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT.

ZIEGFELD THEA. 54th Street and Sixth Avenue, Cl. 5-5290.
Evgs. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp.

STAGE PLAY

"A Gag-Happy-
Meaning-
ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by **GARCON KANIN**
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

MOTION PICTURES

NOW

RKO

ALHAMBRA
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
COLISEUM
86th STREET
FRANKLIN
58th STREET
B'way & 3rd Ave.
HAMILTON
MARBLE HILL
125th STREET
PELHAM
REGENCY
ROYAL
23rd STREET
Westchester
NEW ROCHELLE
WHITE PLAINS
YONKERS

"Deanna up to her dimples in revelry. . . .
A carnival of delight." —Walter Winchell.

DEANNA DURBIN

FRANCHOT

CHARLES

TONE

LAUGHTON

'BECAUSE of HIM'

— AND —

'GAME OF DEATH' JOHN LODER
AUDREY LONG

PARAMOUNT presents

BING CROSBY • ECK HOPE

DOROTHY
LAMOUR

— in —

"ROAD TO UTOPIA"

MIDNIGHT FEATURE NIGHTLY

NOW **PARAMOUNT** TIMES SQUARE

— In Person —

LENNY
GOODMAN

His Clarinet and
Orchestra with
The Famous Sextet

— Featuring —

MEL
POWELL
PAT
HENNING

You may again buy BOOKS through The Nation

Nation readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division
THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

BACH'S B minor Mass is a work I have heard only very few times, the last of them a number of years ago; and so I came to the Bethlehem Bach Choir's recent performance without recollection and expectation of some of the passages in the work that bowled me over this time: the second *Kyrie*, the *Qui tollis*, the *Ei incarnatus est*, the *Crucifixus*. The performance too was an experience—though I can believe those who contend that a small part of the Bach Choir in Town Hall would be even better. In Town Hall the beautiful playing of the small group of musicians from the Philadelphia Orchestra probably would not be inaudible, as it was now and then in Carnegie Hall. But even in Town Hall the solos would need better singers than were used in the Carnegie Hall performance.

The power in Schubert's music that I spoke of recently is to be heard in his posthumous A major Piano Sonata—at once in the grand opening proclamation that returns at the very end, but also throughout the work, in passages that alternate with quiet miracles of loveliness and expressiveness and sometimes develop out of them. The most extraordinary of these is the recitative-like middle part of the second movement, which takes off quietly from the end of the first part, and proceeds with changes in rhythm and figuration, pace and force that produce a hair-raising crescendo of momentum and intensity to a maximum which breaks off with the effect of catastrophe. Webster Aitken's marshaling of the long passage to its climax—in his

performance of the work at the Frick Collection—was the achievement of a master musician; but the power in the other movements can be achieved only with relaxation, and was not achieved by his hurried, tense, and feverish treatment of them. Perhaps he was driven into this by awareness of the state of intense boredom into which the audience had been battered by the twenty minutes of Aaron Copland's Sonata.

The New Friends of Music can prevent Lotte Lehmann from giving encores and receiving flowers; but she managed to slip into her program a couple of the songs that provide opportunities for the archnesses which she and her audiences like. In the other songs of Schubert and Brahms, however, she made legitimate efforts with singing that is now alone in its combination of sensuous beauty and expressive art. An earlier New Friends concert started badly with the Saitenberg Little Symphony's heavy-footed performance of Corelli's beautiful Christmas Concerto in G minor, and the A major Cello Concerto of K. P. E. Bach, with its dulness increased by the playing of Raya Garbousova. But things began to liven up with Mitchell Miller's playing in the C major Oboe Concerto of Cimarosa; and the concert ended brilliantly with the playing of Alexander Schneider, John Wummer, and Ralph Kirkpatrick in Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 5—which WQXR cut off in the middle of the finale.

At Maggie Teyte's last New York recital there was occasion to marvel at the assured musical style that made of each song something so completely, so finally achieved, and at the assured vocal technique that enabled her to do this with a voice more worn and frayed than at the first recital. But one wondered also at the taste that lavished these gifts on songs of Reynaldo Hahn.

Hearing Joseph Fuchs after many years I enjoyed his unobtrusive mastery of the violin and his sensitive musicianship in performances of sonatas by Handel and Fauré with the excellent ensemble pianist Artur Balsam. At seventeen-year-old Leon Fleisher's first recital, on the other hand, I heard not only an unmaturing musician but a pianist who did not yet know how to use his instrument—how, in particular, to produce large sonorities from it that were not harsh and jangling and that did not knock it out of tune by the middle of the concert.

If, finally, listening to Marian Anderson and, earlier, to Feuermann, you have appreciated the piano contexts created for their performances by Franz Rupp,

and have realized that you were hearing not only an extraordinary ensemble artist but a musician and pianist of the first rank, you may want to hear him play in a performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1 at a concert in Town Hall on the evening of March 24.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

RECENTLY I saw a moving picture so much worth talking about that I am still unable to review it. This was the Italian "Open City." For the moment I can say only that I am at once extremely respectful and rather suspicious of it, and that I recommend it very highly, with a warning, however, to those who are particularly sensitive to scenes of torture. I will probably be unable to report on the film in detail for the next three or four weeks. Meanwhile, here are briefs on a few current films.

"Bedlam" is an elaborate improvisation, but not an improvement, on one of Hogarth's engravings. Boris Karloff has charge of the madhouse, prior to its reform. A Quaker and a spirited young woman are also involved. There is enough metaphoric moralistic pedagogy to carry a story a dozen times the weight; more than enough verbiage for the same; enough taste, and movie feeling, as well. There are also some nasty thrills, which are too often obscured by the foregoing. This is a Val Lewton production. I hear I have been accused—it has not been done to my face—of favoring Mr. Lewton, for reasons presumed to be underhand. The actual reason is underhandedness epitomized: I think that few people in Hollywood show in their work that they know or care half as much about movies or human beings as he does. Of such people I will always write with friendliness and respect. I am afraid that this particular film is a careful, pretty failure, and I regret and somewhat fear Lewton's recent interest in costume movies, which seem to draw on his romantic-literary weaknesses more than on his best abilities, which are poetic and cinematic. But Lewton and his friends would have to make much less sincere and pleasing films than this before I would review them disrespectfully.

"The Spiral Staircase" may be better fun to see than "Bedlam," but I feel it has been overrated. It entirely lacks the



LANGUAGE IS POWER


... Forge ahead, win special assignments, promotion, better jobs in global peace time opportunities through ability to speak a foreign language.

MASTER A NEW LANGUAGE quickly, easily, correctly by LINGUAPHONE

The world-famous Linguaphone Conversational Method brings voices of native teachers INTO YOUR OWN HOME. You learn the new language by LISTENING. It's amazingly simple; thousands have succeeded. **20 LANGUAGES**

Send for Free book, Call for Free demonstration

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
81 RCA Bldg., New York 20 • Circle 7-0830



BOOKS FOUND FREE!

WHAT BOOKS DO YOU WANT?

We quote lowest market prices. No charge for locating Hard-to-Find and Out-of-Print Books.

All books, Old or New, must be **WORTH FINDING**.

SEARCHLIGHT BOOK NATION
22 East 17th Street, New York City

mental excitement which "Bedlam" at least tries for. Even though she plays it well, I am not impressed by Dorothy McGuire—or anyone else—stunting along through several reels as a suffering mute; nor am I willingly hornsogged by Ethel Barrymore's unprincipled use of her lighthouse eyes, wonderful as they are. Still, the movie is visually clever; and until some member of the Screen Writers' Guild takes care to correct me—neglecting, as I am doing, such nonentities as the set designer, camera man, and editor—I will mainly credit Robert Siodmak for that; he merely directed the show.

A director I had never expected to praise is Jean Negulescu, who has always made me think of Michael Curtiz on toast. (Mr. Curtiz, in turn, has always seemed like Franz Murnau under onions.) I may be wrong in praising him now, since "Three Strangers" was smartly written by John Huston and Howard Koch and is still more smartly played by Geraldine Fitzgerald, Peter Lorre, Sidney Greenstreet, Rosalind Ivan, and Joan Loring. But this rather silly story of three blemished people buzzing around a sweepstakes ticket is told with such exactly fancy terseness, even in casual street scenes, that I think nobody should be left out. It is one of few recent movies you don't feel rather ashamed about, next morning.

"Vacation from Marriage" is the story of a lower-middle-class English couple (Robert Donat and Deborah Kerr), peace-time dimouts who are transformed by history. During the early reels they look as abject as gray greasepaint and a nice burlesque of stultified timidity can make them; and, in a comic-strip way, develop a good deal of pathos and quite a fierce little indictment of the kind of world which can evolve such creatures. Later on, in an easy travesty of a generally uneasy problem, they confront each other looking like movie stars. War is supposed to be the catalyst, the sportsman's bracer; and the film's chief weakness is its failure to show the briefly exalted couple sinking back, uncontrollably, under their peace-time stone. That might be an unbearably depressing movie; this one is unbearably inspiring. Even without qualifiers or full honesty, it is good to see war credited with one of the few things it can possibly be credited with. But the real logic of the picture is that a large part of the human race is hardly fit for existence under any other circumstances. My chief objection is that this logic is not shown to be either inescapable or changeable.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Open the Door!

Dear Sirs: I was interested to read in the exchange of letters between Kingsley Martin and Max Lerner in *The Nation* of March 2 the suggestion that America should open its doors to the homeless Jews of Europe, because this solution of the problem has long seemed to me so obvious that I was as surprised as Mr. Martin at editorial silence on the subject.

Perhaps I do not qualify as a liberal, but unlike Mr. Lerner I do feel strongly the guilt of a country which is reluctant to offer a tithe of its fabulous wealth to succor those who are destitute. I would not appeal to British casualty lists, or to who gave most, or to any sense of debt, or to the argument that rehabilitating ruined lands and peoples is in the long run for our own security. It is the frank, brazen selfishness which is influenced only by such arguments that gets me. Liberals may be humanists, but there is still a national conscience.

As a member of the Nation Associates I would like to see more active support of a liberal immigration policy.

F. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

Belmar, N. J., March 2

Culture and the Co-ops

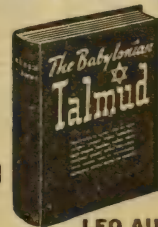
Dear Sirs: The Tocqueville articles by Margaret Marshall (*The Nation*, February 2 and 9) have set me to writing this letter because I believe that Miss Marshall's hope for a cultural awakening in a mechanized society need not rest solely on the fact that a village in Virginia found "Forever Amber" disappointing, if irresistible. There is a more positive reason for believing that the spread of democracy will bring into play "a truly limitless reservoir of human talent and vitality." People in widening circles are finding an answer to the exploiters of man's cultural needs and are recognizing them, not as "a breed of men quite as ruthless and greedy as the exploiters of his physical needs," but as one and the same breed.

If the cooperative movement offered nothing beyond a challenge to the economy of scarcity, it could with fairness be regarded as merely an instrument for creating a more virtuous materialism, to use Tocqueville's phrase. It is, however, only natural that the lofty yet canny

principles upon which it operates food stores, oil refineries, bakeries, and fertilizer factories should set in motion a cultural revolution. If co-ops have demonstrated that there is no need to feel helpless in encounters with oil and rubber monopolies, it is not likely that the people who constitute them will supinely accept the inanities of radio and screen as a substitute for a life-giving culture. Arrested development, whether of taste in the arts or of common sense in supplying our more material consumer needs, is essential to successful exploitation. A sizable portion of America is refusing to allow itself to be thus stunted in growth.

I would suggest to Miss Marshall that she explore the cooperative move-

The Babylonian TALMUD



Edited and Translated from the original Hebrew by

LEO AUERBACH

\$3.00

Betrothals • Leavings for the Poor
Levirate Marriage • Criminal Law
Festivals • Penalties
Wisdom of the Sages

"This TALMUD . . . is certainly worthwhile to anyone who desires to taste of the sea of Talmudic knowledge, without having recourse to the original sources." —Rabbi Samuel K. Mirsky, Prof. Yeshiva College, N. Y.

NOW for the first time there is available in English a large representative cross-section of The Original TALMUD.

LIMITED EDITION.

ORDER NOW!

Philosophical Library, Inc., Dept. N,
15 E. 40th St., N. Y. 16, N. Y.

Please send me copies of THE
BABYLONIAN TALMUD, at \$3.00 each.

Enclosed are \$

Name

Address

W. H. AUDEN

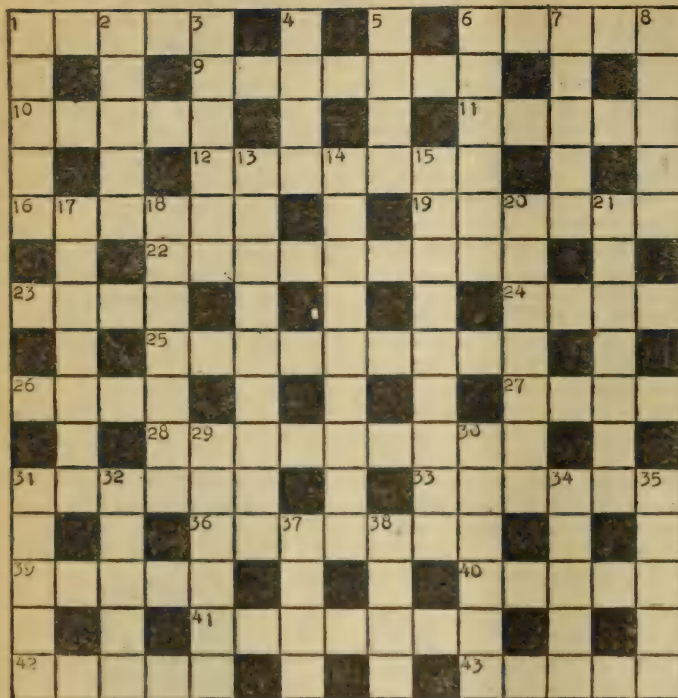
in a Reading from His Poetry
And That of Various Modern Poets
Insufficiently Known

Sat. Eve., March 23, at 8:40
ADMISSION 75c, AT THE DOOR

YM & YWHA, N. Y. 20 • A Theater 9-2409.
Lark. Ave. at 92nd St.

Crossword Puzzle No. 153

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 First appearance, but comes at last
- 6 Stand that brings comfort to fifty
- 9 Accosting
- 10 Easy to make him riled
- 11 Smooth feature of Royal Doulton pottery
- 12 So-called because it had but one horn
- 16 Agrees it makes for smooth running
- 19 Celt of the rudest type
- 22 "Who goes there?"
- 23 Pale excuse
- 24 Ireland still shows anger
- 25 What a person of fuddled speech is trying to find in the pantry?
- 26 One who ain't for it
- 27 Is "wrought by want of thought, as well as want of heart"
- 28 "Twilight's curtain spreading far" was pinned with one (three words, 1, 4, 4)
- 31 Part of Asia where they might rob one
- 33 Junior naval officer
- 36 It's a Tom (anag.)
- 39 Ear-piercing? These are the sensitive spots
- 40 Only part of the body they clothe in parts of the East
- 41 Interesting incident
- 42 Tillers unconnected with the land
- 43 Animal you'll want to alter

DOWN

- 1 "Something attempted, nothing -----"
- 2 "Benjy met a Bear, the Bear was Bulgy; Benjy's disappeared; the ----- was Benjy"

- 3 What we call a "robin" is really this
- 4 Otherwise "La Boheme"
- 5 I'd do for her
- 6 Not quite the same as a "prairie oyster"
- 7 I lead an African cavalryman in retreat
- 8 An old physician
- 13 Not fuel oil (hyphen, 5-4)
- 14 Is it on its way to becoming an ice? (two words, 4 & 5)
- 15 Not averse (anag.)
- 17 O, Arnold! how you've changed!
- 18 Native to Nova Scotia
- 20 They look at one askance
- 21 Wheeling
- 29 An ass partly enters the shelter
- 30 One of the stag's good points
- 31 Olivia's uncle—a jolly, care-free fellow (*Twelfth Night*)
- 32 Be in a dance that is revolutionary
- 34 He is not sensibly affected by his surroundings
- 35 The banjoist's twang rather than the banjo's
- 37 State of the Buckeyes
- 38 What the old oaken bucket was bound with

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 152

ACROSS:—1 PELICAN; 5 POLE-AXE; 9 CHAIR; 10 NEIGHBORS; 11 DRESS SUIT; 12 NEEDY; 13 RE-ENACT; 15 STRIPED; 17 INITIATED; 19 FANATIC; 21 PACER; 23 LAMPEDUSA; 25 STAVANGER; 26 ACIES; 27 EMENDED; 28 LEOPOLD.

DOWN:—1 PICADOR; 2 LEASE-LEND; 3 CORPS; 4 NONSUIT; 5 PLINTHS; 6 LO-HENGRI; 7 APORE; 8 ESSAYED; 14 AFTERWARD; 16 PETRUCHIO; 17 IMPASSE; 18 DELUDED; 19 FEMORAL; 20 CLASSED; 22 CHASE; 24 ERATO.

ment for expressions of art as experience—in the dance, in song, and drama. Permit me to quote from J. B. Priestley in summation of the cultural values nurtured by co-ops. "There is a whole world of education and inspiration, of laughter and loveliness and deep emotion, of social criticism and spiritual refreshment into which most people have had nothing but a few glimpses. Here is a great task, and I know no other organization better able to attempt it than the cooperative societies."

ETHEL M. DUNCAN

Philadelphia, Pa., February 28

Anti-Jim Crow

Dear Sirs: The sides are shaping up in Columbia, South Carolina, for the battle for the leadership of post-war Dixie. On the credit side there is the Progressive Democratic Party, a new, interracial third party. On the debit side there is the streamlined Youth for Christ movement, which seems to be attempting to sow the seeds of fascist bigotry behind a smoke screen of religious revivalism. Now a new sign of the birth of native, progressive leadership has come in the shape of the Columbia Anti-Jim Crow Committee.

The first move of the Anti-Jim Crow Committee has been to proclaim a national Sunday of protest against Jim Crow discrimination and segregation in transportation. In support of its program it demands that men of good-will everywhere stay off the Jim-Crow trains, buses, and street cars the first Sunday of every month. Among the lines which practice Jim Crowism and which extend into the North are the following: the Greyhound Bus Lines, the Southern Railroad, the Atlantic Coast Line, the Queen City Coach Company, and the Seaboard Airline Railway. This protest is not an attack upon those lines except as they are the instruments of the old policy of divide and exploit.

This movement is peaceable, but a challenge. It states its purposes in terms of true religion: "A new South is evolving before our eyes. In order for Negroes to help develop this new era in our Southland and take their rightful position therein, they must evaluate the strength that is in unity—unity not among their own ranks alone, but among the ranks of all those people of every race and creed who realize and wish to practice the true message of the Nazarene—human brotherhood."

PAUL B. NEWMAN

Columbia, S. C., February 21

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 30, 1946

NUMBER 13

The Shape of Things

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO SAY, AS EVERY EDITOR and columnist has said since last Sunday, that "patience and firmness" had their reward in Russia's conciliatory moves on the eve of the Security Council meeting. The point was obvious and well taken. What is equally clear, but less generally emphasized, is the need for a continuing policy to implement the purposes expressed by Secretary Byrnes. Firmness means nothing if it implies only a stand against Russian provocations. Patience very easily collapses into aloofness. We saw what happened when Mr. Byrnes walked out on the UNO meeting in London, leaving Mr. Stettinius with no directives and no policy. The bitter tug-of-war that followed well-nigh ended the United Nations. Firmness and patience must be clothed in action: positive action aimed to forestall conflicts still in the future. As one example, we have the looming issue of the Straits and Russia's relations to Turkey. As another, we have the profound division of policy and procedure in Germany. As a third and fourth we have Spain and Argentina. All these clamor for preventive action by a world organization set up to eliminate threats to security. We hope the Council will not relax in its new-found atmosphere of conciliation but will make good use of the breathing spell it has been granted.

✱

THE FRENCH HAVE BEEN MANEUVERED INTO a nasty position by the refusal of Britain and the United States to agree to bring the issue of Franco Spain before the Security Council. The State Department, in spite of its own recent document proving the intricate and continuing relationship between Franco and the Nazis, now adopts the oddly inconsistent attitude that the Spanish dictatorship is not a threat to peace and security. France still remains unconvinced but hesitates to defy its Western allies, especially at a moment when it is looking to Washington for food supplies and a desperately needed loan. On the other hand, if no action is taken beyond the rather pompous exhortation contained in the three-power note, the French government will find itself holding a very hot potato. Its left parties, especially the Communists, are determined that official disapproval of Franco be expressed in steps leading to his overthrow.

If the government fails to raise the issue at New York, and especially if it is driven to reopen the Spanish border, it will face a tough internal struggle. If M. Bonnet is empowered to act, he can count on the support of at least five other delegations and force the Anglo-American partners either to support him or explain to the world their curious reluctance to take measures to oust Franco. The latter they could ill afford to do. As the Council opened its first session a group of liberal American organizations, on the initiative of the Nation Associates, submitted a memorandum demanding that the Council urge members of the United Nations to sever diplomatic and commercial relations with Franco and to recognize a provisional Republican government.

✱

MEANWHILE THE MAKE-UP OF THE SPANISH government in exile has been partly modified by the resignation of de los Rios as Foreign Minister and the inclusion of Santiago Carrillo, former youth leader and a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party, and two representatives of minor groups. Last Sunday at Toulouse Communist leader Antonio Mije made public the decision of his party to participate in the Giral Cabinet and expressed the hope that other Republican groups and leaders would come in later. Although no names were mentioned it was clear that Mije was referring particularly to Negrín and del Vayo. But the very tone of the announcement was an admission that the problem of creating a broadly inclusive Cabinet remains unsettled. Negrín and del Vayo will not now join for the reasons given in Del Vayo's *Nation* article last week. They believe only a thorough reorganization, not the mere inclusion of a couple of additional party representatives, can create a government strong enough to direct the struggle for Republican restoration. As regards

COMING IN THE NATION

LABOR KALEIDOSCOPE

In the pause between strike waves

Robert Bendiner

reports on the current pattern of labor
in politics and politics in labor

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	357
America's Obligation	359
What Ottawa Revealed	360

ARTICLES

UNNRA's Battle <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	361
Report on Argentina <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	363
Exit the Wisconsin Progressives <i>by Miles McMillin</i>	367
The FCC Listens In <i>by Jerry Spingarn</i>	368
France After De Gaulle <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	370
Houses from the Assembly Line <i>by Robert Lasch</i>	372
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	374

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

What Is Philosophy? <i>by Sidney Hook</i>	375
"Americanism" Misplaced <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	377
Briefer Comment	378
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	379
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	382

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 383

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 154
by Jack Barretts 384

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor *Literary Editor*
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall
European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting, *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 80 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Giral, he must be very unhappy to have the Communists in and de los Rios out but it was the only way of prolonging the existence of his government which shows no sign of developing the vitality demanded by the crisis in Spain's international situation.

★

A GENERAL STRIKE IN CRETE—ALWAYS A republican stronghold—is the latest move of the Greek left wing in its campaign to force postponement of the elections scheduled for March 31. It is claimed that under present conditions a representative vote is impossible owing to the widespread falsification of the registration lists and the intimidation carried on by royalist organizations under the protection of the police. While the British Foreign Office has shut its eyes to these conditions, most independent observers agree that outside Athens right-wing terrorism is rampant. Seymour Friedin of the New York *Herald Tribune*, returning from a thousand-mile tour through the Peloponnesus and Epirus, has reported that the monarchist organization known as "X," which is responsible for a constantly increasing number of beatings, kidnappings, and murders, has suppressed all open activity by the republicans. Expressing the opinion that the demand for postponement of elections was justified, Mr. Friedin added: "If Bevin took an uncondemned tour of only the Peloponnesus he might begin to question the veracity of the sweetness-and-light reports which have been channeled through the Foreign Office." There is reason to believe that Prime Minister Sophoulis, who since the left and center members of his Cabinet resigned some weeks ago has headed an utterly unrepresentative rump administration, would like to postpone the elections. But he is taking his orders from Downing Street, which, having foolishly involved its prestige in this election question, is obstinately insisting that the vote be taken on the announced date. If the result is a new wave of violence in Greece, Mr. Bevin's responsibility will be a heavy one.

★

WITHOUT FANFARE THE INDO-CHINESE problem has shifted from a primarily military to a political plane. On March 6, the French signed a preliminary pact recognizing the nationalist Republic of Viet Nam (Indo-China) as a "free state within the Indo-Chinese Federation and French union." A referendum will be held to determine whether the Indo-Chinese provinces of Tongking, Annam, and Cochinchina will become part of the republic whose right to have its own parliament, army, and finances has been recognized. France will be responsible for external security, and French troops may stay in Tonkin and Annam for five years, but internal security will be the responsibility of the Indo-Chinese. The French have gone beyond the Dutch and British in recognizing a nationalist regime, but largely,

because circumstances forced them to do so. Unlike the Dutch in Indonesia, the French had British support in suppressing nationalists only in the South: in the North the Chinese allowed the Annamites to flourish under their occupation as a means of pressing the French to give up extraterritorial rights in China, make Haiphong a free port, and permit the Chinese to buy up the Chinese end of the strategic French-owned Yunnan-Indo-China railway. Once the French gave in to these demands, Chungking began removing its troops. While under China's protection, however, the nationalists had succeeded in strengthening their position and clothing it with legality through an election. The French were confronted with a choice between a difficult and bloody military reconquest or a political compromise. They decided to compromise. Canny President Ho Chi-minh has called for an immediate opening of final negotiations in Paris, knowing he can win more for Indo-China from leftist officials in Paris than from reactionary colonial officials in the field.

✱

THE DIVISION OF GERMANY INTO FOUR zones under the control of four different governments may have been expedient from the military point of view. It was and remains fantastic from any other, but Germany at the moment does provide a microcosm in which the differences—and the divergences—among the United Nations may be studied. The Soviet in its zone has thrown its support openly and ruthlessly to the Communist Party. The news that Social Democrats who oppose the merger with the Communist Party are subject to arrest and detention at Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen is ugly both as symbol and as fact. On the other hand the Russians have divided up estates and given land to landless Germans. The British and French are unofficially supporting the Social Democrats and the Socialist organizations of Western Europe are reportedly lending a hand in formulating policies. "Of the occupying powers," says a news dispatch, "only the United

States is remaining entirely neutral." And there's the rub. For this neutrality too often represents simply the lack of a positive democratic policy. The Russian persecution of Social Democrats should be protested by the other occupying powers, but the only effective protest—which does not seem, alas, to be forthcoming—would be a drive, especially an American drive, for a genuine democratic solution, both economic and political, as dynamic as the Russian drive for its monolithic brand of social change.

America's Obligation

THE NATION whole-heartedly indorses the appeal sent to President Truman by representatives of twenty national organizations at the UNRRA conference in Atlantic City. The appeal describes the voluntary measures relied upon by the so-called Emergency Famine Committee as "insufficient" to cope with the world food crisis. It asks that the United States government "immediately set aside at the source greater amounts of those foods required for overseas relief." It supports the recommendation of the retiring Director General of the UNRRA, Herbert H. Lehman, that rationing be re-instituted on cereals, fats, and oils, which are desperately needed elsewhere. We hope the influential organizations signing the appeal, which include the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the National Grange, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, will follow it up with a campaign of mass pressure on the White House and the Department of Agriculture. Literally, millions of lives depend upon our action.

Big food, industrial, and farming interests are fighting hard against a real program to mobilize supplies for the hungry. They have powerful allies in the Department of Agriculture and in Herbert Hoover. The 1946 bumper-crop estimates put out by the department were intended to take the steam out of the drive against famine, but these estimates were based purely on acreage figures, and even bumper crops will not make drastic measures unnecessary if cereals are again to be consumed by livestock instead of being made available for export. Mr. Hoover's recent statement to the press in Paris is doubly misleading, first, because the crisis is not a mere matter of the next few months but will almost certainly still be with us next winter, and secondly, because his opposition to reimposed rationing on the ground that the American people's voluntary generosity will be more effective is nonsense. The American people may be as generous as they like, but as long as no mandatory action is taken to stop the diversion of foodstuffs to livestock, luxury food products, fancy soaps and cosmetics, and other industrial uses, their voluntary abstinence will make only a belated and inadequate contribution.

The debate over rationing must not distract attention



from more immediate measures; rationing takes time to set up. *The Nation* indorses the excellent suggestions recently put forward by Food for Freedom, which has been doing a noble job on the anti-famine front. We need first of all set-aside orders on flour and wheat for export, and larger set-aside orders on lard and other fats; only recently and with respect to meats has the Secretary of Agriculture used his power to issue set-aside orders at all firmly and fully. We need orders cutting bread production by bakers at least 20 per cent and cake production at least 50 per cent; the latter would also save fats. We need to boost the extraction rate of wheat above the present 80 per cent; every 5 per cent increase means 10,000,000 bushels of wheat saved, or 650,000,000 loaves of bread. Steps must be taken to get hoarded grain on the market; perhaps an export subsidy may be necessary. Limits on ice cream, the fat content of soaps, and the industrial use of linseed oil would be helpful. Most of all, the Department of Agriculture must be pushed into drastic action to cut down our expanded herds of livestock, which eat the cereals human beings need. We must pay in food the debt we owe our Allies abroad, to whom war brought not prosperity but death and devastation. That is America's obligation.

What Ottawa Revealed

THE Canadian espionage case has brought into clear view a situation much more serious than the betrayal of certain secret information by Canadian scientists and civil servants to agents of the Soviet Union. The immediate effect of the revelations has been a heightening of the Soviet-Western Powers tension. Apart from the drastic suspension of the civil rights of those involved, which has occasioned strong parliamentary criticism, the Canadian government appears to have taken the only course of action open to it under the circumstances. The Soviet charge that the whole matter was simply a cooked-up anti-Soviet plot is palpable nonsense. On the other hand, the outburst of vehement protest against the intricate schemes of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa is a little hypocritical. Perhaps if the N. K. V. D. were as smart as the R. C. M. P., the shoe would be on the other foot. Espionage is an accepted part of the diplomacy of all modern nations.

This brings us to the more serious implications of the Canadian case. It appears from the report of the Royal Commission investigating several of those accused of espionage that the Soviet Union was attempting to acquire carefully guarded military information in Canada as early as 1942, that is, long before the Manhattan Project was put into full operation. That means that the boasted cooperation between Russia and the Western allies was an arm's-length affair. Three separate wars, in fact, were being fought simultaneously—the Amer-

ican-British Commonwealth war in Western Europe, the Russian war in Eastern Europe, and the American-British war in the Pacific. The Russian armies were supplied by enormous quantities of lend-lease material from the United States and Canada. There was doubtless a certain amount of global strategy mapped out at Big Three conferences. But there was no real sharing of war effort. The Russians refused our military experts access to their secrets and even kept our military correspondents at a safe distance from the front line. We did our best—apparently not a very adequate best—to keep our secrets from the Russians by hedging them around with every precaution and making their divulgence a top crime. The policy of secrecy on the atomic bomb is but a continuation of the policy of secrecy—against the Russians as well as against our enemies—that prevailed throughout the war. It is almost as if a third world war were in the cradle while the second was being fought.

Now the lesson to be learned from the spy revelations is not, as some persons, including Major General Groves, would have us believe, to guard our secrets even more jealously and improve our espionage and counter-espionage. It is rather that this secret-guarding policy, which is part of an international arms race, is bound to fail. The slight edge we might have at the time the prizes are passed around will not be noticeable to the population of our great cities, who will be mostly dead. The Russians, who by that time may, in keeping with the same logic of nationalistic security, be spread over most of Europe, will perhaps survive in larger number even if the Soviet Union itself is effectively destroyed.

But beyond this immediate lesson in the logic of current strategy there is the more basic lesson that our only national security lies in more effective international controls. For us that means placing the military control of the atomic bomb firmly in the hands of a suitable agency of the United Nations, getting the domestic control out of military hands and into civilian hands, stopping manufacture of bombs and destroying those already made, and generally strengthening the prestige of the UNO. For the Russians, it means abandoning the policy of pushing out zones of strategic defense beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union, which, as Walter Lippmann points out, may have been valuable strategy in the land war the Russians won but which wouldn't be worth a damn in the long-range atomic war to come. Meanwhile, of course, that policy weakens the authority of the UNO and confirms the military leaders of the West in their suicidal folly. If we can't change our premises, then the logic of our contemporary international dealings spells doom for all of us. Only if we make the basic shift from national to international security strategy, shall we have a chance to work out a good part of our salvation. We may even put the disciples of E. Phillips Oppenheim out of business and bring back the detective story to the domestic field where it belongs.

UNRRA's Battle

BY I. F. STONE

Atlantic City, March 24

THE most enlightening document made public at the fourth session of the UNRRA Council was a hitherto "restricted" report by its Bureau of Supply. Governor Lehman, who seems intent on making a fighting exit as Director General, made it available to the press over British opposition. The document shows the stepchild treatment accorded UNRRA by the Anglo-American-Canadian Combined Food Board, which controls the disposition of most of the world's surplus foodstuffs. It also discloses the unfair handling of the Soviet Union's very modest requests in the food field. And it indicates that commercial and political considerations play no slight role in the work of the CFB.

The Bureau of Supply report reveals that despite sharp cuts in the allocation of fats and oils to UNRRA countries large quantities are being allocated to non-food uses in the United States and the United Kingdom. During the last six months of 1945 UNRRA was able to obtain and ship only 73,000 tons, though its requirements were 306,000 tons. This year UNRRA needs a minimum of 798,409 tons, but its total allocation is only 171,000, or less than one-fourth its requirements. One way the Combined Food Board cut UNRRA's allocation was to throw out altogether the requests by the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics for 149,000 tons of fats and oils. The board's excuse was that its requests for certain data on indigenous production, stocks, proposed levels of consumption, and imports had not been met. UNRRA objected that in the case of some countries—Albania, Austria, Byelorussia, China, the Dodecanese Islands, Finland, Italy, and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic—"a quantitative justification" was "considered quite unnecessary." UNRRA said the amounts asked for these claimants was so small that "the subtraction from any reasonable consumption standard of the estimated indigenous production would produce import requirements from each of these countries greatly in excess of our allocation requests." The Ukrainian delegate pointed out that the fats requested for his country totaled only four and one-half pounds per capita, and the delegate of the U. S. S. R. called attention to the fact that the Combined Food Board's allocation of fats and oils to Spain and Portugal (122,000 tons) was not much less than that allocated to all twelve UNRRA countries, which have an aggregate population many times as great as that of the Iberian Peninsula.

Though the Combined Food Board seems to be a stickler for figures in dealing with some countries, it does not always mind working in the dark. An appendix to

the Bureau of Supply report contained a letter from the director of its food division to the fats and oils committee of the Combined Food Board. The letter dealt with linseed oil, which can be used for food as well as for soaps and paints. It said that of 365,000 tons of linseed oil to be obtained in 1946 from Argentina and Uruguay, 304,000 tons had been allocated to the United States, United Kingdom, Belgium, France, and the Netherlands, but only 3,000 tons to all the UNRRA countries. "You will recall," the letter said, "the shock with which we learned from you that the entire quantity of linseed to be imported by the United States and the United Kingdom is intended for non-food uses." The UNRRA food director said he "found it difficult to understand" the allocation of "enormous quantities of linseed for paint and other non-food uses" and asked for a breakdown of allocation figures showing intended use as between food and non-food for each country. The board's reply was that while "in view of the extreme world shortage every attempt should of course be made to maximize the quantities of fats and oils available for human consumption," it could not supply the figures because it was up to the individual governments to decide how they would use their fats allocation. This year the United Kingdom is getting 987,000 tons and the United States 306,000 tons of imported fats and oils, largely for industrial use, while most countries are literally starving for fats.

I had heard from several sources in Washington that one of UNRRA's difficulties was its dependence on the "industry-minded" commodity chief of the Department of Agriculture. It is not without interest to note the background of William H. Jasspon, chairman of the CFB's fats and oils committee. Jasspon is also director of the oilseeds division of the Commodity Credit Corporation and chief of the fats and oils branch of the Office of Distribution, War Food Administration. At the same time he is president of the Perkins Oil Company of Memphis, Tennessee, and an official of the National Cotton Council. To a man from the vegetable-oil industry, the resumption of normal trade in selling oil to paint, soap, and other companies may seem more important than it does to others in a time of world famine. "Industry-mindedness" is prevalent in other sectors of the food front, too. Thus Sir John Boyd Orr, head of the Food and Agriculture Organization, told UNRRA's committee on policy Wednesday that the prevention of such "huge unmarketable surpluses as occurred after World War I" was "as important for humanity as the solution of the more immediate problem of hunger in parts of the world." Only those enjoy-

ing three meals a day will be able to appreciate Sir John's sturdy objectivity.

There is deep dissatisfaction here with Anglo-American handling of the relief problem, and a feeling that for political reasons ex-enemy or "neutral" countries are getting more consideration than Allied nations. Belgium and the Netherlands complain that UNRRA supplies for Central Europe are being routed through the ports of Hamburg and Bremen at the expense of Antwerp and Rotterdam. The Chinese complain that the British have cornered the Siamese rice supply, and that British-owned Hong Kong is being given almost as much as all the rest of China. The Russians, Poles, Czechs, and Yugoslavs accuse the Combined Food Board of playing politics at their expense. The Russians, after being given a run-around on fats and oils (they never asked for cereals), are now looked to for wheat. They have given 91,000 tons to the Poles (as compared with the 60,000 tons Po-

land has received from UNRRA) and 60,000 tons to the Czechs, and are now selling 400,000 tons of wheat and 100,000 tons of barley to France. If UNRRA would speed up promised seeds and agricultural machinery, the Ukraine might again become one of Europe's principal bread baskets. Lehman wants the U. S. S. R. to join the Combined Food Board, but neither the United States, the United Kingdom, nor Canada has done more than suggest that the Russians sit on the cereals subcommittee. In the meantime the Poles have introduced a resolution which would force the Combined Board to accept UNRRA's statement of requirements, to cut UNRRA's requests no more sharply than those of other claimants, and to let UNRRA have a voice in the determination of allocations made to it by the board. The issue is not very different from that before the UNO—whether we are to participate in a truly international organization or try to rule through an Anglo-American bloc.

Report on Argentina

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

IF PERON had come to power through a coup or through fraudulent elections, the most intelligent on-lookers—Mr. Braden, for example—expected, or if he had been defeated in honest elections, as a majority of Argentine democrats confidently hoped, the outlines of Argentina's political future would be clearer. But Perón confounded the prophets at home and abroad; he won in honest elections—technically honest, at any rate.* The first result of his victory is confusion and divided counsels in the ranks of the opposition. This was the single contingency for which no policy had been worked out in advance. When a people as democratic as the Argentines vote a fascist into power, the circumstance demands a careful explanation. Where did the prophets go wrong? Why was Perón elected? Only if they find the answer to those questions, can the defeated democrats of Argentina and their friends in the other American nations decide their future attitude and strategy.

During my short stay in Buenos Aires I talked to many Argentines—politicians, labor leaders, students, women active in the fight against Perón, and plain citizens—as well as some of my compatriots, including several newspaper men and women. I had a long session with Tamborini. I saw Cooke, the present Foreign Minister. On the basis of that short stay and those many talks I have come to one main conclusion about the election: the democratic forces were defeated—and were surprised by their defeat—because they had underestimated Perón's appeal to the "common man" in Argentina. But before

I develop that opinion any farther, I want to say a few words about certain other more obvious factors contributing to Perón's victory and its results.

DEMOCRATIC BLUNDERS

Even before I left Buenos Aires the inquest was in full swing. It was generally agreed, for one thing, that the failure of the Democratic Union to support a single ticket for all offices was a mistake, although nobody knew how it could have been avoided. The union was formed only at the end of December, and only under pressure of campaign necessity. It never represented a solid anti-fascist front. Rather, it was an *ad hoc* coalition in which the Radicals demanded, as of right, the leading place. The other three parties in the union—the Socialists, Communists, and Progressive Democrats—agreed to support two Radical Party leaders, José Tamborini and Enrique P. Mosca, for President and Vice-President. The Union was united on these two offices only. The Communist and Progressive Democratic parties combined on a single slate for the other offices—senators, deputies, provincial posts; the Socialists and Radicals refused to join them. As a result the voters were confronted with three separate democratic lists of candidates for senators and deputies and three lists in the provincial elections. It was understood in advance that if the Tamborini-Mosca ticket won, the Cabinet would be solidly Radical; no other parties expected to be included.

All this being true, the smaller parties deserve great credit for the disinterested ardor they threw into the campaign; as do a great number of non-party groups and

* Although the final returns are not yet in, the election of Perón has been conceded by his opponent.

individuals, chief among them the women and the students. Perhaps the Radicals, too, deserve credit for joining the union, even on such favorable terms. In the past they have considered themselves too strong to need allies; they are the one big national party, and it is their tradition that in a free election they always win. They recognized, though belatedly, that this time they faced a social struggle as well as an election, and so, after a fraction of the party had deserted to Perón (the Foreign Minister, Juan I. Cooke, was one of the dissidents), they decided to combine. But the sentiment of party sovereignty runs strong in Argentina, strong enough to have defeated any real collective security against fascism.

Then there is the question of the Conservatives. Today some people in Argentina are trying to explain the defeat by the fact that the Conservative Party was not a part of the Democratic Union, while the Communist Party was. This is nonsense, and dangerous nonsense. It may well be that the Conservatives, who were expected under a sort of gentlemen's agreement to vote the anti-Perón ticket, threw part of their support the other way. This would be quite plausible. For the Conservative Party, although it undoubtedly embraces many decent people, is the traditional party of fraud, the party of the "oligarchy," the party of Castillo, the party which bears responsibility for the pro-Nazi policy which Perón merely continued. To have brought this discredited organization into the Democratic Union would have been a travesty; as it was, the union carried a heavy enough burden of reactionaries. The mass vote that the democrats lost to Perón was the vote of the unskilled worker, the casual or migratory worker, the farm worker—the forgotten man in Argentina. It would hardly have helped win this following to have thrown out the Communists and drawn in the Conservatives, and those who think it would, have entirely missed the point of Perón's victory.

The democratic leaders made another mistake which affected not the election itself but its aftermath. As soon as the vote was cast they hurried into print with statements extolling the honesty of the election and thanking the army for defending it. Since the vote *was* honest, it was doubtless proper to say so. But if the democrats had not believed so wholeheartedly and prematurely in their own success, they would have qualified their enthusiasm by at least recalling the previous role of the army and the bloody incidents which had punctuated the campaign. By failing to do so in the hour of their supposed triumph, they abandoned a strategic point from which they could operate with good effect today. They have maneuvered themselves into a position which enabled the Foreign Minister to say to me with obvious satisfaction: "Of course the Democratic Union will accept the results of the election. They have already acknowledged that it was fair; they have congratulated the army. . . ." Today it is too late for them to ask whether any election can be

called honest, no matter how scrupulously the votes are cast and counted, after two and a half years of repression followed by a campaign in which one side freely uses the police and other instruments of political power—not to speak of unlimited public funds—to push its cause. By brushing aside so casually the issue of fascist dictatorship, which alone had succeeded in uniting their ranks and against which they directed the whole weight of their pre-election fight, the Democratic Union made a blunder they and their friends abroad will have many occasions to regret.

CAMPAIGN OF TERROR

How much the period of terror reduced the chances of the democrats is hard to guess, for it worked both ways. The corruption and pro-Axis isolationism of Castillo's regime outraged the more enlightened public; it never produced a coalition of pro-Allied, democratic forces. When the Colonels staged their coup in 1943, the people were quite ready to give the new government—military dictatorship though it was—a chance to clean out the ill-smelling debris left by the oligarchy. It was not until the Axis sympathizers, with Perón as leader, clearly took charge and applied Nazi policies at home as well as in their country's foreign relations, that the democratic forces began to coalesce and prepare to fight.

But if Perón unified the democratic opposition and for the first time called into being a strong public conscience, and anger, and healthy antagonism, he also found ways to make this force inoperative. By outlawing parties, jailing leaders or driving them into exile, abolishing independent trade unions, denying his opponents access to the air, terrorizing the press, and subjecting ordinary citizens to gangster attacks, he undoubtedly weakened the organized opposition. When the campaign began, the democrats had to start from scratch. They talked about the united strength of the established parties (Perón's were improvised for the occasion); but parties which have existed under a ban for more than two years—following a period of almost fifteen years of practical inanition while the oligarchy held sway—cannot possibly be strong. They can gain strength only from a fresh and powerful appeal to wide sections of the people. And to make that appeal effective they need more than enthusiasm: they need money, time to organize, good leadership, and the opportunity to operate on equal terms with their opponents. Above all, they need a vigorous, positive popular program. Of these requirements, the Democratic Union had two—enthusiasm and a fair amount of money.

They had no time—less than two months between the day the union was formally organized and election day. They had honest leaders, but none with national reputation, and none with the necessary dynamism. Tamborini struck me as a thoroughly decent, able person and

a sincere democrat. Unfortunately he lacks force and that quality of popular appeal that makes leaders. Mosca I saw only briefly—at the final rally of the Radical Party and at Radical headquarters on election day. He has a good presence, and many people consider him stronger than Tamborini. But a Vice-Presidential candidate cannot act as national leader in any case. Since out of political necessity the candidates had to be Radicals, it is useless to urge that better men could have been found in other parties. It is a fact, just the same, that Americo Ghioldi, Socialist leader and candidate for the Senate, struck me as a far more impressive personality, as well as a man of strength and great intelligence. The two who headed the ticket were there because they were acceptable to everyone; in a coalition this is too often the deciding factor.

Obviously the Democratic Union could not fight Perón on equal terms. It was known and freely charged that he used the funds of the Department of Labor and Welfare—his own creation—to push his candidacy. It was charged, if not proved, that he also used funds collected from the public for relief of the victims of the terrible earthquake in San Juan. (If he did not use them they have mysteriously disappeared, for no homes or public buildings have been restored and no general relief distributed.) He dominated the air, using far more time for his campaign than his opponents were able to buy. He controlled the streets. Anyone who has been in a Latin American town during an election—or, indeed, for months afterward—knows that every sidewalk, house front, wall, or park bench becomes a billboard for election slogans, slapped on with generous strokes of the brush. In Buenos Aires the pro-Perón signs outnumbered all others at least ten to one. (I saw *Muera Braden* lettered boldly on the front wall of the home of our own cultural attaché!) The disproportion was not a measure of the energy of the competing parties; what it proved was the blatant partiality of the police, who arrested democratic sign painters while they let the Peronistas display their talents without restraint.

The street signs were only a symbol of the underlying ugly fact that the police power of the state was used consistently against the democratic parties. No pro-democratic rally was protected from hoodlum attacks; armed Peronistas ruled the streets, and on more than one occasion the police themselves shot into unarmed crowds. Individuals wearing Tamborini buttons were attacked or insulted with the police standing by. And this went on until forty-eight hours before the election, when the army took over.

Perón had all the advantages of a dictator bent upon making himself President. In addition he had the church. With few exceptions—the more remarkable because they were so few—the clergy supported Perón's candidacy, some openly from the pulpit, most of them quietly among their parishioners. Many democrats with whom

I talked believed the church was their most dangerous and determined adversary.

A NEGATIVE FIGHT

But above all the other disabilities suffered by the Democratic Union I put its lack of a concrete program of social and economic reform. One can understand this lack and even excuse it. It was none the less fatal.

The election was fought on a negative rather than a positive platform: it was fought to defeat dictatorship at home and a pro-Axis policy abroad; it was fought against Perón. The Blue Book only served to document charges already made over and over by the democrats. They campaigned to rid their country of the shame of Nazi domination of the army, Nazi control of major industries, Nazi control of foreign affairs. At the final huge Radical rally before the election the excited crowd chanted over and over, "Argentina, Si; Nazis, No" and "Li-ber-tad, Li-ber-tad." The speakers enlarged on the same theme.

In this clear, limited, anti-fascist campaign were enlisted the best of Argentina's conscious democratic elements. The stand they made was magnificent. Doctors, engineers, housewives who had never taken part in any public action in their lives, students organized in tight, highly disciplined formations, these and many others plunged into the political fight. The conscience of Argentina was fully aroused, and it will not, I am certain, subside into indifference as long as Perón holds power. The regular parties put all their best energies into the campaign. The young Socialists and Communists, in particular, moved into the front lines and bore the brunt of the street fighting. The women especially distinguished themselves. An American friend of mine entertained a most proper Argentine friend of hers one hot afternoon for tea. The visitor opened her white knitted purse and took out a rock which had been tucked in among her cosmetics and handkerchief. She had come direct from a street meeting where trouble had been expected.

This courage and energy were not wasted. The tragedy is that they were spent in a fight that failed to reach down and win the masses. Fascism had to be defeated, certainly, but the people to whom Perón directed his shrewd demagoguery were interested in something more concrete than liberty—economic security. That the democrats were not sufficiently aware of this was indicated by the attitude of their leaders.

I talked to Tamborini two days after the election, when he was still confident of victory. His position on Nazism was clear-cut; he made a point of telling me that he had favored intervention in Europe while Lindbergh and others like him were still active in the United States. I asked him about Perón's following. He said that they were poor devils who "worshiped Perón" because they didn't understand the factors which had caused the improved conditions in Argentina: new plants opened to

meet war demands, higher wages, increased employment. They credited all these benefits to Perón. Inflation, he added, had outstripped wage increases, but Perón wasn't blamed for that. I asked whether this fanatical devotion did not present the democrats with a serious challenge if they came to power. Would it not be essential to put through a program of basic economic reforms? He assented, in general terms, but made it clear that the Radicals had no concrete plan to offer a class which, he freely admitted, had been "disregarded by the parties." He suggested that after Perón's defeat and the disintegration of his machine, the Socialists and Communists would "take care of" his mass following. This rather vague attitude was not surprising. The Radical Party, among its many traditions, cherishes a tradition of supporting broad democratic political aims rather than detailed economic programs. It stands for constitutional government and personal liberty; it opposes fraud and political corruption; beyond that it dislikes being pinned down. Besides, as Tamborini pointed out, the party was restrained by political decency from making promises which could compete with Perón's.

The other parties in the Democratic Union were ob-

viously inhibited by the coalition and their knowledge that if they won, the government would be in the hands of the Radicals. Their programs were more specific, much more detailed, especially those of the Socialists and Communists, but they were all aimed above the heads of the poor and unlettered who formed the bulk of Perón's devotees. Many members of the left parties, especially the younger ones, recognized this.

In any case it was self-evident that a campaign coalition which included every important anti-fascist group from right to left—from Vandenberg to Foster, in North American terms—could not adopt a program or resort to methods aimed primarily at the masses. In addition, the behavior of the dictatorship and the fact of Nazi espionage and infiltration were the obvious political issues, the issues which affected Argentina's immediate future as a nation. So the fight remained on a safely abstract level, while Perón, the shrewd officer turned dictator, promised a better life for the fellow without a shirt—a bigger share of the inexhaustible bounty of one of the richest countries on earth. When I talked to Foreign Minister Cooke after the election, he said he was sure Perón had won. I asked him why. He answered,



THE HAUNTED QUEUE

"Perón carries a banner." Perón is a fascist and a demagogue; but the poor people of Argentina have elected him President.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

When The Nation Associates submitted its memorandum to the United Nations Assembly in London, requesting the suspension of Argentina, the case against Perón was clear and simple. He headed a dictatorship maintaining itself in power by police force and ruling by decree. He had violated the provisions of the Chapultepec Charter, on the basis of which his government had been admitted to the world security organization. His ties with the Nazis were common knowledge. His plans of aggression had been explicitly set forth, creating a threat to hemispheric security which hardly needed documentation. But the whole case was presently fully documented in the Blue Book issued by the State Department as a "Consultation among the American Republics with Respect to the Argentine Situation."

For reasons that were fully discussed at the time, no action was taken at London. One reason was the imminence of the Argentine elections: within a few weeks Perón might be supplanted by a democratic government; or Perón might become President under circumstances that would allow him to claim a constitutional basis for his regime. The inclination was to wait and see.

It would be unrealistic to pretend that Perón has not strengthened his international position by his victory. "Free elections" have become almost a fetish in United Nations circles; and it is comfortable to pretend—as the British and we are pretending in Greece—that an orderly vote is enough to wipe out years of fascist intimidation. Many people in Washington and London and the Latin American capitals will accept Perón's election as a welcome escape from an awkward situation.

In my first dispatch from Buenos Aires on February 24, I wrote, "The worst contingency any of [the democratic leaders] can imagine is Perón's election. Few believe this possible in view of today's peaceful balloting, but the chance is there. The result . . . would be disastrous for the anti-fascist forces in Argentina. Its international effect would be even worse. At the very least it would mean a bad defeat for the democratic inter-American policy supported by Mr. Braden." I did not then expect the "worst" to happen; now that it has, I am afraid my conclusion was not exaggerated. The democratic forces in Argentina face a very hard fight in a seriously weakened condition. And Braden's policy is going to find less and less support in Latin America and among the other nations. Only if Perón adopts a defiant attitude, at home and abroad, can the opposition quickly rally its forces for an effective counter-campaign. But Perón is too shrewd to do any such thing; already he is beginning to make overtures to members of the opposing parties.

The anti-Peronistas say they are determined to maintain the Democratic Union, build an opposition in the Congress, and challenge Perón's promise of constitutional freedom by carrying on their fight in the press and by all other legal methods. The issues on which they waged the campaign have not been wiped out by the election. The pro-Nazis are still securely entrenched in the army and in business; the process of building a military machine geared to aggression is still under way; plans have been announced for a triumphal tour by President Perón of the neighboring friendly countries to cement ties already formed. The democrats of Argentina have a job on their hands. To do it effectively they must take to heart the full implications of their defeat; they must realize that nineteenth-century liberalism will not by itself defeat twentieth-century neo-fascism.

The opposition to Perón abroad must also continue and must also gear its strategy to the new situation. I asked Mr. Cooke what effect he thought Perón's victory would have on Argentina's international position. He said it could only have a good effect. He insisted again on the unreserved indorsement of the election by the Democratic Union and the press, and said pointedly, "It is hardly likely that any nation will wish to question the freely expressed will of the Argentine people." I pointed to the charges in the Blue Book as unfinished business that might interfere with the happy relations he predicted. He brushed them aside as "based on reports by discredited Nazi agents," and indicated that they would not stand up at all under the rebuttal being prepared by the Foreign Office—a rebuttal which has not, incidentally, so far been presented.

But strategically he was probably right. It is going to be difficult to induce the other American republics or the world at large to concentrate on even the most damaging charges against a government which has just chalked up a solid electoral triumph. The State Department and all people who understand the threat to security implied in Perón's election must persuade world opinion that the test of the new government lies in its policy, not in the number of votes it received. The burden of proof still rests on Perón. The department had no choice but to reiterate its refusal to accept a security pact to which the Perón government is a signatory; it should explain that stand carefully to the American republics. The suspension of Argentina from the UNO would further underline its present status, emphasizing what cannot be ignored merely because an election has been held: that the pledges made when Perón's government came into the world organization have yet to be redeemed; and that Argentina's right to continued membership in the United Nations will depend upon the speed and sincerity with which Perón repudiates his past policy and abandons his past practices. Until then the case against him cannot be dismissed.

Exit the Wisconsin Progressives

BY MILES McMILLIN

*Editorial writer and political columnist for the Madison Capital Times;
formerly publicity director for the Progressive Party*

Madison, Wisconsin, March 20

A WISCONSIN farmer with a gift for homely and colorful expression rose to his feet. He was one of 425 delegates gathered at the little city of Portage to assist at the burial rites of the state's twelve-year-old Progressive Party. Said he solemnly: "If this is a funeral, it's a strange one, because we're having trouble getting the corpse into the grave." He was right. The corpse was kicking up a hell of a row. The farmer who summed up the situation so pointedly had sat for several hours listening to a heated debate between those who wanted to bury the Progressive Party and those who wanted to try to resuscitate it.

The Progressives finally surrendered their identity, but they did so reluctantly. They did so only after they heard from Senator Robert M. La Follette that he recommended a switch back to the Republican Party, from which the third party had sprung in 1934. In the final tally 284 delegates voted to follow Senator La Follette's advice; 77 wanted to continue the party which had once sent seven of the state's ten Representatives to Washington, elected a United States Senator and a governor, and obtained a near majority in the legislature—all in one year; 51 wanted to go into the Democratic Party.

It was not an easy decision for Progressives, long accustomed to damning Republicans, to make. But bolstering their pride with many a ringing blast at the Old Guard, they went back. There were a number of reasons for their action. For one thing, hard as it was to admit it, they recognized that the Progressive Party organization had collapsed completely in 1944, when for the first time in its history it ran an ignominious third. They recognized too that as Republicans their candidates for county and legislative offices would have a better chance of being elected in traditionally Republican Wisconsin. But most of all they wanted to do whatever was necessary to assure Bob La Follette's reelection to the Senate.

Their feeling is shared by thousands of progressive-minded people here, both in and out of the Progressive Party. One is William T. Evjue, whose militant *Madison Capital Times* is a power in Wisconsin politics. Evjue helped found the party in 1934 but split with the La Follettes when they cooled off on Roosevelt. He did not participate in the Portage meeting, and for many weeks observers have been speculating on what stand he would take on Bob La Follette. In the 1944 Senatorial contest he backed a liberal Democrat, Howard McMurray, against an old-line Progressive, Harry Sauthoff.

On the day after the Portage obsequies Evjue charged in a front-page editorial that Phil and Bob La Follette had killed the Progressive Party by using it to advance their own political fortunes and by breaking with Roosevelt, but at the same time he announced that his paper would "vigorously support" La Follette's candidacy. "We do this, however," he said, "with the feeling that there must be something higher and bigger, no matter how big the individual may be, on which to build the future of a militant people's movement than the personal interests of one man."

Evjue carries great weight with the so-called Roosevelt and Wallace Progressives, whose support La Follette will need. They have been bitter about the La Follette stewardship, and their rancor has been increased by the Portage decision. They wanted the Progressives to throw in their lot with the state Democratic organization and try to clean it up. Many of the young Progressives who are now returning to civilian life have been drawn into the Democratic Party by the hope of uniting liberals behind Wallace. They would like to support La Follette, but in the disappointment caused by Portage they vow they will work for a Democratic candidate.

Evjue made no recommendations to the Progressive conference beforehand. Doubtless he would have urged them to go Democratic had he not been watching with extreme suspicion what is going on in Washington under the Truman Administration. He doesn't like the Harneg maneuvers, and his editorial temperature has been raised by some of the President's recent appointments.

The big question is how the Progressives will fare back in the Republican fold. They will hardly be welcomed by the men who tend the flocks there—and the Old Guard was never better organized or better heeled. It is run by a voluntary committee headed by a Madison industrialist, Thomas E. Coleman, who makes no bones about his hatred for La Follette. In the last session of the legislature he tried to put through a bill which would have kept La Follette out of the Republican Party, but the bill was vetoed by eighty-three-year-old Governor Walter S. Goodland, who has consistently fought reactionary elements in his own Republican Party and has just as consistently urged that the Progressives return to the house of their fathers. Coleman has as yet brought forth no formidable candidate to contest the primary with La Follette. Circuit Judge Joseph McCarthy of Appleton, a young, able, and extremely ambitious politician, is in the field. He is comparatively unknown, but he may

get the organization nod if nothing better comes along between now and the G. O. P. convention in May.

Progressives have a strong aid in Governor Goodland, who recently upset Coleman's plans by tossing his hat into the ring. Significantly, he did this just two days before the Progressive conference and at the same time issued a statement that he would welcome Progressives back into the G. O. P. On that day, too, he uttered a sizzling blast at the Republican-controlled legislature, whose record Coleman has always defended. Observers saw in it a bid for an alliance with Progressives against the Republican machine. Progressives curtsied politely in return two days later when they convened at Portage but left it at that. They may come out for Goodland and send him and La Follette to the barrier in the fall campaign. Progressives could support Goodland without compunction, for he has stood by them—and they by him—on some of the most controversial issues to come before the legislature. The combination of Goodland and La Follette would cause the Old Guard a herd of nightmares. Goodland, despite his advanced age, is, they concede, unbeatable. This is not because he is a crusader or reformer—indeed, he makes a point of denying that he is one—but because the voters are profoundly convinced of his sincerity and honesty.

The greatest threat to La Follette's success lies in the inroads of the Democratic Party on the labor vote. In 1940 La Follette trailed his Republican opponent in the rural areas of the state and was saved from defeat by a

tremendous outpouring of labor votes in Milwaukee County. But the picture has changed. Labor votes were in the Democratic column in 1944, and the Progressive ticket was swamped. In the heavily industrial area along the Lake Michigan shore much of labor is still Democratic-minded. Kenosha and Racine, which are largely dominated by the United Automobile Workers of the C. I. O., sent delegates to the Portage conference which vigorously fought for Democratic affiliation. After the conference had voted to go Republican, they announced that they would enter their candidates in the Democratic primaries. In Wisconsin you are not allowed to split your primary ballot; you must vote a straight ticket. Therefore much of the labor support which La Follette would get in the general election, when split ballots are permitted, will be lost to him in the primaries. If he faces a close race out in the state, the loss of the labor vote in large cities may throw the primary to an Old Guard Republican.

Progressives hope that La Follette's labor record will induce outside leadership in the U. A. W. and other C. I. O. unions to come in and try to arrange some help for him. It is known that the Reuthers feel warmly toward him, and it is hoped that their attitude may soften the determination of some of the labor factions to stick to the Democratic ticket.

Meanwhile, Phil La Follette is maintaining a strict hands-off policy in Wisconsin politics. He has said nothing publicly about the situation of the Progressives and did not attend the Portage meeting.

The FCC Listens In

BY JERRY SPINGARN

An expert on radio law; formerly employed by the FCC

THE Federal Communications Commission has taken notice of the plight of the radio listener and issued a mercilessly critical report on programming, severely entitled "Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees."* And it has showed its teeth by calling for the program logs of about three hundred stations. Industry reflexes have been immediate and violent. Justin Miller, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, in a statement published far more widely than the story of the report, called the action "a reversion to that type of government control and regulation which our forefathers struggled to escape." One trade magazine opened its news story with, "The federal government is going into the radio-program business." Within a week the N. A. B. announced the results of a public-opinion poll which showed that 82 per cent of the people of the United States think radio is doing either an "excellent" or a "good" job in the community.

* Copies obtainable free on request to the FCC.

Actually the report is a highly circumspect document, and its issuance should have caused no surprise since former Chairman Paul A. Porter had announced its preparation a year ago in a speech to the N. A. B.

"Public service" has been a prerequisite for station licenses since crystal-set days, but until the issuance of this report no one had tried to define the phrase. Attempts to criticize or discipline stations for inadequate programming were invariably characterized as "censorship," and censorship power is specifically denied the FCC by law. As a result, thinking has been hazy and license renewals have been virtually automatic. The FCC's functions, in the opinion of the radio bar, are those of a technological traffic cop—namely, to see that each station stays within its assigned frequency, power, and time limits. Indeed, at one time the FCC glibly answered letters of complaint with the words, "The FCC has no concern with program content."

The new report on program service, using such objec-

tive yardsticks as the stop watch and the ledger, proves that the line between service appraisal and censorship is a clear one, and that it is possible for the FCC to insist on a better break for listeners without imposing its taste and political opinions on the public or reducing the latitude of licensees. Moreover, it marshals precedents to show that Congress expected the agency to protect the public's interest in good programs. The report asserts that in the future, "in issuing and renewing the licenses of broadcast stations, the commission proposes to give particular consideration to four service factors relevant to public interest. These are (1) the carrying of sustaining programs, (2) the carrying of local live programs, (3) the carrying of programs devoted to the discussion of public issues, and (4) the elimination of advertising excesses."

Most of the 139-page pamphlet is devoted to a description of the sins of broadcasting, and it is fascinating, if occasionally gruesome, reading. An array of charts and graphs shows that broadcasters have tended to drop sustaining programs whenever they could get a remunerative replacement, and that the networks have failed "to provide nation-wide distribution for even outstanding network programs." To name but a few: "Invitation to Learning" was carried by only 39 CBS affiliates and rejected by 97. "Transatlantic Call: People to People" was carried by 86 CBS stations and rejected by 50. "Labor for Victory" (produced alternately by the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L.) was carried by 35 NBC stations and rejected by 104. Most of these rejections were in favor of local shows which consisted of record-playing mixed with spot commercials.

The FCC sees an urgent need for more sustaining programs. These would restore the over-all program balance and provide time for (1) programs not appropriate for sponsorship, such as religious and discussion programs, (2) programs serving the more cultivated minority tastes and interests, like symphonic music, (3) programs of non-profit organizations—educational, civic, religious, agricultural, labor, (4) experimental programs which will tend to fertilize the art. The report shows unbroken hours of soap operas on afternoon network schedules. These programs appeal to a very small proportion of the afternoon audience—about 75 per cent of the persons at home during the afternoon keep their radios off. The profit motive seems inadequate to encourage programs of wider appeal, however, for "an advertiser may prefer a soap opera which appeals to only one million listeners and indelibly impresses the name of his product on two-thirds of them, rather than a non-soap-opera program which appeals to two million listeners but impresses his name on less than one-third."

The report points out that N. A. B. standards regarding commercial announcements, though widely publicized, are honored in the breach, and that even on the

networks the listener must endure five separate "plugs," "hitch-hikers," and "cow-catchers" between shows. It plaintively suggests, "The listener who has heard one or more commercial announcements may reasonably expect a program to intervene."

The paucity of local live programs indicates that stations are not adequately serving their home communities. During the good listening hours, 6 to 11 p.m., the report shows, less than 12 per cent of the air time of forty-one of the most powerful (50 KW) stations was devoted to station-originated, commercial live shows. "This sterility is reflected in the size of station staffs. The average station employed less than one-third of a musician [what's this we've been reading about Petrillo?] and less than one-half of a full-time actor. For every dollar paid to the average writer \$2.39 was paid to the average salesman."

The FCC warns that "the public interest clearly requires that an adequate amount of time be set aside for the discussion of public issues, and the commission, in determining whether a station has served the public interest, will take into consideration the amount of time which has been [so] devoted." It leaves to the station manager's decision the important policy questions affecting public-discussion programs, such as whether discussion of controversial issues should be on free or paid time, whether it is fair to continue to charge higher rates for political broadcasts, how and by whom commentators should be selected, whether commentators should be forbidden, permitted, or encouraged to express their own personal opinions, and whether a "right to reply" should exist on the air. The FCC requires only that the station show honesty and good faith in presenting both sides.

The FCC urges the formation of radio-listener councils through which listeners can convey to broadcasters the wishes of the vast but inarticulate radio audience. It sets forth new procedures which the FCC will employ to enforce higher program standards. The effectiveness of these standards will depend in large measure upon the extent to which listeners participate in the administrative process by attendance at hearings.

With characteristic restraint the report states that "there are no economic considerations to prevent the rendering of considerably broader program service than the public is now afforded." In 1944, it goes on, the industry's average rate of return on depreciated value of its investment was 222.6 per cent. There has been a progressive increase in rate of profit from year to year. "This increase," the report concludes, "was not due solely to increased advertising revenues but is also attributable in considerable part to the fact that the industry has progressively retained a larger part of each revenue dollar as profit and spent a smaller proportion for serving the public."

France After De Gaulle

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, March 20

ANY evaluation of France today runs the risk of being superficial and contradictory or telling only half-truths unless it takes account of the last six years. In 1940 the people of France awoke to find that a hurricane had swept away their nation, leaving a desolate land where men lived with no other ambition than to continue living. Corruption had reached incredible proportions. Flouting the Versailles treaty, French industry had allied itself, against the national interest, with the great industries of the Ruhr. Venality was an accepted synonym for the press. Scarcely a national institution remained that was not rotten to the core. Perhaps just one—the army—whose glory still appeared intact in the eyes of the average Frenchman. Then came the "six weeks' war"; the army collapsed under the Nazi blitz, and with it the last remnant of French confidence was destroyed. From that moment France declined rapidly. The man who completed its humiliation, who handed this proud nation over to the Germans and inaugurated the ignoble Vichy era, was no discredited politician but the most revered marshal of France. "Monsieur Verdun" exchanged the role of national hero for that of doorman for the invaders. Now there was nothing left for Frenchmen to believe in.

Yet here and there a few inspired fools, refusing to believe their country was lost, left by night for a place where Frenchmen could look each other in the face without shame. The greatest of them all escaped to London; as Pétain gave his blessing to the capitulation the voice of De Gaulle could be heard proclaiming that France had not died. And inside France other dreamers began to stir in the ruins; from the lips of one of its leaders I heard the fascinating story of the movement that was later to be known as *la Résistance*. They had no foundation on which to build. The political parties had disappeared. The Socialists had paid dearly for tolerating within their ranks appeasers like Paul Faure and cowards like Georges Monnet. The bourgeois parties had ceased to exist along with the state on which they had always lived as parasites. The only party which might have carried on the struggle against the capitulators, the Communist Party, was immobilized by the Russo-German pact. A deputy of the time has described to me the spirit of defeat that pervaded the Chamber of Deputies the day it voted for the dissolution of the Republic. Not a single heroic note. A few deputies voted "no," but theirs was only a passive resistance, not *la Résistance*.

Among the patriots waging their battle against the

Germans and Vichy there was not a single leader with any real political experience. In London De Gaulle was hoping someone would come forward, an Herriot or a Mandel, whose name would lend authority to his movement. He was surrounded by a few intellectuals, journalists, army officers who had survived Dunkirk or the Battle of Norway. They were a curious mixture: some believed only in force, others only in De Gaulle, the rest only in themselves. Some were servile and fawning, others inflexible and hypercritical. But none of them were capable of building a unified political movement.

Resistance is a spontaneous phenomenon, slow to become articulated. It is life in a tunnel. Within France the underground began little by little to find its leaders. Months elapsed before contact with London was established. But how could the French in London give the resistance a political leadership which they themselves lacked? The directives which came from De Gaulle's headquarters were largely of a military nature—how to organize sabotage, how to receive and distribute the arms which English planes would drop by parachute. The Resistance created a milieu of healthy, refreshing youth—but without political direction. That was its chief weakness. Once liberation had been won, the hour of the Resistance was over. If in the first elections it still had a role to play, today observers are agreed that it will carry no weight in the June elections; that is a loss for France.

Nation readers will recall with what close attention we followed anything that seemed to indicate a political organization in the Resistance. The discussions which took place among men hunted by the Gestapo, were no product of our imagination. But they were restricted to a small group of intellectuals and former militants of the youth organizations. This generation of men and women in their early thirties ought now to be taking the place of the old politicians. But precisely because they were the generation of front-line fighters, the best of the Resistance, they suffered the heaviest casualties; four-fifths of the most daring, the most qualified for leadership, were lost in the fifty months of struggle. Some of the survivors form the new team in the present government. Others have found it difficult to adapt themselves to the discipline of political parties; highly intelligent, extremely critical, they remain isolated fighters no longer quite sure what they want. For them the Socialist Party lacks aggressiveness and attraction. They feel the Communist Party echoes too faithfully the language of Moscow; yet it is to the Communists more than to any other group that they are turning in their search for a new path.

For a long period under the occupation France knew no political life. It was not until after the American landings in North Africa that the old parties began to revive, and even then the Resistance had to go looking for them. The C. G. T., the C. I. O. of France, moved very cautiously; the Radical Socialists were still more wary. Only the Communists quickly regained their former activity; once the handicap of the Russo-German pact had been removed, they threw themselves into the struggle with characteristic vigor and before the Resistance was aware of it had distributed their men throughout the movement. With the liberation, the Communist Party emerged as the strongest organization in France.

The Resistance might have set up around De Gaulle outside of France a group of leaders which later could have broken away from his influence and put its stamp on French post-war politics. Anxious to keep its best men in the underground, however, it sent to the Consultative Assembly in Algiers those whom it considered to be the least useful at home. The French National Committee, later to become the government in exile, included only a token force of Resistance men, none of whom possessed the strong personality of De Gaulle. Until after the liberation, indeed until after the last elections, when the new Parliament was formed and the parties began to match their strength against De Gaulle's, the Liberator stood unchallenged. By 1943 the country had become Gaullist. But Gaullism meant different things to different Frenchmen. In this atmosphere of confusion the Resistance was not able to hammer out a clear political line of its own.

Thus at the moment of liberation two forces confronted each other in France—De Gaulle and the Communists. This is the key to the events which followed and to the political situation today. Within a few months the Socialists had recovered some of their old strength. A new party entered the picture, the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (M. R. P.), but though its members were drawn from many different strata, its policy focused on a single man, De Gaulle. Now the General does not want to be leader of any party or faction; he wants to be leader of France. On the other hand, the M. R. P., though it carries the hopes of the Vatican, includes people who have no wish to become the right-wing party of France—and today De Gaulle is definitely considered to be a man of the right.

Speculation as to whether the General will or will not return to French politics is at most an amusing game; but if it seems safe to predict that De Gaulle will never be a party man, it is even safer to say that he will never back a violent revolt. He wants to be the man of June 18. He lives for history. Though somewhat clouded, his prestige is still great, and he has decided henceforth to guard it himself. Today De Gaulle speaks only to De Gaulle. He is a meditator. That is his weakness and his strength.

During the uneasy days of the last government crisis he alone felt perfectly at ease. He sat aloof and solitary, appearing almost not to hear the passionate debate that raged around him.

France faces the immense task of reconstruction with a political machine handicapped in parties and men. Capable organizers are desperately needed. The Socialists still have Léon Blum, but though he is unquestionably their greatest leader, he is becoming more and more the godfather of the party, unwilling to serve as Prime Minister, or as Minister, or even as a Deputy. The other Socialist chiefs—Vincent Auriol, Félix Gouin, André Philip, Jules Moch, Salomon Grumbach, Marius Moutet—come from the Old Guard. The only new figure is General Secretary Daniel Mayer, a young man who distinguished himself in the Resistance, a hard worker and a good organizer



Georges Bidault

but not yet an outstanding leader. New blood has been injected into the ranks by militant youngsters who got their schooling in the underground; they will surely be a constructive force in promoting working-class unity instead of hate, distrust, and division. But they are still too young and too much a part of the rank and file to exercise an immediate influence on the party.

The M. R. P. has two men—Maurice Schumann, the general secretary, who proved an effective propagandist on Radio London during the occupation, and Georges Bidault, whose position as Minister of Foreign Affairs is becoming more and more solid. But neither is a leader of great stature. The Communist Party counts Maurice Thorez, intelligent and energetic; the eloquent Jacques Duclos; François Billoux, an able minister; and such talented organizers as Madeleine Braun and Marie Claude Vaillant-Couturier. On the other hand, it has lost some of its best men—Gabriel Péri and hundreds of young underground fighters who might have been the leaders of tomorrow. Among the new figures in the party is Pierre Hervé, a brilliant young columnist who writes regularly for *l'Humanité*. With old chieftains discredited by their parties' pre-war politics, and others fallen in the Battle of France, it is natural that the party with the best machinery and organization should make the most rapid advance. In Paris one frequently hears it

said that the Communists have passed their peak and in the next elections will lose rather than gain strength. That is not my impression. Others predict that the Radical Socialists will make a come-back. But the man-power shortage is even more acute in the Radical Socialist Party than in the others; while Herriot continues to lag a half-century behind, aggressive Pierre Cot finds himself in constant disagreement with his party. The Radical Socialist member of the Commission on the Constitution has just resigned because he could not accept Herriot's conservative position on colonial policy.

The intermediate parties, the parties of the bourgeoisie,

have suffered the most by virtue of the disappearance of the middle class as an important political force, a phenomenon by no means restricted to France. So it is around the working class, organized in the Socialist and Communist parties and the C. G. T., that the political future of France is being decided.

The tendency to forget this whole panorama makes it difficult for foreign observers, accustomed to thinking in terms of Anglo-Saxon democracy or easygoing pre-war France, to understand the superhuman effort toward recovery of a country which only six years ago seemed to have collapsed forever.

Houses from the Assembly Line

BY ROBERT LASCH

An editorial writer for the Chicago Sun, Mr. Lasch wrote the Atlantic Monthly prize essay on Freedom of the Press in 1944. He has a book coming out in April called "Breaking the Building Blockade."

THE most exciting part of Expediter Wilson Wyatt's national housing program is his proposal to establish within two years a new American industry comparable to the automobile industry of the twenties. Since Mr. Wyatt announced his intentions early in February, sweeping the timid plans of private industry into the discard and calling for the building of 2,700,000 homes in 1946 and 1947, the termites of special interest have been gnawing at his plan. The real-estate lobby has persuaded the House to knock out ceilings on existing houses; the big materials producers have obtained the elimination of the subsidies; the lumber industry has raised the familiar plaint against price control. But nothing disturbs the conventional home-building interests more than Mr. Wyatt's plans for prefabrication. He has shocked all standpatters with the bold suggestion that 250,000 houses be built this year in factories, and that the number be raised to 600,000 in 1947.

In no year between 1929 and 1941 were 600,000 houses built by conventional methods. What Mr. Wyatt proposes, therefore, is the creation of a new industry that will surpass the record of the old house-building industry in all but its palmiest days. He proposes, not that the new industry displace the old, but that the two work side by side to give us sustained production on a level that we have never been able to reach before.

Two distinct developments in house building have been accelerated by the war. The first is a change in conventional building methods brought about by the construction of whole blocks or neighborhoods at one time. "Site fabrication" in its more dramatic manifestations adapts the technique of the war-time shipyard to the building of houses. What amounts to an outdoor factory

is set up on the site of a large community development. With a carefully organized flow of materials geared into mechanized labor operations, fifty or a thousand houses go up together. Henry Kaiser, using this method, built a community for 35,000 people in ninety days.

Prefabrication introduces a new process altogether—factory production of structural panels or sections which, together with other prefabricated parts, are shipped to the site for assembly by relatively unskilled labor. "Prefab" built about one-fifth of all government war housing. Mr. Wyatt wants to assign it the same proportion of his 1946 objectives and then to raise its 1947 contribution to 40 per cent. If he succeeds, he will bring into being within two years an industry with an output of some \$3.5 billion worth of housing a year.

Prefab versus site fabrication is a controversy of long standing. But there is no need to choose between them; each has its role to perform. The site fabricators find their natural outlet in the rapid erection of large communities, usually on the outskirts of growing cities. The prefabricators may expect to supply individual houses for erection in smaller towns and rural areas.

Probably not more than 10,000 prefabricated houses in the true sense were built during the thirties, when the industry first began gropingly to produce. War needs, for barracks and war workers' homes, gave prefabrication its first great opportunity. The dozen or so firms regularly producing in 1940 had increased to eighty by 1942. Up to last July 116,000 prefabricated houses had been built for the federal Public Housing Authority. Manufacturers have assured Mr. Wyatt that the industry has a capacity today of 200,000 a year and with the aid of newcomers can meet the 250,000 goal.

The kind of house one can get from this infant industry varies widely with the firm, the method, and the materials. Buckminster Fuller, whose "Dymaxion" house, hung from a central mast, is familiar as a Sunday-supplement vision of the future, is getting ready to produce a real-life Dymaxion in the Beech Aircraft Company plant at Wichita, Kansas. This house makes use of techniques developed in producing bombers. It is round like an igloo, is built of aluminum, glass, and plastics, and can be shipped in one piece, eight to a freight car.

Far less radical are the products of most prefabricators. While some embody modern design, with flat roofs and large window areas, many follow traditional models, including the inevitable Cape Cod. George Fred Keck's solar house, the application of ideas descended from Frank Lloyd Wright, is scheduled for prefabrication by Green's Houses, of Rockford, Illinois, and the Willisway System on the West Coast is producing the unfortunately named "Homeola," a straightforward love-in-a-cottage type. Some manufacturers build the house in sections, a wall at a time, and deliver the pieces by truck. Others use the principle of modular panels, often made of glued plywood on a hollow frame, which are bolted or wedged together on the site.

Nearly everybody, I suppose, has seen an unfortunate sample of prefabrication, decided that it looked like a chicken-house, and resolved to have none of it. But prefabrication has to its credit thousands of attractive and well-built homes. In justice it must be remembered that prefab inherited the least desirable end of the warehousing job. Conventional builders and site fabricators supplied most of the permanent homes; prefabricators built the demountable and temporary houses, stripped down to the lowest essentials.

Factory construction of houses infringes on vested interests in many fields. The A. F. of L. craft unions which dominate custom home building have rioted against prefabrication in some towns and in others have rigged the building code or tightened their union rules to exclude it. Mr. Wyatt must find some way to overcome their opposition if his program is to succeed. The Dymaxion project has an officer of the machinists' union (A. F. of L.) on its board of directors, and the C. I. O. has organized many prefab plants. But both the machinists and the C. I. O. are outside the industry, wanting to get in; the carpenters, bricklayers, and other crafts are determined to keep them out. It will also be necessary to circumvent the hostility of contractors, materials dealers, and equipment suppliers, who see in the new method of building houses fast a challenge to their stake in the old ways of building them slowly.

Mr. Wyatt's program allots to prefab the special task of building those low-cost homes which custom building has been unable to supply. It is true that to date the prefabricators have not attained astonishing cost differ-

tials as compared with traditional construction. But that has been due to the narrowness of the housing market in a low-income economy and the lack of a distribution system permitting mass sales and economical assembly. Mr. Wyatt proposes to broaden the market during the emergency period by offering to buy every prefab house built to government standards which the manufacturers cannot dispose of through ordinary channels.

In order to qualify for government-purchase contracts manufacturers will have to prove their ability to build a satisfactory product, show a distribution scheme assuring prompt erection, and guarantee to produce a specified number within twelve months. A one-bedroom house would be designed to sell for \$3,500, with each extra bedroom costing \$500 more. This price includes equipment but not land, freight, or assembly costs. With such items added, the typical two-bedroom prefab may be expected to sell for something between \$5,000 and \$6,000.

By the time government guarantees are withdrawn, it is hoped that the industry will be able to stand on its own feet. Much will depend upon the maintenance of quality standards. Some persons connected with the industry fear that high costs may compel one compromise after another, with the result that thousands of substandard structures will be scattered over the country to the permanent detriment of prefabrication's good repute. Mr. Wyatt, however, makes it plain that he wants "permanent homes which will meet accepted standards." He can get them, at the cost levels he has fixed and with the quality he demands, only by successfully organizing the flow of price-controlled materials into volume production by competent manufacturers.

To carry out his program Mr. Wyatt urgently needs the intelligent aid of town and city housing authorities. The community should control or itself undertake the acquisition of land and insist upon the application of sound planning principles; the new neighborhoods must be planned as community assets of permanent value, not shanty towns that will be future liabilities.

The goal of 2,700,000 houses in two years cannot be reached if part of Mr. Wyatt's proposals are accepted and the rest rejected. Unless he can control the prices of materials, land, and existing houses, mounting costs will cut thousands of home-hunting families out of the market. Unless labor is quickly recruited and trained, an industry that has been operating at partial capacity for fifteen years will be unable to meet the huge demands now placed upon it. Unless priorities, subsidies, and government sharing of risks greatly expand production, the present acute shortage will continue indefinitely.

On the other hand, if Mr. Wyatt can turn the trick, his veterans' housing program may well prepare the way for the greater task of the future—the building of 1,500,000 homes a year until every city has wiped out its slums and urban life has entered a new age.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Politics at Savannah

IN HIS message of welcome to the delegates who assembled at Savannah on March 9 to inaugurate the World Fund and Bank, President Truman said: "The great institutions provided for at Bretton Woods must now become living, operating organisms. To breathe life into these institutions is your challenging task."

His injunction was obeyed with more vigor than discretion by Secretary of the Treasury Vinson, who, taking charge of the newly delivered international twins, spanked and shook them in a way that left some of the other attendant midwives aghast. Fortunately, they survived this rough treatment and are now headed for Washington cradles, each with a corps of twelve executive directors assisted by twelve alternates to nurse them. Whether they will be smothered, as the British seem to fear, by too much attention remains to be seen. Certainly, their lives hang on a thread until Congress makes up its mind about the British loan, for if denied assistance in restoring its balance of payments, it is questionable whether Britain could fulfil its obligations under the Bretton Woods agreements.

The auspices for a favorable decision on this matter are now encouraging. A more permanent danger is one against which Lord Keynes warned in his opening address at Savannah. Recalling the tale of the Sleeping Beauty, he expressed the hope that the christening of "Master Fund" and "Miss Bank" would not be marred by the uninvited appearance of a malicious sprite to pronounce a curse, which, he suggested, might run as follows: "You two brats shall grow up politicians; your every thought and act shall have an *arrière-pensée*; everything you determine shall not be for its own sake or on its own merits but because of something else."

It would be naive, in the present state of the world, to expect that politics can be kept out of the Bank and Fund entirely. The directors, though the paid servants of the institutions, are also the nominees and representatives of their respective governments, which will look to them to uphold national interests. They will be unlikely to pass on an application for assistance by their own country with complete objectivity. Moreover, the opportunities for log-rolling deals are obvious, and there will undoubtedly be occasions when projects are supported or opposed in board meetings not on their economic merits but for purely political reasons. If the present tendency for the world to be split up into blocs is not arrested, it will be difficult to prevent the weighing of every loan proposal in the balance of power.

The chief responsibility for curbing political exploitation of the Fund and Bank rests on the United States. As the biggest contributor to both, it wields the largest number of votes and can probably control or influence enough others to give it a majority on most occasions. It will not be a borrower from the Bank; on the contrary it is largely from

American sources that the Bank's loans will be financed. Nor is it likely in the foreseeable future to need the assistance of the Fund to meet a shortage of foreign exchange. But this country has a great interest in seeing that the avowed purpose of these institutions—the peaceful expansion of world trade—is achieved, for only then will American farms and factories have a chance of finding the wider markets they will soon be seeking. That is to say, American support of Fund and Bank is dictated by self-interest but, from the nature of the case, by a broader self-interest than that of some other nations.

The United States, therefore, has both the means and the incentive to prevent the perversion of these international financial institutions. But it must itself refrain from looking upon them as instruments for asserting political or economic domination. If American directors are subjected to pressures from Congress to block projects that might adversely affect some particular American private interest, or from the State Department to use their influence in aiding some diplomatic maneuver, then the moral authority of American leadership in the Fund and Bank can easily be sacrificed.

From this point of view, American tactics at the Savannah conference left something to be desired. Mr. Vinson went there determined to get his own draft of by-laws for the twin institutions indorsed. His success seems to have been achieved by fast, rather than elegant, political footwork, involving bullying, bargaining, and the organization of caucuses. As I mentioned in my brief dispatch in the last issue, this led to two major disputes, in which the British delegation led the opposition. In the case of the site for Fund and Bank, objection was made to the American choice of Washington because of "its peculiar political atmosphere," as one foreign delegate put it. Ironically, Socialist Britain preferred New York, focal point of American capitalism, to what might be called the nation's collectivist center.

But it was Socialist Britain which protested in vain against the proposed salary scale for executive directors and their alternates—\$17,000 and \$11,500 tax free, respectively, on a full-time basis. As Lord Keynes pointed out, this level of remuneration exceeds the highest salaries available in most countries for public service, and the aggregate amount involved imposes a heavy load on the budgets of the Fund and Bank. Moreover, the British argued that a full-time board cloistered in Washington would be less valuable than one composed of men who were in more regular touch with developments in their own countries.

The final version of the by-laws included the American salary schedule but made part-time employment of directors optional. However, it was admitted that if most countries decided to appoint on a full-time basis, the others would probably have to follow suit. Whether the problems these men will have to tackle will keep them as busy as the American delegates believe or whether their positions will prove to be comfortable semi-sinécures only time can show. I myself found the American arguments on both this matter and the site question, as expounded in private conversations, quite impressive. And I am sure they were urged on the conference in good faith. But however good the American ends, the means by which they were achieved set an unfortunate precedent.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY?

BY SIDNEY HOOK

THE report of the Commission on the Function of Philosophy in Liberal Education set up by the Board of Officers of the American Philosophical Association is now before the public. It presents a well-written and cogent defense of the place of philosophy in the curriculum of the liberal-arts college. Breathes there an administrator with soul so dead as to question the educational value of the study of philosophy—here is the intellectual stimulant that will quicken him to life. The study of philosophy is educationally important for many reasons. The culture of the Western world is a sealed book without some knowledge of its philosophic traditions. There is nothing like the study of philosophy to supply basic ideas for the integration of knowledge and perspective from which to order ideas. No other discipline can impart—to the extent that it can be imparted—the intellectual sophistication which can safeguard us from the fetishes, myths, and limitless credulities of our age.

None the less, this report reveals—what has been no secret to those with even cursory knowledge of contemporary philosophical writing—that philosophers themselves are in profound disagreement over two basic issues: the nature of philosophical subject matter and the nature of philosophical method. Apparently the only indisputably perennial question of philosophy is: What is philosophy? This situation is unparalleled in any other discipline which presumes to give knowledge. It seems to make agreement among philosophers in principle impossible. And a certain flavor of piquancy is added when it is recalled that, with the possible exception of theology, more claims to certainty have been made in philosophy than in any other field.

An answer in terms of history is suggestive but not decisive, for many propositions in mathematics, physics, and psychology have originally been advanced in the name of philosophy. As other disciplines have developed, they have broken free from philosophy. Just as soon as a speculative philosophical notion about the nature of things is given determinate form—like the ideas of conservation of energy, evolution, the unconscious, relativity—it is embodied in another subject. Philosophers have been men of varied interests. Which interest is the philosophical interest? Has philosophy a *distinctive subject matter* of its own that can be marked off from the special subject matters of the arts and sciences? Is there anything that the philosopher *as philosopher* concerns himself with, whether he be layman or professional?

I believe there is. I believe that despite their differences

philosophers are actually in agreement on what constitutes this distinctive subject matter; that, unfortunately, by confusing all sorts of other issues with the question of subject matter they have obscured this agreement from themselves and have therefore failed to recognize where their basic disagreements truly lie. In consequence, philosophers are continually charging one another with misunderstanding. To misunderstand is worse than to disagree. This is not intended, of course, as a blanket indictment of all philosophers or a defense of any one philosophical school of thought. The Thomists, for example, and *some* absolute idealists as well as experimental naturalists are relatively clear about their disagreements. The chief weakness in the commission's report is not that its members disagree but that they are not clear about where they disagree.

The actual subject matter of philosophy is implicit in the demand, as documented in the commission's report, which reflective laymen have made of philosophers. They have asked the philosophers to provide a rational faith or way of life by which men may intelligently live. In so doing, they have implied that philosophy is concerned primarily with *values* as reliable guides to life. They have asked the philosophers to shed light on the basic institutional and doctrinal conflicts of our time, to relate their analysis at some point to the problems that arise when men seek to develop reliable ways of behavior and belief. They have turned to philosophers, not to the physical scientists or psychologists, for *wisdom*. And in its broadest significance *wisdom is knowledge of the origin, interrelations, career, and reliability of values in human experience*. Whatever else philosophy has been from Socrates to John Dewey, it has been a quest for wisdom. Here, and here alone, is neutral ground which can serve as a starting-point for all philosophical departures, provided it is not demanded that one particular answer to this quest be identified with the subject matter of philosophy.

Philosophical questions—but not the answers—are simple. They touch the interests of all reflective persons. They arise whenever we ask questions like the following: What is the best society for our time? What ends or values can best enrich human experience? What shall we educate for, and why? What are the most reliable methods of stabilizing belief, of solving problems? What shall we make of man, and in what directions shall we move to do it? Some philosophers—like Plato—believe that in order to answer these questions it is necessary to take note of heaven. Perhaps—perhaps not. That is not the point here. The point is that all significant philosophy from Plato to pragmatism starts from questions of this *kind*. These constitute its indis-

* "Philosophy in American Education. Its Tasks and Opportunities." By Brand Blanchard, Curt J. Ducasse, Charles V. Hendel, Arthur E. Murphy, and Max C. Otto. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

putable subject matter. All are questions concerning the validity of basic judgments of value in different fields of human experience.

It is instructive to observe that every member of the commission at some point uses the term "wisdom" as defining the subject matter of philosophy. But then a strange thing happens—in the central chapters of the report. It is insinuated that over and above this subject matter philosophy has another, and that most criticism of the activity of philosophers is unjustified because it fails to recognize this additional subject matter.

Thus Arthur Murphy summarizes in an eloquent and accurate way the current criticisms of philosophical activity which assert that the business of philosophy is "to clarify, enlighten, and enrich" our value beliefs by "confronting them with the clearest thinking and widest knowledge humanly available on the matters with which they are concerned." He then asks: Is this the business of philosophy?

Mr. Murphy denies it on two grounds. The first is that such a demand requires that the philosopher become an advocate or apologist, that he forgo the distinctive task of inquiry which constitutes philosophical activity. "We want a philosophy, then, that will broaden, enlighten, and justify our faith. But which faith?" The answer is easy. We draw it from the very words in which Mr. Murphy has summarized the indictment. Which faith? Why, a faith or a set of values that "reflective criticism has shown to be best and most rewarding for actual living." And this reflective criticism involves, to repeat, "confronting them with

the clearest thinking and widest knowledge humanly available on the matters with which they are concerned." By what logic Mr. Murphy assumes that such a request is a demand that the philosopher function as an apologist or propagandist is hard to see. That he does interpret it in this way is obvious from his retort that the philosopher must consider himself not an advocate but the judge or critic of the faiths of men. Excellent! But this is precisely what he has been asked to do in the original criticism.

The reason Mr. Murphy does not recognize this is apparent in the second ground he offers for rejecting the indictment. Philosophers, he writes, claim the authority to act as judge and critic of the faith of men, "not as individuals or oracles or prophets, but for their *subject*, and for their conclusions only so far as they can be tested and measured by the best that rational inquiry in this *subject* has so far achieved." What subject is Mr. Murphy talking about when he uses the word I have italicized? He started out by recognizing that philosophy is concerned with problems of value and validation. Suddenly we are confronted with another subject. This subject is not an activity or method, for Mr. Murphy himself has just distinguished between the philosophical methods of rational inquiry and the subject into which they inquire. I have scanned Mr. Murphy's pages very carefully to discover what this subject of philosophy is which gives the philosopher authority to judge between the faiths of men. Can it be Ultimate Reality? This is the classic view. The philosopher can judge what is good because he, and he alone, has insight into the Ultimately Real as distinct from the merely apparent with which the scientist concerns himself. Against such a conception of philosophy, if only it were frankly professed, many formidable technical criticisms can be made. Here it is sufficient to point out that the relevance of Ultimate Reality—whatever it is—to questions of value is something to be established, not assumed. To invoke it at the outset is substituting a presumed answer for the question to be inquired into. It is like identifying the subject matter of physics with some special theory.

This brings us to the central issue which divides philosophers today. It is not the subject matter of philosophy which is in dispute—the quest for a set of reasonable values—but the *methods* by which values are to be established as valid. More specifically, the issue is whether or not there exists some method of testing values other than the rationale of scientific inquiry in its comprehensive sense. The rationale must not be identified with the specific methods or techniques followed in this science or that, but with the general pattern employed by any science in building up a body of reliable knowledge about the nature of things.

That Mr. Murphy believes that there are other ways of reaching true conclusions about values is obvious on almost every page of his key chapters. The "problems of men," he says, are legitimate enough as subject matter of philosophy, but any of the solutions offered for these problems must submit "to distinctively philosophical tests of clarity, comprehensiveness, and ultimacy." It is cause for regret that instead of telling us what these tests of clarity and comprehensiveness are, and how they differ from the tests of clarity and comprehensiveness in other fields, Mr. Murphy relies too

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE *Nation*

Money-Saving Magazine
Combinations

with Harpers Magazine	You save \$2.50	\$6.50
with Consumers Union	You save \$1.00	\$7.00
with Harpers Magazine and Consumers Union	You save \$3.50	\$9.00
with Free World	You save \$1.50	\$7.50
with Saturday Review	You save \$1.50	\$8.50

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION by itself

1 Year \$5 2 Years \$9 3 Years \$11

Servicemen's Rate \$3 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage—\$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

3-30-44

much on the italicized words *philosophy* and *philosophically*, as if their use made his meaning clear.

It is far from clear. Does Mr. Murphy mean to suggest that philosophical method operates with canons of logical validity other than those used in the sciences? When a scientist develops a theory of space-time or of peptic ulcers, in what way is his thinking less comprehensive than that of the philosopher, assuming that the thought of both is *relevant* to their respective subject matters? How "ultimate" must ultimacy be to be philosophical and not scientific? It may be that we need to know more to test values because of the range of their interrelationships with other values and facts than we need to know to test theories in physics. But if this is a valid ground for refusing to acknowledge the critical study of values as scientific, it would also be a ground for denying scientific status to biology and psychology, whose problems are more complicated and whose findings are less accurate than those of physics.

In places Mr. Murphy seems to suggest that philosophical thinking is *logical* thinking without telling us when logical thinking is philosophical rather than scientific. Without logical thinking we cannot legitimately infer what the consequences are which follow from the meaning of our hypotheses in science. We would not know what experiments to conduct or how to evaluate their bearing. Philosophical analysis, we are told, "is simply [!] a particularly honest, penetrating, and persistent effort to think through the intent of our own half-articulate ideas." If so, where, oh where, does Mr. Murphy derive the impression that those who believe that "problems of men" or "the quest for wisdom" are the distinctive subject matter of philosophy propose that these problems can or should be solved without a particularly honest, penetrating, and persistent effort to think things through? What they maintain is that this thinking is not sufficiently clear, ultimate, or comprehensive unless at some point it returns to the problem from which it took its departure. It may do this in various ways and can recognize a certain division of labor in its approach. But the *direction* of the thinking must have a bearing upon a possible resolution of the problem. Thinking is not clear, ultimate, or comprehensive unless it is *relevant*. And relevance is controlled by the problems and purposes of inquiry.

I do not mean to attribute to Mr. Murphy the position of absolute idealism shared by some of his colleagues on the commission (Blanshard and Hendel). For he has elsewhere disavowed it. None the less, his words suggest that his test of the comprehensiveness and ultimacy of philosophical thinking is whether it takes note of some ultimate subject matter which, although involved in the appearances scientists study, cannot be grasped by the methods of scientific inquiry. He does not do justice to the view of the experimental naturalist that the extent of the relatedness of any specific value or set of values with the nature of things is an empirically determinable matter depending upon the context of specific problems. In contradistinction to his assertion that our conclusions can possess a "fully thought-out and comprehensive validity which only philosophy can supply," naturalists maintain any problem which is genuinely solved on any level is in so far fully thought out and possesses comprehensive validity. Once more Mr. Murphy's words seems to be shad-

owed by the assumption of one great problem—the existence of the universe as a whole—that can be adequately dealt with only by philosophers.

The confrontation of these two generic points of view in philosophy is not intended here as a preface to arguing for the superiority of one of them. What is proposed is a conception of the subject matter of philosophy on which philosophers can explicitly agree. In respect to where they differ it is further proposed that they recognize their responsibilities for working out and clearly stating the methods they believe appropriate in dealing with this common subject matter. The pragmatists have put their critical faith in the basic pattern of scientific inquiry. They are doing yeoman work in developing its logic, in bringing scientific hypotheses to bear on many troubled areas of life, and in removing the obstacles to its extension and free operation. If we have a more reliable method for finding truth in the field of value than the scientific methods employed in discovering truths in other fields, it is cruel to withhold the evidence from needful man.

SIDNEY HOOK

"Americanism" Misplaced

PREFACE TO AN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY OF ART.

By A. Philip McMahon. The University of Chicago Press. \$2.50.

THIS is a distressing book. It calls for a philosophy of art for Americans that would be "consistent with their other basic insights" and distinct from the one fostered in Europe and especially in Germany. Rational and romantic idealism, holding that the root of all phenomenal reality is the individual consciousness, produced, according to the author, an aesthetic that worshiped the genius, associated beauty exclusively with the fine arts and literature, and identified the work of art with its non-sensory "idea." Hitler was in large part a creature of the doctrine of amoral egoism popularized in Germany by romantic-idealist philosophy.

But the fault goes all the way back to Descartes with his *cogito ergo sum* and to the neo-classic writers on art; thus it is interwoven with the whole development of Western thought from Descartes to Nietzsche. It is this tradition, which culminated in the "German" philosophy of aesthetics, that is now to be rejected in favor of a new "American" one. ". . . Americans who are realists in every other department of thought have no compelling obligation to adopt in art what they reject everywhere else."

Professor McMahon's own "American" philosophy of art, relying on vaguely pragmatist assumptions, yet invoking Aristotle, quarrels with the "Europeans" for their terminological untidiness (but what harm has that done?) and limits the term "art" to the arts of design, excluding poetry, drama, music, dancing, and such other audible or kinesthetic forms, to which the Greek word for "technique," often wrongly translated as "art," does not apply. The professor also shows that works of art are partly experienced as sensory objects—which no idealist ever denied; that beauty is not to be found solely in the beaux arts—which no idealist ever asserted; and that art is to be subjected to the same logical and ethical criteria as the rest of experience. (The author

expresses himself unclearly in this last, for I cannot tell whether he means art as an activity or as works of art. If he means that the latter too are to be made to undergo the tests of logic and morality, then his statement is beneath criticism.)

What is thus offered as an "American philosophy of art" dwindles under analysis to a mere set of assumptions long since taken for granted by "European" aesthetics. Nothing in them controverts, essentially, the main arguments of the idealist position, or advances the problems of aesthetics any farther toward solution. And certainly they do not justify the distressing talk about "alien" ideas and a "structure of the American mind."

Xenophobia might explain the tendentious obtuseness with which Professor McMahon seeks to reduce the whole basis of aesthetic thought from Descartes to the present century to a series of gross fallacies. The Western tradition of art philosophy has committed many errors, and I hold no brief for idealism, but it did greatly advance and clarify the subject. To deny these achievements and call for a return to Aristotle is obscurantism. It is characteristic of such obscurantism that it can interpret German idealism and romanticism only by taking one aspect of a philosopher's argument, stripping it of all qualifications and connections, and then deducing from that, with over-literal logic, the fallacies he is to be convicted of. Thus if a philosopher confines his investigation of the nature of the beautiful to works of art, he automatically becomes guilty of denying beauty to everything else.

Let it suffice here to point out but one instance of the way in which Professor McMahon "demolishes" the "German" school of aesthetics. He interprets Kant's statement, "Nature

is beautiful because it looks like art; and art can be called beautiful only if we are conscious of it as art while it yet looks like nature," to mean that successful art must imitate nature. He then charges Kant with having contradicted himself by asserting elsewhere that "beauty has nothing to do with truth"—for how can that be if beautiful art depends on imitation? The error here is to assume, unwarrantedly, that by "looks like" (*sieht aus als*) Kant meant "mirrors," that is, that art *portrays* nature. Actually, as he explained both before and after this statement, all he meant was that the "purposiveness in its [art's] form must seem to be as free from all constraint of arbitrary rules as if it were a product of mere nature." That is, art, although it must look as though it *came* from nature, does not have to *resemble* any of the content of nature, anything already present in it. Nothing but polemical bad faith can explain Professor McMahon's failure to grasp this rather clear distinction and his subsequent complete misunderstanding of the aesthetics of Kant—than whom there has been no greater thinker on art and whose revolutionary insights into its nature go unappreciated or misunderstood even today.

"Preface to an American Philosophy of Art" is a more ominous book than its author realizes. What does he think the implications of his "Americanism" are? How can he, after having inveighed as he has against European thought, fail to realize that in railing at it as "alien" as well as "mistaken" he takes over precisely the worst that Europe has to give us?

CLEMENT GREENBERG

BRIEFER COMMENT

Dirce and Hippocrene

Quintilian, Polybius, Pausanias, and Paul
Delight, inform, inspire, amuse, enrapture, and enthrall
As anyone who reads this book* by Terrot Reaveley Glover,
Late Orator Emeritus at Cambridge, will discover.

This happy don discourses on an ennead of things:
Of Cicero among his books; of Hellas' gushing springs;
Of savages; and exiles; and mankind: it isn't all
Quintilian, Polybius, Pausanias, and Paul.

An erudition lightly worn through some two hundred pages
Invests this enchiridion about the ancient sages
With a disarming innocence you might expect of one
Who Latinized the children's verse of R. L. Stevenson.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

For Deflation

EDWARD H. FAULKNER'S first book, "Plowman's Folly," was a best seller in its class, and was widely praised for raising basic questions about agricultural techniques, even by those who did not fully agree with it.

In "Uneasy Money" (Oklahoma, \$1.50) Faulkner has moved into economic fields with which he is obviously less familiar, and the result is disappointing. About half of the

*"Spirings of Hellas and Other Essays." By T. R. Glover. Macmillan, \$2.75.

You may again buy BOOKS through The Nation

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

book is a repetition of arguments in favor of disking young corn or other interim crops into topsoil—instead of deep plowing. The rest boils down to a proposal for drastic deflation.

The author believes that in order to get along with the rest of the world, and to promote world trade, the United States should reduce its costs of production and its prices to the general world level. He thinks that the agricultural techniques he advocates can initiate a deflationary cycle by cutting farm costs and food prices. He is disturbed by the size of the national debt and convinced that the United States has been impoverished by World War II.

Apparently Faulkner has never encountered, or at least has never understood, the simple proposition that a \$300 billion debt can be handled more easily by a nation with a \$200 billion annual income than a \$50 billion debt by the same nation with a \$50 billion income. Yet he would probably agree that a farmer with a \$4,000 income and a \$6,000 mortgage is much better off than the farmer with \$1,000 a year and a \$1,000 mortgage.

In any case, deflation as a deliberate national policy has so little political appeal as to be scarcely worth discussing in 1946. If there is deflation, it will come as an unplanned national disaster. However, if Faulkner's agricultural techniques prove sound in practice, they may help to raise farmers' income without contributing to the inflation which a large number of farmers apparently favor today.

CHARLES E. NOYES

France in America

RESISTANCE TO NAZI BARBARISM and Vichy capitulation assumed many forms: underground, *maquis*, Fighting France. Men of French speech never forgot that the chief dignity of man, as Pascal taught, lies in his thought. To think freely, honestly, fearlessly was to their mind a way of waging war by transcending war. So a School of Higher Studies was founded in New York as an autonomous branch of the New School for Social Research. It was subsidized, out of their scanty resources, by the Provisional Government of the French Republic and the Belgian government in exile. It was staffed by French, Belgian, Swiss, Russian, Spanish scholars: French culture is not a political entity. It was directed by Henri Focillon, Jacques Maritain, Henri Grégoire, in succession. The quarterly review *Renaissance*, of which Volumes II and III are now available in one (\$5.50), gives an epitome of its activities.

Like the French Pavilion at the New York World's Fair, like the beloved and ill-fated Normandie, it offers an epitome of French science and art. Deliberately it minimizes those elements which, legitimate and delightful as they may be, are only too well known. This is not an "*article de Paris*." There is nothing in it that will appeal to the *gourmet*, the *bon vivant*, the *viveur*, the devotee of *haute couture*. French civilization has often been summed up in a smile: a smile not frivolous, not malicious, not cynical, but wary and a trifle disenchanted. The contributors to this review do not smile. Indeed, they make a determined effort to be austere. They want to prove that Rabelais, Montaigne, Molière, Pascal, Voltaire, Renan, Anatole France are not the whole of

French tradition: no less French were Budé, Estienne, Du-cange, Benjamin Guérard, Fustel de Coulanges. This is not by any means "*le monde ou l'on s'ennuie*"; but it is even less "*le monde ou l'on s'amuse*." Their gravity, however, is not ponderous. There is a spare elegance in their scholarship. We hope the school and the review, born of the war, will survive the war. It is meet that the best of France should be present in New York, and the best of America in Paris.

ALBERT GUERARD

Latin America: The Liberal Thesis

FROM TIME TO TIME I have come across a book on Latin America which has singled itself out, amid a now declining flood of trash, by reason of its special utility or literary value. Of the dozens of such books I have read in the last few years probably not more than six have been worth dollars out of a *Nation* reader's pocket. "Industry in Latin America," by George Wythe (Columbia, \$4), is definitely to be put on the shelf with that half-dozen, for its strict and admirable utility, not for any other pleasure it will give. The liberal thesis concerning the South American republics is that their advance toward a satisfactory democracy is dependent upon their developing an adequate and partially industrialized economy. In this process the attendant changes in the size and relation of classes are considered to be the effective feature. Mr. Wythe's book enables one to test the validity of that thesis and the possibilities and difficulties of its realization. The author, who is one of the ablest writers on Latin American economy, gives a survey of what industry actually exists, the conditions of its birth, present state, and future development. His book is exhaustive without being tedious, and is sober, un-rhetorical, and scrupulously objective. Mr. Wythe does not concern himself with politics, and his expressed interest in foreign relations is confined to questions of international commerce. Nevertheless, not merely because it is the first all-inclusive effort of its kind but because it is so authoritative and exact, I recommend it to those who support the liberal thesis.

RALPH BATES

FICTION IN REVIEW

IT IS now seventeen years since the publication of Edmund Wilson's earlier work of fiction, "I Thought of Daisy." Seventeen years are seventeen years in whatever social or political situation, and if one's sense of time is stirred by the appearance of Mr. Wilson's present collection of connected stories, "Memoirs of Hecate County" (Doubleday, \$2.50), it may be in part because of the emotions that naturally attend the contemplation of any small completed arc of experience. But there is, in addition, our awareness of the special nature of these years—an awareness sharpened by Mr. Wilson's own intense response to them. Of all critics, Edmund Wilson is perhaps most torturedly alert to the social-moral disintegration of the last two decades, to the disintegrating effect of awful political events upon our artistic life. He is preeminently the critic of our contemporary despair, to whom the whole of our present-day culture presents

itself as the record of a hopelessly dissolving society. Distinguished for his deep roots in traditional values, he seems to draw but bitter nourishment from them. He is an instance in which a long range of profound knowledge provides none of the solace of a long-range point of view. On the contrary, his feeling about the past seems increasingly to exacerbate his feeling about the present, until—in turn—his feeling about the present sends him back to reinvestigate the past for confirmation that even in a better day disease—within the individual, if not in the surrounding world—was a natural or expectable state of sentient man.

It is so highly subjective an attitude, however accurate may be the perception of objective circumstances on which it is based—and in his criticism Mr. Wilson projects it so handsomely—that it is both futile and impertinent to argue with it; one can only state one's own dissent from it, assert one's own conviction that no matter how bad the dominant forces around us, the creative will of the individual need not be at their mercy. The fact that it is subjective does not, however, mean that it is peculiar to Mr. Wilson alone or that it does not have its clear source in recent intellectual history. For every destructive social event there are the temperaments prepared to receive its full painful impact, and a considerable section of our best-trained literary opinion operates on a similar sad recoil from the broken promises of Marxism.

Even more immediately than his recent critical writing Mr. Wilson's present volume of stories is an unhappy response to the contemporary social and cultural situation of this country. Consciously or unconsciously "Memoirs of Hecate County" is a sequel to "I Thought of Daisy": the earlier book was Mr. Wilson's record of American artistic and intellectual life in the '20's; the present book is his record of American artistic and intellectual life in the '30's and '40's. And Mr. Wilson is still as fine a social reporter as before, with a Proustian eye for typically specialized department. The cultural alterations he notes from these intervening years are numerous and significant; the two books together make an enormously valuable document of social change. Now, instead of Greenwich Village, the setting of Bohemia is the expensive suburbs and the East Sixties. Now, instead of the romantic lure of the theater, there is the commercial lure of Hollywood and the radio. Through Mr. Wilson's keen observation we see—as the years pass—a small private income metamorphose from security into inconsequentiality; we measure an appreciable increase in alcoholic consumption; we watch the abortive effort of the intellectual to break down his intellectual isolation and come to terms with economic and political realities; we see the transformation of important, if frenetic, sexual relationships into the cold phenomena of a psychiatric textbook. Most significant of all, we study the alteration in the author's own relation to his environment, the loss of his sense of a cohering purposeful connection with the people among whom he lives. For while it is questionable whether there was more integrity in the artistic life of the '20's than there is today, certainly there was more integration. For instance, in "I Thought of Daisy" it was still possible, if one were not oneself a member of the bohemian élite, to be made to feel an outsider at a Village party; but in "Memoirs of Hecate County" the gates of the pseudo-Elizabethan houses can be crashed by

anyone with the right pretensions; it is only the narrator who, in the degree that he remembers a day of greater dedication, can himself at times feel a bit of an outsider.

And yet there is a curious contradiction in the new stories between, on the one hand, the narrator's awareness of his lack of sympathy with his social milieu and, on the other, the quality as well as the fact of his participation in it. Mr. Wilson's protagonist is a sociological critic of art, a person of taste and learning. Yet, completely free to choose a different set of associates, he appears to feel compelled to select this riffraffish company—simply because that is the most available contemporary product. That is, Mr. Wilson implies an absence of free will even in our choice of friends. But even if it were true that we are such will-less victims of the dominant environment, there would still be no need for his narrator to act as he does *within* this context. The jacket of "Memoirs of Hecate County" describes the book as the "adventures of an egotist among the bedeviled," and one must be egotist indeed to have so little heart for the stragglers and swaggers among whom one has thrown in one's lot. Why should a group of poor devils be seen as such a group of incarnate Devils? There is a very rigid moralism in Mr. Wilson's book. The criterion by which his spokesman makes his discriminations between good and evil is so close to a religious one that we are tempted to accuse him of the very Manichean heresy—the belief that "the devil is contending on equal terms with God and that the fate of the world is in doubt"—which he himself protests in one of the stories.

Mr. Wilson's unrelenting heart is particularly distressing in his longest and central story, *The Princess with the Golden Hair*. This is the story which is already attaining a certain whispered fame for its supposed pornographic interest. I myself do not find Mr. Wilson's detailed sexual passages disturbing because they are daring, but I do find them disturbing because of the breach they make between sensation and emotion. As in "I Thought of Daisy," two girls divide the attention of the narrator of *The Princess with the Golden Hair*—a remote figure of fantasy and a real human being. And just as in "I Thought of Daisy" his encounter with the warm, proletarian Daisy has the purpose of breaking down the "dreadful isolation of the artist" which has been reinforced by the goddess-like Rita, so in "Memoirs of Hecate County" the narrator's encounter with the dance-hall hostess, Anna, is supposed to serve as a healthy counter to the worship of the fairy-tale Imogen. But the new story carries its anatomizing of reality and idealism a dangerous step farther than it was carried in the early novel. Now it would seem not to be sufficient to show that compared to the invigorating nature of reality, romantic idealism is thin stuff to feed on. Idealism—Imogen—must be shown to be morbidly diseased. But so, too, must reality—Anna—be shown to be diseased: she gives the narrator gonorrhea. There is, then, no one in either the mythological upper world or the proletarian under world to break down the artist's isolation. He is doomed by the given circumstances.

But the point is that Mr. Wilson's protagonist does nothing to improve these circumstances. His sexual relationships with Imogen and Anna are merely laboratory tests of society; and laboratory tests, whether on a high intellectual

level or a primitive pragmatic level, are cold things compared to love. If the hero of "Memoirs of Hecate County" had loved Anna, he would have got her to a doctor as quickly as he got himself; if he had loved Imogen, he would have made a move to see that she got help for her neurotic disorder instead of grimly shutting her out of his life with the grim shutting of the textbook in which he discovered what ails her. There are, after all, ways in which we can still alter—or at least will to alter—unhappy fact.

Clearly, I do not mean this to say that it is the job of the intellectual to go about doing good in a bad world. But we do have the right, I think, to ask that he maintain, amid disorder, some principle of private order from which a principle of general order could be induced—that he keep, for example, a sound integration between his own head and heart; which, of course, is just another way of saying that he should not confuse sensation with emotion. For if he allows himself to be disintegrated by his disintegrated society, all he will generalize is mess; but if he maintains his integration within a disintegrated society, he will at least have a tragic experience, a meaningful experience of pain. And that is everlastingly the intellectual's job—to be meaningful, despite and above his social situation.

DIANA TRILLING

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille with John Raitt • Iva Withers
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Effie Afton
44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

MAJESTIC THEATRE

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

ST. JAMES THEATRE

"A Gag-Happy-
Meaning-
ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by **CARSON KANIN**
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • **OSCAR HOMOLKA**
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX
45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4030.
Evgs. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

"GREAT STUFF"—Kronenberger, PM
KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Music by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2d
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT.
ZIEGFELD THEA., 54th Street and Sixth Avenue, Cl. 5-5200
Evgs. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp
MAIL BOXES PROMPTLY FILLED

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
86th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILLY
Coney Island

Queens
Kelt's
FLUSHING
Kelt's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL

RKO NOW

"An always interesting drama."—N. Y. Sun

BARBARA
STANWYCK

'MY REPUTATION'

with
GEORGE BRENT • LUCILE WATSON • EVE

From the novel "Instruct My Sorrows" by Clare Jaynes

'RED DRAGON'

SIDNEY TOLER

"Deanna up to her dimples in revelry. . .
A carnival of delight." —Walter Winchell.

DEANNA DURBIN

FRANCHOT TONE CHARLES LAUGHTON

'BECAUSE of HIM'

'GAME OF DEATH'

JOHN LODER
AUDREY LONG

PARAMOUNT presents
BING CROSBY BOB HOPE

DOROTHY LAMOUR

"ROAD TO UTOPIA"

MIDNIGHT FEATURE NIGHTLY

NOW **PARAMOUNT** TIMES SQUARE

— In Person —
BENNY GOODMAN

His Clarinet and
Orchestra with
The Famous Sextet

— Featuring —
MEL POWELL
PAT HENNING

VIVIAN BLAINE • DENNIS O'KEEFE
PERRY COMO • CARMEN MIRANDA

DOLL FACE

Produced by ESTAH FOY • Directed by LEWIS SEILER

A 20th CENTURY-FOX PICTURE

ON STAGE IN PERSON!

LOU WALTERS Presents

LATIN QUARTER REVUE

— AND —
RAY ENGLISH • THE PITCHMEN

EXTRA!

ARTHUR LEE SIMKINS

ROXY 7th Ave. at
50th Street

8 BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Free thinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Halde- man-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In fact, it is only in essays written for Halde- man-Julius that Dr. Russell can give circulation to the mind-liberating thoughts he feels should be made known to the average person. Most standard publishers are afraid to issue works that are frowned on by the orthodox and conventional. Such a restriction is never encountered in the editorial department of the H-J Publications. In the booklets listed below Dr. Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

- THE VALUE OF FREE THOUGHT. How to Become a Truth-Seeker and Break the Chains of Mental Slavery. . . 25¢
AN OUTLINE OF INTELLECTUAL RUB- BISH. A Hilarious Catalogue of Organized and Individual Stupidity. . . 25¢
HOW TO READ AND UNDERSTAND HIS- TORY. The Past as the Key to the Future. . . 25¢
HOW TO BECOME A PHILOSOPHER, A LOGICIAN, A MATHEMATICIAN. . . 30¢
WHAT CAN A FREEMAN WORSHIP? . . 25¢
WHY I AM NOT A CHRISTIAN. . . 25¢
HAS RELIGION MADE USEFUL CON- TRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION? . . 25¢
A LIBERAL VIEW OF DIVORCE. . . 25¢

We offer all eight booklets by Ber- trand Russell for only \$1.45, prepaid. Ask for BERTRAND RUSSELL'S EIGHT BOOKLETS. Address:

E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS,
Box R-1930 • Girard, Kansas

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of
The Nation's
Special Class Room Rate --

25¢

Monthly per Student

for orders of ten or more
copies to be sent to one
address — Desk copy is
supplied free.

Address your order to

THE NATION

20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE old Victor set of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1 offers the solo part in the first and last movements with the exciting musical life created by Schnabel's sharply contoured inflection—but this in a characterless or- chestral context. In the new Victor set (1036; \$4.50) the exciting life is in the orchestral context created by Tos- canini with the NBC Symphony around the flow of characterless piano sounds produced by Ania Dorfman. It is true that inflection like Schnabel's cannot be done in fast tempos like Toscanini's, which make those two movements mar- velously light and buoyant, but which also make it difficult for a pianist to do much more than get in all the notes. But Dorfman's playing is just as char- acterless in the slow movement, in which, on the other hand, Schnabel's excessively slow pace and his phrasing destroy the contours that Toscanini makes so clear, the continuity that he makes so strong. We are told that the new performance was recorded in Car- negie Hall; and this is made credible by the beauty of the reproduced sound of piano and orchestra. The sound of the old Schnabel performance, I might add, is surprisingly good.

Victor also gives us Toscanini's powerful performance of Beethoven's "Coriolan" Overture with the NBC Symphony (11-9023; \$1). On the second side of my copy treble and bass are well-balanced and the sound is clear and bright; on the first side, however, bad balance makes the sound muffled on top and heavy and unclear down below. If the defects of the first side are not the result of faulty recording (and I don't think they are, if only because I don't think Toscanini would have ap- proved the recording if he had heard those differences between the two sides in the first test-pressings) then they are the result of faulty manufacturing pro- cess and other things which look no better to the public's eye: my copy may be one of those pressed from a particular defective stamper; and if so these copies either were not detected by inspection, or, if detected, were not withheld from sale.

The new recording of Berlioz's Sym- phonie Fantastique by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony (Set 994;

\$6.50) has provided an occasion for me to hear the work again for the first time in several years, and to be newly fas- cinated by the Berlioz mind as it reveals itself in the wonderfully original Berlioz language and thought. The performance is excellent; and the records reproduce it with richness, clarity, and spacious- ness, but with some alteration of its original plastic proportions by mon- keyed-with volume-levels, and with bad distortion in the drum-rolls on the last side of the third movement.

Though I prefer a performance that corresponds to the composer's blueprint, I am open to conviction by one that de- parts from it. Where a composer's thought is as subtle as Debussy's I think it wise for a performer to adhere strictly to the detailed and precise blueprint that Debussy provides for its realization; but I would not mind E. Robert Schmitz's ignoring or doing the opposite of what Debussy directs if by so doing he pro- duced something valid in its own way. What I object to in his performances, of the first volume of Debussy's Preludes (Set 1031; \$5.75) is that they are un- imaginative and insensitive. And also that they are pianistically incompetent: no music, and least of all Debussy's, can be played with such heaviness and crudeness of attack and sound, such slovenliness of execution. These faults of the playing, finally, are made worse by the recording.

I don't like to hear Chopin played in the excessively mannered style of Hor- owitz's performances of the Andante spianato and Grande Polonaise Opus 22, the Valse Opus 34 No. 2, and the popular A flat Polonaise Opus 53 (Set 1034; \$3.50); but as something achieved on the piano the execution of that style—the precise chiseling of the fine gradations of beautiful sound—is breath-taking. And it is marvelously re- produced by the records. The Polonaise Opus 53 also is issued on a single (11-9065; \$1).

In the Menuhin-Landowska perfor- mance of Bach's great E major Sonata (Set 1035; \$3.50) the tempos are pon- derously over-deliberate, Menuhin pro- duces an inflated and coarse tone un- mitigated by any stylistic inflection, and Landowska pounds away in her present gigantesque fashion.

On a single (11-9025; \$1) are Brail- owsky's performance of Liszt's charm- ing Valse Impromptu in A flat, exces- sively mannered in spots, and a perfor- mance of Liszt's "La Campanella" which produces its fireworks with bril- liance.

Letters to the Editors

Professor Schuman Protests

Dear Sirs: For writers of books to review what is written about their books by book reviewers is usually in bad taste. Debate *de gustibus* is particularly painful when the author is in general accord with the political outlook and social objectives of the reviewer. I trust, therefore, that Dr. Niebuhr will be indulgent if I suggest that his comments on my "Soviet Politics" in your issue of February 23, interesting and valuable as they are, have so little to do with the book as to convey a wholly misleading impression of its scope and purport. When a book on Russia by a *Nation* contributor receives a more accurate and adequate review from William Henry Chamberlin in the *Chicago Tribune* than it receives from Dr. Niebuhr in *The Nation*, an author's postscript is in order.

Careless misquotations are scarcely helpful. I did not write that "the Russian adventure . . . was reared . . . amid the excitement of vast adventures," etc., since I do not thus abuse the English language nor, ordinarily, does Dr. Niebuhr. I did not write that "no such development [that is, the reorientation of Soviet policy toward world revolution] is possible." My word was "probable," which is quite different. I did not evaluate Soviet art and science in terms of "productivity" per man-hour but in terms of "striking accomplishments." I did not limit my discussion of the future of Western democracy to "a single sentence," but to some thirty pages, all listed in the Index under "Democracy." I plead innocent to the charge of "not adequately explaining" my reasons for regarding world government as possible and necessary in the atomic age. The matter is dealt with at length, with further references in the Notes.

Dr. Niebuhr's chief complaint is that I do not understand or discuss freedom and democracy or the extent to which and the ways in which political liberty has been sacrificed to economic security in Soviet society. Yet more than a hundred pages of the book are devoted to precisely these issues, a fact easily ascertainable from the Table of Contents. Dr. Niebuhr writes: "If genuine liberty has been sacrificed [in the U. S. S. R.], we ought to know about it." This, he help me, is exactly what much of the book is about. I am not persuaded,

moreover, nor will readers of the book be easily persuaded, that my understanding of freedom is inferior to Dr. Niebuhr's. He has obviously no obligation to accept either my conclusions or my premises. But he might properly be deemed to have a duty of seeing what is in the book and of not seeing what is not in the book.

Since no one would guess the fact from the "review," it may be useful to point out that "Soviet Politics" is a detailed and documented history and reinterpretation of the Russian Revolution, the Soviet state, the Communist Party, and the course of Soviet foreign policy before, during, and since World War II. Its value, if any, is for others to judge. But it is difficult for readers to judge a book review which nowhere indicates what the book is about. And it is even more difficult for a reviewer to judge a book without reading it, though some critics do indeed attempt the task, lest knowledge of the contents inhibit criticism. I doubt, however, whether Dr. Niebuhr ought to engage in this practice or whether *The Nation* ought to encourage it.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

Williamstown, Mass., March 4

Dr. Niebuhr Replies

Dear Sirs: If an author cannot resist the temptation to challenge a critical review of his book he ought at least not to indulge in the hackneyed charge that the reviewer has not read his book. I thought, and still think, that I gave a pretty good account of what Dr. Schuman's book is about, though I must confess that my review does not do justice to the imagination and verve with which he makes history live. Had I, however, done full justice to his earlier chapters on Bolshevik history, I would have been compelled also to be critical of his psychoanalysis of Trotsky, which seems to obscure rather than clarify the age-old conflict between the absolutist, Trotsky, and the statesman-relativist, Stalin.

On specific points: I did not criticize the author for devoting a single sentence to the problems of American democracy but rather to giving a single sentence to the idea that a mixed economy is a solution for those problems. I stick to that, with the additional observation that I was not particularly critical of his economy. I merely mentioned it.

On the question of making "productivity" the criterion of the adequacy of Soviet art, I am afraid I will have to quote him just a little more fully and let the record stand. Professor Schuman writes: "Foreign critics readily conclude that the Soviet intelligentsia is in helpless bondage and consists of sycophantic automatons, reduced to complete sterility. Nothing could be further from the truth. No government anywhere at any time has done more than the U. S. S. R. to promote art and science by providing facilities for work and publication, and by giving scientists and artists economic security through regular salaries and generous rewards. This policy has paid dividends by the striking accomplishments of Soviet music, drama, cinema, literature, as well as the biological and physical sciences. Yet all contributors have lacked 'freedom in the Western sense.' And as freedom is commonly viewed in the West as the *sine qua non* of productivity, the enigma of Soviet culture seems to many quite inexplicable." The word "productivity" is his and not mine. The full quotation also reveals that Professor Schuman believes that a government subsidy of art and artists is a refutation of the idea that the government exercises undue influence upon the artist. I can imagine no more revealing non sequitur.

Even with appendices Professor Schuman gives only a sketchy account of his confidence in the possibility of world government. I must say that he does this more adequately in some of his other writings. But if Professor Schuman wants to bring up that point he might prompt a very long review of all his books, showing that he has a bewildering habit of ascending to the most rarefied heights of constitutional idealism and then descending to the depths of *Realpolitik* without giving the poor reader a chance to adjust himself to the different levels.

Having indulged in these polemics, I could wish that I had given a "soft answer that turneth away wrath." For, after all, the book is very good. I

BOOKS FOUND FREE/0¢

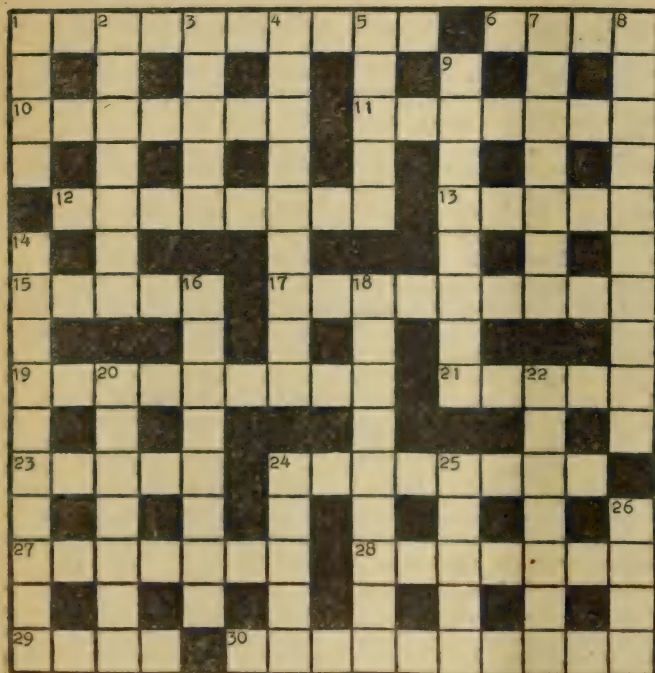
WHAT BOOKS DO YOU WANT?

We quote lowest market prices. No charge for locating Hard-to-Find and Out-of-Print Books. All books, OLD or NEW, mailed POST-FREE.

SEARCHLIGHT BOOK REPORTS
22 East 17th Street, New York City

Crossword Puzzle No. 154

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Bold undertaking that seems to record a reward
- 6 Always rises to the top
- 10 Or cages? Victorian women must have thought so!
- 11 Man over the others
- 12 Inns here (anag.)
- 13 Mythical figure in Welsh tradition after whom the English named a table water!
- 15 Not sub rosa
- 17 I've no tail (anag.)
- 19 Is avenged (anag.)
- 21 L C
- 23 Girl I care for
- 24 The "Garden of Italy"
- 27 "But they while their companions slept Were ----- upward in the night"
- 28 Notorious Neapolitan secret society
- 29 A bad thing to fly into
- 30 Went to look for a sheep, had a 57-year nap, woke up, went on looking for the sheep

DOWN

- 1 Engrave
- 2 This Roman comic poet might be Irish!
- 3 Straight part of the stream between bends
- 4 What's the editor doing going over the manuscript again? (hyphen, 2-7)
- 5 "Laugh, and the world laughs with you; -----, and you sleep alone"

- 7 I bar Mac (anag.)
- 8 Served in the Scottish church?
- 9 I sent Moe (anag.)
- 14 Do write your girl one! (two words, 4 & 6)
- 16 What Abel Tasman discovered in 1642
- 18 A pocket-companion (hyphen, 4-5)
- 20 Masking
- 22 Coupling-rod of a locomotive (hyphen, 4-3)
- 24 Not a helping hand (two words, 3 & 2)
- 25 Gee this is ham!
- 26 They simply beam on us

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 153

ACROSS:—1 DEBUT; 6 EASEL; 9 HAILING; 10 IDLER; 11 GLAZE; 12 UNICORN; 16 GREASE; 19 EOLITH; 22 CHALLENGE; 23 PLEA; 24 EIRE; 25 DISCOVER; 26 ANTI; 27 EVIL; 28 A LONE STAR; 31 BORNEO; 33 ENSIGN; 36 ATOMIST; 39 LOBES; 40 LOINS; 41 EPISODE; 42 HELMS; 43 RATEL.

DOWN:—1 DOING; 2 BULGE; 3 THRUSH; 4 MIMI; 5 DIDO; 6 EGGNOG; 7 SPAHI; 8 LEECH; 13 NEAT'S-FOOT; 14 COLD CREAM; 15 RENOVATES; 17 ROLANDO; 18 ACADIAN; 20 LEERERS; 21 TURNING; 29 LEASES; 30 ANTLER; 31 BELCH; 32 REBEL; 34 IDIOT; 35 NASAL; 37 OHIO; 38 TRON.

should think a not too sensitive author would have gathered that the reviewer intended to convey that impression.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

New York, March 6

R. S. V. P.

Dear Sirs: A group of public-spirited citizens in Rhode Island has formed a Rhode Island Citizens' Political Action Committee, which is affiliated with the national Citizens' P. A. C., and cordially invites *Nation* readers and progressive citizens of Rhode Island who are interested in working for the P. A. C. to join. Membership chairman is Milton Paisner, 706 Pontiac Avenue, Cranston.

MILTON PAISNER

Cranston, R. I., March 1

Lucky Strike Means—

Dear Sirs: The strike of the 2,500 women cigar makers against the American Tobacco Company is getting to be an "American" scandal. On March 14 these women had been walking the picket lines 150 days! All they are asking for is a 25-cent raise—and from a company whose sweatshop tactics have netted it more than \$20,000,000 yearly.

The best offer made so far by the company was a 7-cent raise—and this to women who now make only 52 cents an hour (\$20.80 for a forty-hour week).

Need I say that these women need help? Money sent directly to the office of the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers of America, 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa., will reach them, as will money sent to the National Citizens' Emergency Committee to Aid Strikers' Families, in New York City.

KARL KORSTAD

Philadelphia, Pa., March 17

RESORTS

RESERVE NOW FOR EASTER

Lakecrest

On Hunn's Lake • Stanfordsville, N. Y.
90 miles from N. Y. Ideal location in the heart of
DUTCHESS COUNTY. Excellent accommodations,
cordial hospitality. Recordings. Library. All seasonal
sports. Via N. Y. C. R. R. to Amenia, N. Y. Open all year.
WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS
EVA BEGG, Director Stanfordsville 2328

INVITATION TO RELAX

Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous country-side, roaring fireplace, delicious food—and fun.
Only 53 miles from New York!

MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY

Plum Point
"Year-Round
New Windsor, N. Y. Vacation Resort"
Tel. Newburgh 4274

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 6, 1946

NUMBER 14

The Shape of Things

AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS MAY WELL be wondering whether the union that staged the riotous free-for-all at Atlantic City last week is the same union that held its lines solidly for 112 days in the Battle of General Motors. Reading the communiqués, they learned that, over the opposition of C. I. O. President Philip Murray, Walter P. Reuther won the presidency of the union by a margin of 124 votes out of 8,000; that, over *his* opposition, one of the two vice-presidencies went to his rival, R. J. Thomas, president for the past eight years, and the other to Richard T. Leonard, who squeaked in by less than 50 votes; and that in administering the union Reuther will thus have a slim majority of the membership with him and a coalition of subordinate officials theoretically against him. But the motor magnates should not take too much comfort from these proceedings. In the first place, they already know Reuther as a shrewder, more imaginative, and more dynamic man to deal with than his predecessor, a new type of labor leader, fully alert to the political and social currents of the country. The opposing coalition, moreover, is not likely to last long; it already shows signs of cracking at the seams. Finally, most labor observers believe that Murray will have no trouble in patching up relations with Reuther, whose elevation to the executive board of the C. I. O. will prove embarrassing primarily to those who would have that organization serve the special interests of the Communist Party. All in all, we believe the labor movement, as well as Walter Reuther, is to be congratulated on the outcome at Atlantic City.

✱

FRANCE, "A NATION TWICE RUINED IN thirty years," as Léon Blum has just reminded us, is seeking our aid in regaining its economic health. As special emissary of the French government, M. Blum has given the Administration in Washington a frank and graphic account of French difficulties. He has outlined the program for reconstruction which his country is following and has stressed the great efforts which Frenchmen have made since liberation to speed recovery and the great sacrifices which are currently being accepted in order to increase national productivity. Now Jean Monnet, as head of the French financial delegation, is pre-

senting detailed arguments in support of a loan to France to Treasury and State Department officials. Apparently he is not asking for a specified amount but has pointed out that France cannot hope to achieve a balance of payments in international transactions before 1950, and will only be able to do so then if in the meantime it has increased production 10 per cent or more above the 1929 level. To reach that goal French industry must be re-equipped and modernized by the purchase of American machinery, and vast quantities of raw materials must be imported. Altogether, the French experts estimate, foreign purchases amounting to \$11 billion will be needed during the next five years—a considerably greater sum than can be covered by the proceeds of exports and existing French reserves of gold and foreign exchange. Probably as much as \$2½ billion will be required to fill the gap, while the most that can be offered, since the Administration is unwilling to go to Congress for authorization of a special loan, is about \$1 billion from the resources of the Export-Import Bank. This sum, however, would tide France over the next eighteen months and allow time for negotiation of a reconstruction loan from the new World Bank.

✱

JAPAN IS TO HAVE AN ELECTION NEXT week, but the returns will not necessarily reflect the country's true sentiments even though the electorate will be more than doubled and women will vote for the first time. Reactionary politicians ensconced in the misnamed Progressive and Liberal parties have enjoyed great advantages. Well financed and well organized, they have been able to contest nearly twice as many seats as the Communists and Socialists; the elections are being held under

IN NEXT WEEK'S NATION

A Special Supplement

SPAIN'S CASE BEFORE THE UNO

ALSO a cabled article by J. Alvarez del Vayo reporting on the recent Congress of French Socialists.

IN subsequent issues The Nation will publish Del Vayo's interviews with François Billoux, Minister of Reconstruction, "The Rebuilding of France," and Edouard Herriot, "The Tragedy of Liberalism."

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	385
Big States, Little Men <i>by J. King Gordon</i>	387
Here and There <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	388

ARTICLES

Atomic Pie in the Sky <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	390
What's in the Cards for Labor? <i>by Robert Bendiner</i>	391
Palestine Notes <i>by Constantine Poulos</i>	394
To Your Health! <i>by James E. Murray</i>	396
Bogomolets in America <i>by Martin Gumpert</i>	398
In the Wind	399
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	400
The People's Front <i>by Del Vayo</i>	401

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Death of the Gods <i>A Poem by Randall Jarrell</i>	402
The Condition of Man <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	402
The World from Moscow <i>by Denis Plimmer</i>	403
Briefer Comment	404
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	406
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	409
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	409

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 410

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 155 412 *by Jack Barrett*

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor *Literary Editor*
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$9; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

the supervision of the Shidehara government, which has winked at bribery and coercion by reactionary candidates and ignored their brazen attacks on the United States and their praise of Japan's warlike virtues. The Socialists and Communists have been hampered by lack of funds and, outside of the larger cities, by inadequate organization due to long suppression. They have also been harassed by the police force, which was reshuffled but left virtually unpurged, and in which the disbanded "thought police" continue their intimidation under the guise of "food inspectors" or "economic police." If Japan elects a substantial number of genuine anti-fascists, it will be a real tribute to the people's political courage.

✱

BERNARD BARUCH'S STATEMENT ON PRICES and wages was a curious hodge-podge of economic horse sense and starry-eyed political hokum. Although supporting extension of the price-control act, he criticized subsidies, and played completely into the hands of the opposition by declaring that strict enforcement of price control might bring about "an economic and social revolution." His warning against further tax reductions showed a basic understanding of economics, but he was clearly playing for the grandstand when he insisted that we "stop bunking the public by saying that wage increases can be granted without increases in price levels." His plea for the groups caught between the millstones—clerks, teachers, government employees, and pensioners—undoubtedly struck a responsible chord in the hearts of millions throughout the country, but his suggestions for aiding these workers were unfortunately far less specific than those for aiding business. Mr. Baruch might be excused for his somewhat sentimental confusion on these issues if he had not, with apparent naivete, asked that strikes be outlawed and foreign loans be suspended "until production warrants it." Thus while he would remove as many restrictions on industry as possible in order to save free enterprise, he would initiate a system of labor controls which the country would not accept even in war time. And in concentrating on domestic recovery, he ignored the rehabilitation of the world economy on which both peace and prosperity depend.

✱

BRITAIN HAS HAD A NATIONAL HEALTH insurance system for over thirty years, but its scope has been limited. Now the Labor government has introduced a really comprehensive National Health Service bill which provides for everybody. Nobody will be compelled to use the service, but for all who do there will be absolutely free medical, surgical, and dental care, hospitalization, treatment in specialized clinics, home nursing, medicines, and even the provision of such appliances as eyeglasses. Patients will be allowed to choose their own doctors from among those joining the service; doc-

tors may take private patients, though if the ideals of the bill are fully realized and medical attention of a quality hitherto enjoyed only by the well-to-do made available to all, there are not likely to be many private patients. Parliament may amend the bill in some details, but it will undoubtedly pass, for not only has it the enthusiastic support of the large Labor majority but it has been fully indorsed in principle by the other parties.

✱

THE ONE STRONG SOURCE OF OPPOSITION IS the conservative British Medical Association, which has even threatened to boycott the program. Just as in this country, the hierarchy of the profession is intent on retaining a system which offers glittering prizes to a few doctors while leaving the majority underpaid, which gives priority to the health of the well-to-do while neglecting that of the mass of the population. But in Britain the medical diehards are virtually licked. Here, as Senator Murray reminds us on another page, they are putting up an unscrupulous and unrelenting fight to defeat the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, which authorizes a scheme of national health insurance considerably more modest than the British plan. The bill is favored by public opinion, but it may well be lost unless the consumers of medical services organize intensively to offset the pressure that the American Medical Association and the drug manufacturers are exerting on Congress.

✱

THE WAVE OF PROTESTS THAT GREETED THE government's announcement of a ban on unrestricted non-residential construction in themselves gave strong evidence of the need for this move. It is estimated that non-residential construction for the country as a whole might have reached \$5,000,000,000 if no restrictions had been imposed. Since the supply of building materials and labor will permit no more than \$7,500,000,000 in new construction and the minimum residential goal is \$5,000,000,000, a drastic cut was obviously required. This will not mean that all non-residential building must be suspended but it does mean that the area review committees will have to consider each project and set up a system of priorities based on local conditions. Householders are precluded from making drastic alterations or additions to their homes, but will be permitted to make repairs costing no more than \$400. Painful though these restrictions are, they are clearly necessary if there is to be an adequate supply of building materials for veterans' homes. However, restrictions will not build houses. Unless the Senate restores the essential provisions of the Patman housing bill, with subsidies for building materials and price ceilings on old as well as on new homes, veterans will not get houses at prices they can afford to pay.

Big States, Little Men

BY KING GORDON

Hunter College, New York, March 29

THE debate of the first week of the Security Council meetings has emphasized the fact that peace is slow a-borning. Almost a year ago a New York *Herald Tribune* editorial discussed the opening of the San Francisco conference under "the vast overriding shadow—the shadow of total war." Then the Germans were still battling the Russians in the streets and subways of Berlin, the R. A. F. had just blasted Berchtesgaden, and the French First and the American Third and Seventh armies were driving across Bavaria. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were still three and a half months ahead. Today the two last rows, center, in the Hunter College auditorium were reserved for disabled veterans. What was happening here was what they had been fighting for. Or was it?

The sessions provided no mighty cause for hope, but at least they furnished some evidence of an international authority rooted in justice. The authority was not without question nor the justice without blemish. And the cynics are having their day. The *Daily Worker*, of course, views all the non-Russian delegates, with the exception of St. Oscar Lange, as anti-Soviet conspirators. Others, not on the party line, listen skeptically to the moral protestations of Messrs. Byrnes and Cadogan and note with interest that the crude word "oil" never stains their diplomatic parlance. They question, in fact, whether the United Nations will ever transcend the power politics of the states that make up the organization. And they find grounds for their skepticism in Byrnes's implacability as much as in Gromyko's speciousness.

There are reasons, however, to believe that some progress in international understanding was made last week and that more could have been made had the delegates shown larger imagination and more courage. It is even possible that the crisis itself might have been avoided without damage to the UNO's charter. For to those who followed the debate for the two crucial days it was quite apparent that Gromyko did not want a showdown even after he had placed a most unparliamentary chip on his shoulder.

At the outset Byrnes was on completely solid ground when he insisted on the right of the Iranian ambassador to appear before the Council. To have accepted Gromyko's unilateral assurance that all went well in Iran and that "the so-called Iranian question" was no fit subject for the Council would have been a flat denial of the right of any small nation to appeal. Even to have accepted Gromyko's request for delay until April 10 would have set a dangerous precedent unless it had been clearly shown why such postponement was desirable. Gromyko's argument could have persuaded no disinterested member

of the Council or the audience. In fact, in this debate the Soviet delegate appeared to be not so much a member of the Security Council with full powers of deliberation and decision as an emissary from the Kremlin who had brought a message and was waiting for an answer.

Byrnes, with less reason, appeared equally inflexible and showed no inclination to make it easier for a man who, acting on narrow directives, was obviously in a tough spot. Byrnes showed his stubbornness by browbeating the mild Chinese chairman, deftly sidetracking the amendment of the not so mild Australian, and piloting his favored motion through to a nine-to-two vote. He seemed much more intent on asserting the leadership of the United States as over against the world than using that leadership, which nobody challenged, to advance world understanding. It was strange last Friday to hear the delegates praising with remarkable unanimity the "statesmanlike" proposal of the United States Secretary of State when they had given the brush-off on Wednesday to substantially the same proposal formulated by the Australian Hodgson. I do not know whether Gromyko would have accepted Hodgson's motion to request more information in writing from both Russia and Iran: certainly it appeared a reasonable compromise at the time and could have been carried with no loss of prestige to the UNO or of face to the Soviet Union.

It was a great pity that the Hodgson motion was never put. The procedural anarchy that characterized the sessions cannot be too strongly condemned. The utter confusion that prevailed, with motions, substitute motions, and amendments floating around in twos and threes, made it almost impossible that a reasonable conclusion should be reached. Parliamentary rules could not in themselves save the United Nations, but at least they could save needless confusion and provide a better demonstration of democracy at work than the Soviet delegate witnessed this week.

There was, of course, in the debate a deeper conflict than that arising from immediate disputes over oil and spheres of influence or from personal idiosyncrasies. James Reston put his finger on it when in last Sunday's *New York Times* he outlined the basic difference in attitude to the UNO between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. The former, from the very beginning, has "favored an organization designed to give world sanction and support to policies previously agreed upon by the great powers." The Western powers, while willing to make big concessions at the outset so as to include Russia, have thought of the UNO as "an organization which would preserve the equality of the members on all questions except the most important fundamental decisions to take punitive action against one of the member states." In this week's debate the Soviet delegate, standing in the tradition of Soviet delegates in all the

UNO conferences to date, carried this issue of big-power supremacy right back into matters of procedure.

Whether there can be any rapprochement between these two points of view remains to be seen. There is nothing to indicate that the Soviet Union desires to withdraw from the UNO, and there is much to indicate that the Western powers, if chagrined by Russia's unilateral acts, are anxious to prevent its return to isolation. They share with the Soviet Union a belief that the unanimity of the great powers is the only true safeguard of peace but feel equally strongly that in any free society unanimity must be reached by compromise and not by dictation from one or from a few. The next weeks will show whether we have advanced any substantial distance toward such unanimity.

Here and There

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

ANGLO-AMERICAN VETO

THERE is more than one way of preventing discussion of an issue by the Security Council. You can walk out, bringing down on your head an avalanche of criticism. Or, if you are strong enough, you can simply make it plain that you do not wish the matter brought up. Both methods have been applied during the past week. The superiority of the second is demonstrated by the heavy silence hanging over the question of Franco Spain. Britain and the United States have not even needed to reinforce their position with the threat of armed force; it has been sufficient to lock France in financial negotiations in Washington, negotiations upon which depends the whole economic future of that nation. Léon Blum is hostage to the determination of Foreign Office and State Department to throttle debate on Spain.

Since the three-power (British, French, United States) declaration was issued on March 5, France has twice urged submitting the question of Spain to the United Nations. Twice Britain and the United States have opposed it. Faced with this stubborn refusal, France last week sent a note to the two Western powers proposing joint action to reduce diplomatic relations with Franco to a minimum and cut off Spain's supply of foreign oil, and urging transfer of the security problem to the Council of Foreign Ministers. This was an obvious effort to get some sort of action under way without openly defying Britain and the United States. Perhaps it was also a stall for time: to keep the issue alive and quiet the French left, while Blum got ahead with his loan talks in Washington.

By persisting in a policy of do-nothingism, while also preventing an appeal to the UNO, the British and we are in effect exercising our veto power—a silent veto, applied inconspicuously and subtly, behind the scenes. Since the support of all five permanent members is necessary for

Council action, no other nation wants to take the responsibility of raising the Spanish issue and exposing it to the danger of an adverse vote by one or both of the major Western powers. Until Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes finally decide that this is an ignoble part for the United States to play—a shameful repetition of the non-intervention policy that brought fascism to power in Spain—we shall no doubt continue to express our feelings toward Franco by an occasional frown and now and then an unkind word. There is more than one way to skin an issue.

DEATH OF A FIGHTER

Speaking of Spain, I want to say a word of sorrowful farewell to the old Republican leader Francisco Largo Caballero, who died on March 23 after a terrible and long-drawn-out illness. Caballero was first and last a labor man. His political activity grew directly out of the powerful federation of workers (the U. G. T.) which he helped to build and which for many years he headed. From the start of the century he took part in every revolutionary movement against the monarchy, and after the Republic was proclaimed, exactly fifteen years ago, he became its first Secretary of Labor. When the Franco rebellion began in 1936, Caballero mustered the unions in the U. G. T. and himself led them in their magnificent defense of the Republic. His service as Prime Minister ended in a serious political split in the Republican ranks. Although for many years Caballero had favored close political ties between the Socialist and Communist Parties and was chiefly responsible for bringing all the left parties into the war government, he finally broke with the Communists and with the groups that believed in continued cooperation. But even after he left the government, Caballero carried on the fight for the Republic with undiminished devotion.

The Gestapo seized him in France and sent him to a concentration camp in East Prussia, where the advancing Russian army found him in the summer of 1945. He got safely back to Paris and there he died, surrounded by his family and many of his Spanish comrades. It is a pity the tough old warrior could not have survived to see the end of the fight in which his whole life had been engaged.

UNRRA'S NEW CHIEF

The dynamic attack by Fiorello LaGuardia on the tasks facing UNRRA must have sent a tremor through the creaking joints of that unwieldy organization. If one man can make it operate at anything like the efficiency the terrible situation calls for, that man is LaGuardia. I say this without suggesting any criticism of Governor Lehman, who contributed energy, organizing ability and diplomatic skill to the upbuilding of UNRRA.

Today's crisis demands other qualities in which the new administrator excels. The time for patience and diplomacy has largely passed. Now we need high-

powered drive, a determination to cut red tape into confetti and save lives. We need a touch of drama. We need a little ferocity. All in all, we need New York's recent Mayor, and I am glad he has, for the duration of hunger, abandoned the typewriter for the meat-ax.

(But, confidentially, Fiorello, you won't get any extra meat or wheat out of Argentina by slapping Perón on the back and jollying him along. The Colonel—by the way, you promoted him to General in your speech—will do what profits him, politically and otherwise; appeasement will work exactly as it did in Italy and Germany—as it does in Spain. That is, not at all).

PERON'S BANK

By nationalizing the Central Bank of Argentina Perón has killed a number of birds with one decree.

Under its former control the Central Bank was operated as a joint enterprise; half the stock was owned by the government, half by private banks. Among American institutions sharing control were the National City Bank of New York and the First National Bank of Boston. The Central Bank controls Argentina's currency and fixes its international exchange rate. The law which created it limited the amount of money the bank could lend the government; only recently it refused to issue a loan requested by the War Ministry.

The recent decree wipes out all such impediments. In turning over the bank to its new president, President Farrell announced that its nationalization would permit a wide expansion of credit. If more money is need, the Central Bank can have it printed. If loans are requested, the Central Bank will float them. Thus, even before taking office, President-elect Perón has provided the means wherewith to run the country as he wants to run it. At the same time he has effectively avenged himself on the financial men who opposed his policies and, later, his election: several of the most powerful of them served on the board of the Central Bank. They have been replaced by Perón supporters; the new president, Miguel Miranda, is one of the few big business men who contributed to the Colonel's campaign fund.

The whole operation has naturally been advertised as one more step in the grand program of "social revolution" initiated by the dictatorship. Five representatives of workers' organizations (government controlled) have been made directors of the bank, and the official announcement took pains to remind the public that the British Labor government had similarly nationalized the Bank of England. Perón's latest move will undoubtedly serve to reinforce his popularity among the people, and the more the business men howl the stronger his position will be. It is only when prices rise more steeply and Perón's "shirtless ones" find themselves even poorer and hungrier than before, that the democratic camouflage will begin to peel off the new regime.

Atomic Pie in the Sky

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 31

I WANT to call attention to certain aspects of the so-called Lilienthal report on atomic energy which have been overlooked in the newspaper hoopla surrounding its release. Lilienthal's reputation has led many people to read the document much less critically than its importance warrants.

It is, in the first place, a dangerous kind of shorthand to call this the "Lilienthal report," as if it were solely or mainly the product of the chairman of the TVA. There were four other members of the Board of Consultants of which Lilienthal was chairman. Three were business men, executives of New Jersey Bell Telephone, General Electric, and Monsanto Chemical, respectively. The fourth was Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, a distinguished atomic physicist who has tried to play ball with Major General Leslie R. Groves, the army's chief executive in charge of the atomic-bomb program.

Before its release the report turned in by these men was twice revised after discussions with the State Department committee of five to which Lilienthal and his colleagues were acting as consultants. The department's committee of five was made up of Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson as chairman, Vannevar Bush, James B. Conant of Harvard, General Groves himself, and Assistant Secretary of State John J. McCloy. The only one of these five who is at all progressive in his thinking is Acheson. I do not know how extensive were the changes. The introduction signed by the top five says that "a preliminary draft" was presented to them ten days before the release. "Extensive discussion between the committee and the board," it goes on to explain, "led to the development of further considerations embodied in a subsequent draft." Apparently this did not end the process of revision. "Still further discussion," the introduction continues, "resulted in the report now transmitted."

The top committee of five was appointed on January 7 to study the subject of controls and safeguards of atomic energy so that the persons selected later to represent the United States on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission could have the benefit of the study. Obviously Dean Acheson and his four colleagues regard the so-called "Lilienthal" report, twice revised, as the expression of their views as well as of Lilienthal's and the other consultants, for they end their introduction by informing the Secretary of State, "Your committee . . . awaits your further instructions as to whether you believe it has performed the task assigned to it and may now

be discharged." Thus the report must be read as the handiwork of Groves as well as Lilienthal.

The introduction signed by the top committee, including General Groves, is if anything more important, and certainly more revealing, than the report. Those who are concerned with preventing an atomic-bomb race must read it carefully. Two points in that introduction are of major importance for any realistic appraisal of the overall "plan" itself. The plan calls for the establishment of an international atomic-development authority which is to take over the world's uranium deposits and to have a monopoly of facilities for producing fissionable materials. We are to hand over our know-how to this organization. The question is: When shall we make this information available? The report says it can be done by progressive stages. The top committee, in its introduction, says, "In our opinion various stages may upon further study be suggested. It is enough to point out now that there could be at least four general points in this progression."

The first stage would release certain information necessary for discussion of alternative control proposals by the UNO Atomic Energy Commission and the UNO itself. The committee doubts whether any nation other than Great Britain or Canada would find its efforts to obtain the bomb "appreciably" shortened by this information. The next stage would come when the new international authority was finally established. The third stage would be reached when the authority was ready to begin industrial production of fissionable materials. These three stages would take several years, for they would include not merely the UNO's discussions but geological surveys, the taking over of uranium deposits, the beginning of mining operations, and the construction of plants. "The information regarding the construction of the bomb," the introduction by the committee of five says, "would not be essential to the plan until the last (and fourth) stage, when the organization was prepared to assume responsibility for research in the field of explosives as an adjunct to its regulatory and operational duties." In other words, other nations would be asked to hand over control of uranium deposits and presumably to end their own atomic-bomb work at the beginning of the process in return for a promise that at its end we would make the bomb know-how available. But what if at that time we changed our mind?

There is a second question raised by the introduction which may well give other nations pause. The committee of five says detailed proposals will require further study

and will have to be guided by "basic decisions of high policy." One of these decisions, the committee says, "will be for what period of time the United States will continue the manufacture of bombs," that is, atomic bombs. "The plan," the committee goes on, "does not require that the United States shall discontinue such manufacture either upon the proposal of the plan or upon the inauguration of the international agency." The committee of five admits that this will be required "at some stage," since eventually the atomic-development authority will take over all production for military purposes. "But," it warns, "neither the plan nor our transmittal of it should be construed as meaning that this should or should not be done at the outset or at any specific time." Then there follows a sentence which seems to mean that we would not even commit ourselves in advance to end our own output of atomic bombs. For the committee of five says, "That decision, whenever made, will involve considerations of the highest policy affecting our security, and must be made by our government under its consti-

tutional processes and in the light of all the facts of the world situation."

The State Department report has much merit as a blueprint, though it makes some very wobbly scientific assumptions and there are dangers in its constant emphasis on the value of allowing free enterprise in the application of atomic energy to peace-time use. In practice, this is apt to open the door not to enterprise but to monopolistic interference with full development. I am concerned here only with one major consideration: this blueprint will not stop an atomic armaments race so long as we reserve the right to pile up stocks of atomic bombs, and so long as we reserve the right to change our minds four or five years hence about handing over the secret of the atomic bomb to the new authority. Under those circumstances other nations may reasonably be unwilling to turn over to it now their uranium resources. Hedged about by General Groves and his colleagues, the so-called "Lilienthal" report may turn out to be a prize phony, a slice of atomic pie in the sky.

What's in the Cards for Labor?

BY ROBERT BENDINER

AMERICA'S labor leaders, both C. I. O. and A. F. of L., are in a mood for genuine but tentative self-congratulation. Eight months ago, as the war drew to a close, every observer knew that before the country could reconvert to peace-time production there would be a day of reckoning. Aside from an occasional wildcat spree, labor had faithfully abided by its no-strike pledge and, like management, had performed prodigies in turning out the wherewithal of battle. But the cost of living had been climbing steadily, and industrial profits were reaching for the moon. Union leaders, pressed by the rank and file, nervously waited as overtime was steadily curtailed, leaving workers with less and less in the weekly pay envelope, and it took no remarkable vision to foresee that once the lid was off, a wave of strikes would sweep the country. What few predicted was that this immediate post-war unrest would be as moderate as it has been, that labor would so largely attain its objectives, and that half a year after V-J Day trade unionism would be stronger than it had ever been.

Inevitably minds drifted back to the post-war days of the early twenties, the days of the open-shop drive, when the American Federation of Labor lost something like a quarter of its members. Returning soldiers had played a big part in that union-smashing campaign, and in the fall of 1945 many believed that the veterans of World War II, long bombarded by anti-union propaganda, would be similarly exploited. The dissolution of the

C. I. O., unnaturally swollen by war industries, was foreseen by more than one wishful prophet.

But the pattern has been very different—so far. In most of the country's basic industries—steel, oil, automobiles, glass, electrical appliances, and meat-packing—millions of men and women have, without fanfare, "downed tools," demonstrated a quiet determination to outwait management, and ultimately gone back to work with wage boosts ranging from 15 to 18 per cent. In textiles, rubber, shipbuilding, and printing similar gains have been recorded without strikes and with scarcely any interruption in production schedules. In only two or three instances has violence flared up—and then on a scale insignificant compared with the wholesale brutality of the twenties.

THE TEST IS STILL TO COME

Heartening as this may be, there are all too many reasons why trade-union leaders consider it premature to be clapping themselves on the back with complete abandon. In the first place, several major walkouts are still ahead or in progress. The coal strike is expected to be kept short in order to demonstrate Lewis's "statesmanship" by pointing up the contrast with the 113-day strike at General Motors. But if Harry Bridges follows through on plans to pull out his West Coast longshoremen later in the spring, mass picketing, general strikes, and general turbulence are to be expected, in line with the revived militance of the Communists and those unions in

which their influence is strong. Strikes in the lumber industry are probable, and 75,000 electrical workers, out since the middle of January, are still trying to penetrate the resistance of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation.

Much more important, every informed labor leader knows that the real test still lies ahead, because the three factors that have saved the day for labor in 1946 may be drastically modified when this year's crop of union contracts expire.

The first of this protective trinity is the OPA. The general labor demand when the war ended was for a wage increase of 30 per cent. Even allowing for the customary horse-trading procedure of asking more than is expected, labor has settled for far less than it hoped to get. R. J. Thomas, former president of the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.), has already served notice that he considers his union's recent wage gains "merely a down payment." Should price ceilings go, even this down payment will be wiped out, and labor will have to start all over again. Then, unless its demands are met, we can look for a strike wave that will make the one we have just been through seem like a ripple.

Whether or not those demands are met will depend in part on the continuation of the second factor in labor's recent success—the comparatively low level of unemployment. Labor Department officials looked forward fearfully to a total of eight million jobless Americans late this spring. So far the figure is closer to three million. Should this situation change drastically in the course of a year, employers, with a large pool of unemployed labor to draw on, including embittered veterans, would be in a stronger position to battle it out with the unions.

Given runaway prices and heavy unemployment—neither one of which, of course, is inevitable—labor will have to depend more than ever on the third saving grace that has attended it in the past six months, namely, a friendly Administration. The Communists, since discovering anew the perfidy of class collaboration, have gone after Mr. Truman with hammer and sickle, and even in less extreme circles it is fashionable to belittle the President as "Warren G. Truman." But the truth is that, aside from Franklin D. Roosevelt, no American President has been so sympathetic to labor as Truman or so outspoken in its behalf. It was Truman who publicly scored General Motors in the early days of the strike, who pressed labor's case for a wage rise over the networks of the nation, who put the finger on Congressional recalcitrants for bottling up needed social legislation and openly invited the public to bring pressure on those Congressmen while they were home mending their political fences. If his request for cooling-off legislation was undesirable from labor's point of view, it was not comparable in unfriendliness to Roosevelt's "plague on both your houses" statement, which labor swallowed and forgot. Chiefly, Truman's weaknesses rise out of the neces-

sity of treating with an inept and balky Congress, and any change on Capitol Hill will have to come, in large part, from a determined and united labor movement.

So far as the eye can see there is no such thing on the horizon. On the contrary, there is every indication that the present lull between strike waves will be characterized by inter-union warfare of a jurisdictional nature and intra-union warfare on a political level. Despite the fatuous protestations of unity on the part of labor officials, both are entitled to a public airing, because both are fraught with a public interest.

LABOR'S PRIVATE WARS

On the jurisdictional level warfare has already broken out in northern California, where a row between the C. I. O.'s Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Union and A. F. of L. teamsters has led to a virtual blockade of canneries at a moment when the world is clamoring for food. Some observers look for these same teamsters to attempt an all-out assault on Harry Bridges's men in the event of a longshoremen's strike. And a fierce jurisdictional fight is expected when the government's housing program finally gets under way. The A. F. of L., which has long had a stranglehold on the building trades, is numerically incapable of coping with a plan that calls for more than two million houses in the next two years. As though the actual shortage of union labor—due to the craft tradition of long apprenticeships—were not serious enough, many A. F. of L. locals resort to such restrictive practices as limiting the number of bricks a man may lay in a single day. Above all, the Federation is so truculently opposed to prefabrication that it has suspended the International Association of Machinists for favoring the process. Here is a rich field, ready and waiting for the C. I. O., but certain to bring it into fierce opposition with the old-line building trades.

John L. Lewis's return to what William Green unctuously and monotonously calls "the house of labor" is widely believed to herald a raiding campaign in the opposite direction. His District 50, which is broad enough to pick up anyone from a mule breeder to a nuclear physicist, is at present reaching out toward the field of chemical workers, already being plowed by the A. F. of L. Chemical Workers' Union and the C. I. O.'s Gas, Coke, and Chemical Workers. The independent telephone workers are another bone to be struggled over, and the virgin territory of Southern labor is wide open for organization. Here the initiative is being seized by the C. I. O., which has set aside \$1,000,000 for an intensive drive in lumber, textiles, rubber, and steel. This is a long-term project, but if it is effective it will do more to undermine poll-tax politics than all the progressives who ever sat in Congress.

Any extensive success for Lewis in this jurisdictional warfare will undoubtedly make him, if he is not already,

the dominant power in the A. F. of L. Those who get closer than I to the great actor believe that this is only a small part of his ambition; that he plans the complete disruption of the organization that ousted him from its leadership, and that he hopes eventually to sit in a Republican Cabinet—the Francis Perkins, perhaps, of the Bricker Administration.

Of all Lewis's raiding ambitions, real and imaginary, none is more sensational than the idea of capturing the United Automobile Workers for the Federation. I have no way of knowing whether Lewis and David Dubinsky, of the A. F. of L.'s International Ladies' Garment Workers, actually nurture any such hope, but the belief that they do is widespread and brings us logically to the state of politics within the C. I. O.

REUTHER, MURRAY, AND THE COMMUNISTS

The story originated when Dubinsky had his picture taken in the act of pledging his union to raise a half-million dollars for relief of the General Motors strikers. Normally one would think this a laudable crossing of unnatural lines and an unimpeachable demonstration of labor solidarity. But the Communist press, which looked with a jaundiced eye both on Walter P. Reuther's conduct of the G. M. strike and on Walter P. Reuther himself, treated it as tainted money and launched the rumor that if Reuther were elected president of the U. A. W. he would take the union into the A. F. of L.

I have seen the figures on trade-union contributions to the G. M. strikers, and I know that the largest number of contributions, by locals and individuals, came from the Progressive Miners' Union, such bitter foes of Lewis that they withdrew from the A. F. of L. when Lewis was readmitted. I know, moreover, that whatever Dubinsky may have hoped, Walter Reuther has not the slightest inclination to abandon the C. I. O. Yet the story took hold with such persistence that at a closed session of the C. I. O.'s executive board Philip Murray could bring himself to excoriate those who "with money from Dubinsky and Lewis" were seeking to promote divisions within the C. I. O.

The fiercely contested election in the U. A. W., which Reuther won by only 124 votes, highlights the factional tension that exists throughout the C. I. O. today. On the face of it the issue was simple. The Reuther forces opposed the reelection of R. J. Thomas as president on the ground that he was simply not up to the job. There is in fact abundant evidence of Thomas's incapacity: his fantastic plea to the Labor government of Great Britain to intervene in the General Motors strike; his testimony before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, in which he attempted to link Vandenberg with Gerald L. K. Smith, thereby alienating even so friendly a Senator as Morse of Oregon; and his habit of repudiating letters sent out by his own office.

Reuther, on the other hand, is rightly regarded as one of the most intelligent and progressive men ever to come to the fore in the American labor movement. Yet Murray, for all his surface neutrality, made it perfectly clear that he wanted Thomas reelected. Why? First, perhaps, because of sharp differences concerning the function of a trade-union leader. Reuther, once a Socialist, thinks in terms of the national economy, and he made an effort in the early days of the G. M. strike to make maintenance of the price level a joint objective with a wage increase. Murray, on the other hand, was reared in the more elementary traditions of the Mine Workers. Politically



Philip Murray

he has come a long way since parting company with Lewis, but he still feels that for a trade unionist there is nothing wrong that a good pay raise won't cure.

Clearly a more decisive consideration was the fact that Thomas, in his bumbling way a conservative, nevertheless commanded the support of what for lack of a more accurate term is known as the C. I. O.'s left wing. Certainly Murray is neither a Communist nor a fellow-traveler, but he is not blind to currents within his organization. He has considered it his function to keep the pro-Communist and anti-Communist forces in balance and prevent them from clashing. Right now the Communist-affected elements in the C. I. O. are in one of those restless moods that mark the emergence of a new line. Infuriated by what they regard as Truman's coolness to the Soviet Union, they are talking "third party" again. It is only a matter of time before they come to grips on this issue with Sidney Hillman and the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee. Hillman is fanatically opposed to the third-party idea, though fanaticism is hardly required to see a reasonable choice between a Truman and a Bricker.

Reuther's election, which elevates him to the highest governing body of the C. I. O. and backs him with the strength of the world's largest union, is a shock to the left wing. It represents a wholesome shift in the distribution of power which Murray hoped to avert solely for the sake of peace. I don't doubt either that there will be rough-and-tumble battles in the months ahead or that the C. I. O. will weather them—just as it weathered the break with John L. Lewis, the departure of the I. L. G. W., and other crises of its short but lively history.

Palestine Notes

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

As correspondent for the Overseas News Agency Constantine Poulos has written some of the best stories to come out of the Balkans and the Middle East. Last fall he was thrown out of Palestine by the British and American military command because of an article he wrote for the New York Post

Jerusalem, March 1

THE First Step. The 65,000 to 100,000 Jews who are in displaced persons' camps in Europe should be brought to Palestine—now. Arab opposition will be a little louder than it would have been nine months ago, but it will not be serious unless British officials in the Middle East want it to be.

The refugees should have been brought here last summer. The situation in Palestine would not be what it is today if that had been done. And it was not a question of shipping. Close to twice that many troops have been brought to Palestine from all over the British Empire since V-E Day. It was just a case of a weak conscience and weak knees.

The Arabs in London. Palestine Jews are disturbed by the excellent batting average at London of the five Arab states in the UNO. Egypt was elected to the Security Council. The Lebanon was appointed to the Economic and Social Council. Syria obtained the presidency of the Administrative Committee, which assured it a place on the UNO's Steering Committee for one year. Iraq was placed on the Trusteeship Committee, a significant post in view of Palestine.

It was from Beirut that a partial explanation came of how this remarkable job was accomplished by five countries whose war effort was conspicuous by its absence. In a report to the Lebanese Prime Minister the head of the Lebanese delegation, Foreign Minister Hamid Bey Frangieh, gave an account of "the great assistance and guidance which the Arab delegations had from the United States Minister to the Levant States, Mr. George Wadsworth." As a result of Wadsworth's "intervention and mediation the Arab delegates agreed to support the candidacy of the Belgian delegate, M. Paul Henri Spaak, for president of the Assembly." In exchange, "Great Britain, the United States, and the South American republics agreed to back Egypt's inclusion in the Security Council and the nomination of Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq to other committees."

Mr. Wadsworth also "promised the Arab delegates that he would explain the viewpoint of the Arabs on Palestine" to the American delegation in the event the Palestine question should come up for discussion. (George Wadsworth, former consul general in Jerusalem, was chief secretary to the United States delegation to the UNO. His anti-Jewish attitude is well known.)

Why? Take the British coddling of the Arab pashas in London. Add Bevin's grandiose gesture in announcing the independence of Transjordan. Add the editorial comment of the *New York Times* on the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee's hearings in Washington: "Sir John E. Singleton, British chairman, made it clear that he and his colleagues would undertake to defend the past policies of the British government in dealing with Palestine." Add the deliberate distortion by the Palestine government—repeated parrot-like in London—of recent events in Palestine. Add the Palestine government's deliberate indifference to the Arab boycott of Jewish goods. Add the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration immediately after Bevin's pledge "to continue at present rate." Add the picture of the British Empire humbly pleading with a half-dozen Arab landlords for permission to let in a dribble of 1,500 Jews a month for four months. Add the horrible picture of tens of thousands of Jews still in camps in Europe. And, finally, add the statement of the chairman of the Anglo-American Palestine Committee that the whole business will probably have to be turned over to the UNO for discussion.

Then wonder "why" the Jews of Palestine are desperate and defiant.

Mandate or Colony? On January 24 the official Palestine government *Gazette* published the text of the Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company's "convention" with the Palestine government providing for the laying of a pipe line (the Ickes line) across Palestine. The Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company is a subsidiary of the American Arabian Oil Company, which is jointly owned by Standard Oil of California and Texaco. As noted in the Palestine Attorney General's "objects and reasons," the agreement follows the terms of prior "conventions" signed by the Palestine government with the Iraqi Petroleum Company and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

The agreements in all three cases exempt the oil companies from existing and future taxation, federal or municipal. "No import tax, transit tax, export tax, or other fiscal charges shall be levied on the crude oil or derivatives intended for consignment in transit or for industrial use by the company."

The companies are granted such extensive rights as appropriation of necessary private lands, lease of state lands, and "the free use of water, clay, limestone, and timber from government sources."

All stores, equipment, materials, etc., may be imported by the companies free of customs or other import dues.

In two particulars the Palestine government's agreement with the American oil companies differs from the two previous "conventions." The American company will not enjoy immunity from damage caused by pollution of water or soil or contamination of air as a result of its operations. The new agreement contains a fair labor clause, whereas the previous two did not.

In spite of the fact that the new pipe line will make Palestine one of the four largest oil-handling centers in the world, the people of Palestine will still have to pay more for oil and oil products than the people of Holland, the United Kingdom, or the United States.

A Police State. Churchill once spoke of "police states," countries where people spend uneasy nights fearing an ominous knock on the door, where "terror" is exercised by the government's forces of public security, where people "disappear" suddenly. Churchill didn't mean Palestine, but the resemblance is striking.

Homes are searched without warrants. Persons are sent to concentration camps without trial. "Detained" persons are not permitted to talk with counsel. Women have been "detained" for five years without having charges brought against them. Habeus Corpus does not exist for the Palestine police.

In the summer of 1944 a young man from Tel Aviv was brought into court on the charge of distributing "illegal literature." The court found him not guilty. He is still in jail on "administrative detention." A twenty-one-year-old girl from Ramat Gan was arrested and "detained" for four years in a prison with thieves and prostitutes because she once went to the movies with a "suspected terrorist."

The Palestine government has deported more than 300 Jews to camps in Eritrea. About 250 are still being held there. Late last month two of the inmates were killed and twelve injured in a "disturbance."

In December a test case was brought up before the Palestine High Court. Counsel charged that a citizen and resident of Palestine had been exposed to summary arrest, transported to Eritrea, and imprisoned there without any conviction or order of a court of justice. The Solicitor General blandly denied that it was the Palestine authorities who were detaining the man. He asserted that it was the Chief Administrator of Eritrea, and that the Palestine government had no control over such cases. The Solicitor General even contended that a request by the Palestine government for the release and return of any prisoner would be refused by the Eritrean authorities. The court upheld the government.

Censorship. Two Hebrew newspapers were suspended in November for publishing certain items, though these items had been passed by the censor. Ten weeks before, the chief censor had assured the editors of Palestine

newspapers that the "suspension of a paper would never be ordered for passages released by the censor." To cover up the government's back-tracking, the Chief Secretary, immediately after the suspension of the two papers, sent out a letter to all editors—from which he childishly left off the date—warning them that the existence of a press censorship "did not absolve them of their duty to exercise a proper sense of responsibility."

An Arab labor paper was forbidden to denounce last November's anti-Jewish outbreaks in Egypt and Tripolitania because it had suggested that such acts merely served imperial interests.

In March, 1944, Palestine newspapers were not permitted to print President Roosevelt's statement that "the American government has never given its approval to the White Paper." Today the newspapers are not permitted to mention Hitler's chum, the ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. Meanwhile Egyptian papers coming into Palestine daily carry all the news that the Palestine press is not permitted to print.

There is a "black list" of books. That too is "secret." Until last November the man who determined which books the people of Palestine could read was the chief of the Criminal Investigation Division of the Palestine police. Now the censor's office does it. Forbidden are the Moscow-published English-language volume "We Shall Not Forgive: The Horrors of the German Invasion in Documents and Photographs," and United States Government Printing Office editions of Congressional Hearings at which the Palestine problem was discussed.

Nationalism. Nationalism has reached such a degree in Palestine that there are two Communist parties—one for the Arabs and one for the Jews. Last year "the line" was a little confusing to all concerned.

At the international trade-union conference in London last February the Soviet Union's delegation voted for the resolution expressing support for Jewish aspirations in Palestine. But at the congress held in Paris in September the Soviet delegation took the opposite position. The Arab Communists' explanation of the Soviet stand in London was that "the war was still going on."

The national slogans of the Arab Communists are no different from those of the wealthy, upper-class Arab landowners and professional politicians.

The Arab Communists say that "the real cause of unrest in Palestine today is the fight of the Arab national movement against the establishment of a Jewish National Home which would stand as a buffer against the independence and progress of the Arab countries."

The Jewish Communist Party announces that it is "fighting for the free development of the Jewish National Home" and the "abrogation of the White Paper with regard to immigration and settlement."

It is the Zionist contention that at this stage of the development of the National Home an aggressive,

"healthy" Jewish nationalism is necessary and unavoidable. But Zionist nationalism is driving the Arabs and Jews farther apart and thus playing into the hands of British policy. All Jews readily admit that the Arab politicians are not true representatives of the Arab masses; yet the Jewish attitude on the whole is the same toward all Arabs. It is patronizing and often supercilious.

With a few notable exceptions there doesn't appear to be any sincere desire on the part of the Jews to help the Arabs. The benefits that Jewish development of Palestine has brought to the Arab people are incidental.

It is not true that the Jewish trade unions encourage

Arab workers to join with them in their struggle for higher wages and better working conditions. The handful of Arab workers in the Arab section of the General Federation of Jewish Labor do not have the same rights and privileges as the Jewish workers. And in most cases these Arab workers were organized as a maneuver to raise the wages of Jewish workers on the same job.

The extreme Jewish nationalism of today is building the barriers of national segregation higher and higher. It cannot be otherwise as long as Zionist teachings imply that the strengthening of Zionism is a safeguard against "the Arab danger."

To Your Health!

BY JAMES E. MURRAY

United States Senator from Montana and chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor

WITH public hearings now under way on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell health-insurance bill, a vast flood of mail is beginning to pour into Washington. This mail indicates a tremendous demand throughout the country for a national system of prepaid medical and hospital care.

A typical letter recently received by the Senate Education and Labor Committee was from a middle-aged carpenter, with heavy family responsibilities, who had worked for thirty years in a large New Jersey factory. After a long struggle he had paid off the mortgage on his house and saved a nest egg of \$4,000 to help make old age comfortable for himself and his wife. In December, 1943, a stomach ailment took him twice to the hospital, and eventually most of his stomach had to be cut away. Let me continue in his words:

I have seen my car sold, my bonds turned in, my bank account and ready cash go because I tried to be honest and pay my bills. Today I have about \$100 in cash.

He concludes:

The working man or woman does not expect his employer or the government to stand for the full expense. We are willing to do our share. The government wants and has set up a standard for better living conditions. Why can't we have a real security of health so when we are sick we can still feel we will be taken care of without the feeling of going mad from worry?

It is more than likely true that I will never live to see and have the real benefits of this bill, for I can never replace again what I have lost both inside of me and out. I am fifty-four years old with two children and six grandchildren. I can only pray that they do not have to face this rich country of ours with no security of health. We are trying today to lead the rest of the world to a real democracy. Let this country have a real democracy by passing the national health bill.

If the Wagner-Murray-Dingell health bill had been in effect during the last few years, this man's story would have been quite different. His family doctor would have been paid from a nation-wide insurance fund. There would have been financial provision for a specialist on gastric ailments. The many necessary X-rays and other laboratory tests would have been taken care of. The insurance fund would also have covered practically the entire bill for his two stays of one month each at the hospital, since the program provides for up to sixty days of hospitalization in any one year. In fact, with this basic financial protection assured, this man might well have had his ailment diagnosed months, if not years, before he did. Early treatment might have added years to his life.

The writer of this letter says that during his own period of illness his wife also had to be rushed to the hospital. Since the health bill provides for inclusion of all dependents, her expenses would have been covered by insurance as well as his.

The only important element of a health-security program that the writer of this letter would not have enjoyed is disability benefits to compensate for the loss of wages while he was unable to work. Disability benefits are not included in the national health bill. They are provided for, however, together with improved old-age and unemployment insurance, in the general social-security bill, S. 1050—H.R. 3293, sponsored by Senator Wagner, Representative Dingell, and myself.

When the health-insurance bill becomes law, the benefits will not be limited to workers and their families. The veteran, the farmer, the business man, and their families will be included. For the veteran, health insurance will round out the necessarily limited benefits of the G. I. Bill of Rights. It will provide complete medical care for all veterans, not merely for those with disabilities resulting from war-time service. It will cover the vet-

eran's dependents. It will give him and his family the right to go to the doctor and the hospital of their choice. For the farmer, federal health insurance will mean a new kind of parity—parity in medical and hospital care. It will facilitate the location of more doctors and more hospitals in rural areas. It will enable farm families to utilize fully the services of both.

For the business man, and especially the small business man, health insurance will mean lower costs and higher productivity. The New Jersey worker whose letter I quoted was absent from his job for more than five months. The national figure for absenteeism due to sickness is 500,000,000 man-days a year. This is equivalent to having 10,000,000 people out of work for fifty days each. It is fourteen times the 35,000,000 idle man-days caused by strikes in 1945. According to the Commerce Department, the loss to industry from such idleness adds up to about \$4,000,000,000 a year.

The program will also benefit the medical profession and the hospitals. Doctors and dentists will be assured prompt payment. Their incomes will become more adequate and more stable. The patient, of course, will be free to choose his own physician, and the physician to accept or reject a patient who chooses him. The fee will no longer stand between the patient and the doctor. Doctors and dentists will be able to provide their patients with all the advantages of consultation, laboratory, and diagnostic services—without any financial strain between the physician and his patient. As for hospitals, they will be guaranteed payment for essential care for an insured patient, regardless of the patient's income.

Why is it that workers, veterans, business men, doctors, and hospitals have thus far been denied the benefits of a health-insurance program? The reason is that legislative action has been impeded by an unscrupulous campaign waged for many years by a small but exceedingly effective lobby. The driving force in this campaign stems from the ruling clique in the American Medical Association—doctors who are more interested in high-fee, luxury-trade practice than in extending medical care to the masses of our people. Although these few men are aware that nation-wide health insurance will raise the income of practically all physicians, they fear it will bring a sharp cut in their own high fees. Then there are those drug and patent-medicine companies which seem to think that their profits depend—to put it bluntly—upon the maintenance of ill health. Finally, there are the diehard reactionaries who are congenitally opposed to anything that would benefit the majority of the people.

Every progressive program seems to go through three stages. First, its opponents make wild charges of "communism." This charge was the basis of the bitter campaign waged against health insurance during the last few years by the American Medical Association and its propaganda arm, the National Physicians' Committee. It was

also used by the A. M. A. in opposing earlier efforts to set up voluntary prepayment plans and group medical practice. Secondly, changing their tune, enemies of the program say, "We agree with your objectives, but let's do it some other way." This is the stage we are now in. The A. M. A. is now promoting, as an alternative to federal health insurance, the same voluntary insurance plans that only a few years ago it fought so bitterly. Finally, the demand for affirmative action becomes so strong that the only strategy left to the opposition is to jump on the band-wagon and try to seize the reins.

To any discerning observer it is clear that we shall soon enter this final stage. Public demand for compulsory health insurance is growing steadily. Let me refer to a public-opinion poll taken in January, 1946, by Governor Dewey's New York Commission on Medical Care. The poll showed that 86 per cent of the people of New York State believe that everyone who lives in the state should have insurance to cover doctors' and hospital bills.

It will be impossible for the A. M. A. to satisfy the public with voluntary health-insurance plans. Voluntary plans are necessarily limited in coverage to those in the upper income groups. This inadequate coverage, in turn, makes it impossible for such plans to provide the full gamut of medical and hospital services at reasonable cost.

It is obvious that the present strategy of the A. M. A. in promoting the prepayment plans of local medical societies has a long-range objective—namely, the creation in every state of a doctor-controlled insurance set-up which, when federal health insurance is enacted, can move in and take over the administration. Needless to say, if this strategy succeeds, we shall have forty-eight uncoordinated systems such as we now have in the administration of unemployment compensation and the employment service. The result would be an inefficient, badly planned system with high administrative costs, a low quality of service, and an abundance of special fees and burdensome restrictions. If on the other hand we can defeat this A. M. A. strategy, we shall have a national program with decentralized administration and full consumer participation. We shall have low administrative costs, few restrictions, and steadily improving quality in all the services provided—medical care, dental care, hospital care, home nursing, and laboratory tests.

The creation of an effective national health program no longer depends merely upon a general demand for government health insurance. That demand is already overwhelming. In the not too distant future the issue before Congress will be not *whether* to have government health insurance but *what kind* of government health insurance to establish. It is up to the American people to let Congress know that they will accept nothing less than a nationally planned program providing all necessary health services and conforming to the highest attainable standards of medical care.

Bogomolets in America

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

A New York physician; author of "You Are Younger Than You Think"

IN 1942, while collecting material for a book on old age, I noticed a short U. P. item in the New York Times announcing that a Russian scientist was working with a new serum to prolong life. I wrote to the Soviet embassy in Washington for further information. The embassy replied that some material had been received in this country and forwarded to Dr. Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institution. Dr. Hrdlicka, to whom I next addressed myself, sent me a sheaf of Russian papers by Dr. A. A. Bogomolets, of some of which I had translations made. Their content seemed to me highly important. I found a great deal more material on the subject at the library of the New York Academy of Medicine, with extensive summaries in English, French, or German. From then on I tried to interest scientists in this country in the serum with which Dr. Bogomolets was working; this is known as ACS, for anti-reticular cytotoxic serum. I talked to people at the Rockefeller Institute; I talked to research executives of leading pharmaceutical houses. My suggestion that the Russian findings on ACS be checked were disregarded. Nobody wanted to touch the outlandish discovery.

In my book, "You Are Younger Than You Think," I gave, I believe, the first exhaustive report in this country on Dr. Bogomolets and his work. But three papers by Dr. Bogomolets and his co-workers were published in the *American Review of Soviet Medicine* for December, 1943. Later dispatches from Russia indicated that Bogomolets had become a hero there. Some interest flared up here. But no serum reached this country, and Dr. Sigerist of Johns Hopkins, whom I approached with a particular case in mind, informed me that, even through diplomatic channels, none could be obtained.

About a year ago I met Dr. Harry Goldblatt, professor of experimental pathology at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, and was delighted to learn that he was producing ACS. He had received a modest sum for this purpose from a man and woman who had frantically tried to get ACS before their son died of cancer. There were rumors that Eric Johnston had obtained some serum in Russia but that it had reached this country in a spoiled state. It became known that a movie magnate had given money to finance research on ACS in the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in Los Angeles. Also Dr. Jacob Heiman of Columbia University was said to have started on experimental research. In the summer of 1945 Dr. Goldblatt sent his Cleveland-made serum to a number of physicians, and the first clinical experi-

ences with the American ACS are now being observed. With the exception of the serum used at the Los Angeles hospital all the ACS in this country has been prepared by Dr. Goldblatt and distributed to physicians free of charge. It is his serum which has been used by Dr. Malisoff and his collaborators at the Essex College of Medicine and Surgery in New Jersey in their experiments with its effects on Hodgkin's disease.

The January, 1946, issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal* contained an article by William L. Laurence, science reporter of the New York Times, in which he said that he was "the first to report this amazing Russian discovery," which he considered "more important to the welfare of mankind than the atomic bomb." This article was reprinted by the *Reader's Digest*, which apparently cannot appear without at least one medical miracle a month. Since then articles on ACS have appeared almost daily, most of them full of overstatements and misrepresentations. Mr. Barmine, in "One Who Survived," comes to the conclusion that Bogomolets invented his serum exclusively to prolong the life of Stalin. *Look*, in an article entitled Do You Want to Live 200 Years, makes all manner of silly statements, misquoting the one sentence taken from my book. *Reader's Scope* contributes this absurdity: "The probability is that women will retain child-bearing functions well past the age of ninety." Such outbreaks of uncontrolled imagination threaten to discredit a serious scientific project.

The facts are these. Dr. A. A. Bogomolets, head of the Kiev Institute of Experimental Biology and Pathology and since 1930 president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, came many years ago to two important conclusions: (1) The much-neglected connective tissue of our organism plays an important part in the process of aging and in the mechanism of chronic degenerative diseases. (2) The so-called cytotoxic serum, known to scientists since 1900, opens the way to stimulating degenerated connective tissue and restoring it to a normal state. According to Bogomolets, the connective tissue of our body plays an important part in the regulation of cellular nutrition and metabolism, is active in the healing of wounds, ulcers, and fractures, and has much to do with the resistance of the body to infection and to the development of cancerous growths.

A cytotoxic serum is one that is poisonous to various categories of cells. Forty-five years ago Metchnikoff wrote: "Into an animal of a different species specific cells are injected—red blood cells, liver, or kidney cells.

After several injections the blood serum of the animal becomes toxic to the cells which have been introduced, and it will kill these specific cells if reinjected into the animal from which the original cells have been taken." Metchnikoff went on to observe that "small portions of cytotoxic serum strengthen specific elements of tissues rather than killing or dissolving them." After solving a number of biochemical difficulties, Bogomolets succeeded in measuring the action of cytotoxic serum. This enabled him to start a series of experimental and clinical studies with the aim of stimulating human connective tissue by very small amounts of cytotoxic serum, prepared by using human connective-tissue elements. As a result of these studies he produced ACS.

In 1936, after twelve years of preliminary experiments with animals, Dr. Bogomolets dared a clinical test on human beings. Since then, especially during the war, ACS has been used in many thousands of cases of infected wounds, osteomyelitis, arthritis, gangrene, lung abscesses, bone fractures, and cancer after operation (in order to prevent recurrence). A tremendous Russian literature on the subject indicates that the treatment is being used by almost every major clinical institution in the country with amazing success. In 1943 three million doses were produced to take care of immediate needs. Scientists tend rightly to be suspicious of new therapeutic techniques which promise to solve too many problems at once. But this aspect of ACS can be explained by the number of important functions fulfilled by the connective-tissue system.

When I first learned about ACS I was impressed by the scientifically sound theory on which it was based and by the voluminous reports of favorable clinical experience. I thought it should be given an unbiased trial in this country. This is now being done under Dr. Goldblatt's leadership. It seems still too early to come to definite conclusions. All I would say at this moment is that ACS is a promising method of treatment. Many clinical and technical problems remain to be solved.

If the value of ACS in the fight against chronic degenerative diseases could be definitely established, its use would, indeed, prolong life, since most people now die prematurely of such diseases. Bogomolets—and many scientists with him—believes that the natural life span of a human being is about 125 years, but whether ACS can extend life to such a degree by eradicating degenerative diseases is entirely unproved. More than a million copies of Bogomolets's book, "The Prolongation of Life," have been sold in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, it is a popular pamphlet on his theories of longevity rather than a scientific report on ACS, and if translated and published in this country might do more harm than good by increasing the longevity hysteria.

[Dr. Gumperi's page on new developments in medicine and related fields appears monthly.]

In the Wind

ALL THIS AND VAUDEVILLE TOO: Earl Wilson, the New York *Post's* nightspot columnist, reports that the navy is scouting for entertainers to play before Congressmen and newspapermen at the Bikini Atoll atom-bomb tests. Just in case things get dull, we presume.

THE POT AND THE KETTLE: A Canadian radio newscaster, reporting on the recent riots in India, quoted Prime Minister Atlee as saying the riots were the work of "left-wing elements."

FAMINE NOTES: Herbert Hoover made a radio address on March 16 urging the importance of conserving food in America to prevent starvation in Europe. Shortly afterward the Truth or Consequences program came on the air, featuring a hilarious sequence in which participants squashed lemon-meringue pies in each other's faces. . . . A bulletin announcing the forthcoming banquet of the Balzac Society of America proclaims: "There is no longer a scarcity of choice meat and drink, which will be served in greater profusion than ever before."

THE METAPHOR OF THE WEEK comes from Drew Pearson's column of March 17: "Last week [Representative] Gallagher got something off his chest he had been nursing for a long time."

POLITICS AFLOAT: The Compagnie Messageries Maritimes of France, according to the Overseas News Agency, has had a ticklish time with a merchant ship it just launched. Built during the occupation, the ship was first named the Maréchal Pétain. After the liberation it was rechristened the General Charles de Gaulle. When De Gaulle resigned, the company directors cast a wary eye over the political scene, went into conference, and came up with a third choice which they think will stick: La Marseillaise.

THE OLD-FASHIONED VIRTUES are coming back—on the wings of modern promotion methods. *Editor and Publisher* says that Pillsbury Mills' spring advertising campaign will feature a free recipe book offering instructions on home bread-baking.

THIS ONE HAS US STUMPED. The German-American weekly publication *Aufbau* reports that when Gestapo agents, posing as musicians, accompanied the Berlin Philharmonic on its tours through Europe, they were usually disguised as flutists.

SWEDISH STONE QUARRIES, cables a New York *Times* correspondent, are getting a little worried about the granite victory monument that Hitler ordered in 1940. They're still working on it and have engaged a lawyer to investigate their chances of getting the \$500,000 still due on the contract.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Big Steel Reports

THE standard annual corporation report is neither attractive nor very informative. It usually consists of a brief statement by the chairman summarizing the results of the year, with perhaps a reference to future prospects, to which is appended a highly compressed income and expenditure account and a balance sheet, both pretty meaningless to the average stockholder. In recent years, however, a new fashion in corporation reports has been spreading, and a number of leading firms are sending out very fancy booklets in which skilled public-relations men translate the jargon of the accountants into the lingo of the slick magazines.

An excellent example of such face-lifting is to be found in the report for 1945 of the United States Steel Corporation, which has just come to my desk. It is a forty-page job, profusely and excellently illustrated, on an expensive coated paper. The typography is good, the design and lay-out are attractive, and the text has been edited with care. Confronted with all these virtues, it seems churlish to complain, but were I a stockholder in the company I would ask for fewer pretty pictures and more solid facts to enable me to judge the real worth of my investment. And it seems to me that the public is entitled to more information about the condition of Big Steel than this report vouchsafes, for the corporation, with its assets of over \$2 billion, its gross sales in 1945 of over \$1.7 billion, and its 279,000 employees, is something more than a private concern. It is the key unit of a key industry, and the policies of its directors decide the fortunes of a large segment of our economy.

Under these circumstances I think both stockholders and public have a legitimate interest in the managerial salaries of Big Steel. But while the report has a great deal to say about wage rates and how much they have risen since the war, there is no clue to the amounts paid to officers of the company individually, not even any entry in the accounts to indicate their collective receipts. Yet this must represent an appreciable fraction of costs, for in addition to United States Steel, with its own management roster, no fewer than thirty-three principal subsidiaries are listed on the back of the report, each with a president and presumably a full complement of other officials.

Another glaring omission in the report is the lack of separate financial data about these subsidiaries. As a holding company United States Steel presents consolidated accounts in which the receipts and expenditures of the underlying companies, comprising steel mills and fabricating works, ore mines and cement plants, railroad and steamship companies, are all lumped together—a fine method for covering up managerial incompetence. No stockholder with only these accounts to guide him can have any idea how the different provinces of the industrial empire in which he owns a share have been making out in the past year. Losses on railroads or steel mills may be overbalanced by profits on ore mines

and cement works, or vice versa. The stockholder cannot tell and cannot judge, therefore, how far bad luck or bad management in one field is being hidden by good luck or good management in another.

Nor can we, the public, check on claims by Big Steel for higher prices. Irving S. Olds, the chairman, says in his report that in 1945 most of the "steel tonnage" of the company was being sold at a loss under the ceiling prices then current. But since consolidated earnings were by no means inconsiderable, other products presumably were being sold at a handsome profit. If the ceiling for finished steel was too low, perhaps ceilings for raw materials controlled by the company were too high.

Again Mr. Olds tells us that the price increase of \$5 a ton recently allowed to compensate for higher wages will not adequately cover increased costs, and that unless there is a marked increase in efficiency, further rises in price will be necessary. It seems to me that the biggest factor in keeping down costs is something he did not mention—the rate of production. The company report says nothing of the "break-even point" under the new wage-and-price scale, but a writer in the *Wall Street Journal* has estimated it at 75 per cent of capacity. At that rate of production fixed costs, according to this source, work out at about \$13.3 per ton, but at 100 per cent capacity they would fall to \$10 a ton. In other words, if with 75 per cent capacity operation costs and proceeds balance, then at 100 per cent there should be a profit equal to \$3.3 a ton. Since full production for Big Steel means twenty million tons of finished steel, this would make possible net profits of \$66 million, sufficient to pay a common dividend of \$4 a share, the annual rate for the past six years, and leave a good margin.

No doubt it will be said that full production is a very high mark to shoot at. But it is not an impossible one under present conditions, for the demand for steel, at present prices, is enormous. For a long period ahead the company should be able to sell every ton it can squeeze out of its furnaces. But should it succeed in raising prices, and the *Wall Street Journal* reports that its representatives have hinted at an additional \$8.25, the result might well be an early drying up of demand. At that point we could expect cries that labor costs were too high and that wages must be cut so that prices might be reduced.

One factor bearing on Big Steel's prospects, to which more space than I have left should be given, is the immense strengthening of its financial position during the war. The report suggests that the company's extensive and well-advertised patriotic services have been meagerly rewarded, and it is true that it was not permitted to repeat the bonanza profits it enjoyed in World War I. But for the five years 1941-45 its aggregate profits were \$368.85 million, compared to \$281 million for the years 1936-40. Moreover, it wrote off out of earnings \$300 million worth of emergency facilities, many of which will continue to be valuable, and increased its working capital by over \$300 million, including \$200 million segregated for property additions and improvements. The stock market, I may add, does not take a gloomy view of Big Steel's prospects: the current quotation for the common is higher than in any other year since 1937.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

Paris, March 27

IN THE midst of the present international confusion there is one organization that deserves the support of all men who do not want a third world war. It is the World Federation of Trade Unions. I have had several long talks with the General Secretary of the W. F. T. U. at the headquarters in the rue Vernet. Louis Saillant is a leader who came out of the Resistance. In his middle thirties, plain-spoken, sharp-featured, with a frank, intelligent look, he is a typical representative of the French working class. He got his schooling in the labor movement; at the age of nineteen he was already secretary of a trade union. Nine years later he was elected to the Executive Committee of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (the C. G. T.). The outbreak of the war in 1939 sent him into the army. The betrayal of France in 1940 sent him into the underground. In September, 1944, when Georges Bidault quit his role of underground conspirator to become head of the *Quai d'Orsay*, Louis Saillant was unanimously elected *président du Conseil National de la Résistance*.

His philosophy is best summed up in his own words: "The world is moving toward a new civilization. Though I belong to no party, I believe in socialism, in the powerful truth of its doctrine and in the inevitability of its fulfilment. Regimes will die and others will be born in the transition from yesterday's stage of civilization to the new one. In this process France has an important part to play. It taught the world the meaning of the rights of man and the citizen; now it must strive for a social democracy that will make possible the realization of the rights of working people."

The last time I saw Saillant a cable lay on his desk—a desperate appeal from the workers of Greece. Its terse, simple language pictured more dramatically than all the published reports the grave events taking place in that unhappy country. If the British insist on forcing the return of the king, there will be civil war; the left has been driven to despair and is ready to fight to the last man. In one of the most shameful episodes of our time even food has played a role: political affiliation is the yardstick by which supplies are being distributed to the hungry Greeks; those who oppose the British plan are denied relief. In a Europe seething with unsettled conflicts, the effect of a civil war would not stop at the Greek frontier. London may one day have reason to regret its obstinate refusal to postpone the elections.

Spain is close to the heart of Saillant, who lived side by side with the Spanish Republican refugees through the unforgettable days of the occupation. He told me how veterans of the Spanish war, some no more than twenty-five years old, taught the French *maquisards* the manual of arms. Taking from his desk two big portfolios with the word "Franco" written across the covers in his own vigorous hand, he showed me the recent correspondence, some of it confidential, sent to various countries for the purpose of starting a campaign against the Franco regime. He had received replies from all over the world: a cable from Montevideo informing

him of a general strike to protest against Uruguay's continued relations with Franco; a resolution by the New Zealand Federation of Labor dated February 12, 1946, "requesting the government of New Zealand to express its disapproval of the continued recognition by the British government and the United Nations Organization of the fascist-Franco regime in Spain" (New Zealand never recognized Franco); a cable from Reykjavik stating that "the Icelandic workers are ready to refuse to load or unload all Spanish goods to or from Iceland." Dozens of telegrams and letters from the five continents; hundreds of letters from all parts of France.

In this campaign the W. F. T. U. is acting not as chief promoter but rather as guide for the spontaneous action coming from below. Jules Moch, French Minister of Transportation, told me: "Some people have asked who was the fool in the Council of Ministers who proposed that France close the Spanish border. It was I. But when I proposed it, the transport workers' union had already decided not to let a single train, not a single car, not even a telegram, cross the frontier. In that situation it was best for the government, which itself favored strong action by the democratic nations against the Spanish fascist regime, to look as if it were taking the lead rather than following the trade unions."

It would be to underestimate the significance of the movement for Republican Spain to view it only as a demonstration of sympathy and solidarity. It is much more than that. The most conscious and politically enlightened workers, those who best understand the nature of fascism, are terrified to find that less than ten months after the end of the war reaction has begun to grow again, to become day by day more insolent and aggressive. This is the dominant note of the report prepared by André Lucot and Louis Robert for the twenty-sixth congress of the C. G. T., which will be held in Paris on April 8-12. The report is a remarkable document which reviews the history of the World Federation of Trade Unions since its formation and sets down a program of action for the future. "In every country," it says, "the condition of the workers is precarious, often dramatically so. At the end of a long war against fascism we are now witnessing . . . a general strengthening of totalitarian methods." The report urges the W. F. T. U. to take the offensive in the economic and political fields and bluntly warns that hope in the new international will wane if the federation "limits itself to being simply a trade-union replica of the United Nations Organization." It proposes that the W. F. T. U. "establish a basic international wage expressed in real values," that wherever possible it press the campaign "for nationalization of the principal sources of wealth," and that it combat all chauvinist propaganda. Above all, the report concludes, the new international must maintain its independence: "Only a World Federation of Trade Unions free from government influence will be capable of the effort which the workers of the world expect from it."

Louis Saillant has a big job ahead of him. DEL VAYO

BOOKS and the ARTS

THE DEATH OF THE GODS

In peace tomorrow, when your slack hands weigh
Upon the causes; when the ores are rust,
And the oil laked under the mandates
Has puffed from the turbines; when the ash of life
Is earth that has forgotten the first human sun
Your wisdom found: O bringers of the fire,
When you have shipped our bones home from the bases
To those who think of us, not as we were
(Defiled, annihilated—the forgotten vessels
Of the wrath that formed us, of the murderous
Dull will that worked out its commandment, death
For the disobedient and for us, obedient);
When you have seen grief wither, death forgotten,
And dread and love, the witnesses of men,
Swallowed up in victory: you who determine
Men's last obedience, yourselves determined
In the first unjudged obedience of greed
And senseless power: you eternal States
Beneath whose shadows men have found the stars
And graves of men: O warring Deities,
Tomorrow when the rockets rise like stars
And earth is blazing with a thousand suns
That set up there within your realms a realm
Whose laws are oecumenical, whose life
Exacts from men a prior obedience—
Must you learn from your makers how to die?

RANDALL JARRELL

THE CONDITION OF MAN

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

HUMAN happiness cannot be measured. Sociology and politics are therefore sciences—so-called—whose practitioners can never know whether their theories are right or wrong, their experiments successes or failures. And since it is intolerable to admit this fact, they all embrace an obvious fallacy: all assume that some condition which is or seems to be measurable will serve as an accurate index of happiness. Not long before Pearl Harbor an American economist of repute remarked in conversation that the current German civilization was, after all, the highest ever reached in human history, and when asked how he arrived at that conclusion he replied with what was obviously an innocent sincerity, "Its per capita production is greater than any ever known before."

Unfortunately, even those to whom the fallacy of this economist is grossly palpable usually make some assumption of their own which is equally gratuitous; and though the identification of "prosperity" with the *summum bonum* is especially characteristic of our times, other unverifiable identifications are simultaneously current, and every age seems to

make some particular one peculiarly its own. "Liberty"—itself sometimes identified with national sovereignty and sometimes with personal freedom—had its heyday in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century, and "democracy," somewhat redefined, is enjoying considerable popularity today despite the fact that Dr. Johnson, for example, was just as sure that the Great Scheme of Subordination fostered human happiness as any twentieth-century democrat is sure that the abolition of privilege is a first requisite. The case for "security" as against "liberty" can be debated endlessly, but the case for neither can ever be proved, any more than can that for the vine-covered cottage versus the stately mansions of the great. Even the man who can convince himself on the ground that he has tried both can know only what is true for him without knowing whether he himself is a typical or an aberrant human creature. There are no criteria for the Good Life, and even the Happy Life can be judged only by the man who lives it.

In a recent little book of only eighty-six pages, "Science, Liberty, and Peace" (Harper, \$1), Aldous Huxley states his case against the contemporary world and proposes a remedy. Technology, he says, has concentrated power as never before. Because a small group can control the physical world through the concentration of military force and can control the world of thought through a monopoly of the printing-press, man's slavery to the few is more hopeless than it has ever been. Hence the only hope lies in the possibility that technologists themselves will see the error of their ways and bend their efforts toward the decentralization of power, while at the same time the other members of the human race realize that what they really want is just that degree of material prosperity requisite to the full spiritual life of the individual. In barest outline this has of course been said many times before, but Mr. Huxley says it unusually well and with unusual conciseness. Perhaps it is only because we are fundamentally sympathetic with what he has to say that many readers besides myself may be perversely inclined to raise questions and doubt.

To many Victorians, we know, it seemed perfectly clear that the world was getting better and better. Looking back, it seems to us that their arguments were fallacious and their complacency mere fatuity. The myth of progress has, we say, been exploded. But are unfavorable comparisons between contemporary man and the man of some previous age any more scientific or convincing than those comparisons previously made to prove how much his condition had been improved? Advanced thinkers once thought that the state of the world was getting better and better. With at least equal unanimity advanced thinkers today believe that it is getting worse and worse. Will it seem to some future age that we have accepted a myth of deterioration as fatuously as our grandfathers accepted a myth of progress? We take more lives and we save more lives than ever were taken or saved before. Who can weigh our new dangers against our new

safeties? And if we talk a good deal about insecurity, who can know whether that is because we feel more or merely because we have come to expect less? It is easy to picture the delights of an age in which we never lived, but even Mr. Huxley, after he has made the assumption that we grow progressively less well off, seems so far to forget his own position as to point out in a different connection that though the thirteenth century has frequently appeared to historians as one of the most glorious periods in human history, the thoughtful men who lived in it "were unanimous—as Professor Coulton has shown—in regarding it as an age of peculiar wickedness and manifest degeneracy." Are the inequalities of contemporary life really greater, as he seems to assume, than those which prevailed during the Middle Ages?

Mr. Huxley, as readers of his previous books are aware, has a rather disconcerting habit of introducing into the weightiest discussions of eternal problems surprisingly solemn references to various cults and fads of the moment. It is not, therefore, too surprising to find a reference to Borsodi and home canning popping up in a discussion of how the rich full life may be regained for humanity, and one may let the incongruity pass in order to ask the general question whether or not the specialization of labor is any more obviously evil than our grandfathers considered it obviously good. Mr. Huxley is sure that the tendency to give the laborer more leisure while requiring of him more and more monotonous work during his hours of employment results in a net loss. But how can we tell whether it does or not? Given a choice between fifteen hours of handicraft a day and a forty-hour week on a production line, workers seem generally to choose the latter, and though that may not prove that the choice is a good one it certainly does not prove that it is bad.

"It is a highly significant fact that people love to talk about a war to end war, or a war to preserve democracy (which is the polar antithesis of militarism)." How true that is! But how completely Mr. Huxley fails to escape from a similar paradox. He is all for decentralization. He echoes as too well known for discussion or even quotation marks Lord Acton's famous "All power corrupts, etc." Yet he proposes that the representatives of science should form a central body and determine to use science for the purpose of achieving decentralization! What body could possibly exercise more power? Would that power corrupt it?

Mr. Huxley is of course a mystic. His preference for the small social unit and a system of production which permits varied activities to the individual easily passes over into a preference for the contemplative life. "Beyond these primary psychological needs lies man's spiritual need—the need, in theological language, to achieve his Final End, which is the unitive knowledge of ultimate Reality, the realization that Atman and Brahman are one, that the body is a temple of the Holy Ghost, that Tao or the Logos is at once transcendent and immanent." Now though this terminology is not one which I find very satisfactory, I imagine that I agree with him. But I wonder how likely it is that the mass of men could be led to recognize the desire for any such final end as the one he proposes or that his message could be made to have any social utility. He seems to assume, as I certainly do, that a political democracy fundamentally like that of the United States is the best sort of government we are likely to

achieve. But what a campaign slogan "the unitive knowledge of ultimate Reality" would make! How would you like to go to the polls on that? How well, for that matter, did the religion of Brahma work as a social force? Would we really prefer bathing in the Ganges to bathing in one of those tubs whose ubiquity Europe has made a reproach to us?

Thoreau once remarked that social health was much like individual health. The best body, he said, is one whose owner is not aware of it, and similarly the best government would be one that no one ever had to think about. Perhaps such complete health never existed in any society, but two states of ill health (or hypochondria!) are readily discernible. In the first, there is a general awareness that something is wrong and a hope that something may be done about it. At the onset of the second there occurs what Gilbert Murray called a failure of nerve, and the concern of every thoughtful man becomes how he can save his own soul in a world which obviously is beyond saving. It is at this stage, of course, that salvation religions flourish and that saints and sages replace lawgivers and leaders. Mr. Huxley seems to be a man who is making a valiant effort to keep his thought on a political level, to find some way of saving, not merely some men, but mankind. The fact, nevertheless, remains that contemplation is not likely to be a final end for more than a few.

The World from Moscow

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RIVALRY IN THE FAR EAST.

By Edward H. Zabriskie. University of Pennsylvania Press. \$3.50.

SOVIET FAR EASTERN POLICY, 1931-1945. By Harriet

L. Moore. Princeton University Press. \$2.50.

U. S. S. R. FOREIGN POLICY. By Victor A. Yakhontoff.

Coward-McCann. \$3.50.

THE cold breath of an unhappy past" sighs through these three volumes like a threnody for mankind. For if history is a record of the endless attempts by human beings to compose their differences, then what is recent history but the melancholy necrology of those attempts?

The three books survey the relations which have obtained during the past century between Russia and the rest of the world. The story can be started in Professor Zabriskie's able volume, continued in Harriet Moore's superb study of Far Eastern stresses and strains since 1931, and concluded with Mr. Yakhontoff's account of Soviet foreign policy from the October revolution to the present. Each book is excellently documented. Each is a treasure house of information on the specific period covered. But each leaves the reader, particularly in this graceless spring of 1946, with a feeling very close to despair.

It has been more often true in history that the flag has followed trade than that trade, in the old saying, has followed the flag. As Professor Zabriskie reminds us, even before Washington's famous warning against foreign entanglements, "American captains were at home in the ports of China, Java, Sumatra, Siam, India, the Philippines, and the Ile de France." And where the captains led, American business men and, often, American troops followed.

American policy in the Far East early became what it has

remained ever since: to check Russian expansion into China by way of Manchuria. As long ago as 1855 the United States Commissioner to China, Humphrey Marshall, wrote in a report to Secretary of State Marcy: "I think that almost any sacrifice should be made to keep Russia from spreading her Pacific boundary, and to avoid her coming directly to interference in Chinese domestic affairs."

American annexation of the Philippines confirmed this line by committing the United States to a permanent involvement in the Orient. And the unavoidable clash with Russia came, as Professor Zabriskie relates, when Theodore Roosevelt lent virtually open support to Japan in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904. Linked with the policy of boosting Japan was the Open Door policy. But neither worked, even though both were supported by American dollars. As Professor Zabriskie writes, "The Open Door policy . . . became with the passing of time a veritable pretext for intervention [in China]." The end of an era came just before World War I with America's financial retreat from China, partially at least as a result of the Russo-Japanese rapprochement that followed the Portsmouth treaty.

The story of Russia in the Far East is continued by Harriet Moore, who picks up the trail in 1931. By that time the young Soviet government had drawn to itself economic, military, and spiritual strength. But as "Soviet Far Eastern Policy, 1931-1945" shows, not until the late 1930's were the Russians really able to stand up to Japanese aggression.

Relying almost entirely on Soviet sources, many of them now available in English for the first time, Miss Moore outlines Russia's difficult position, squeezed as it was between fascist aggression in Europe and Japanese imperialism in Asia. The failure of the League and its Lytton Commission to deal firmly with the Manchurian situation in 1931 confirmed Moscow's worst fears concerning the will to resist of the Western nations. Russia saw the Tangku truce ended at the imperious will of Tokyo in 1937 with scarcely a gesture of real defiance from anyone save the pillaged Chinese themselves. And as Japanese successes followed one another, Japanese sword-rattling sounded like thunder in the East. In 1938 the Amur Islands incident was a gauge of the rapidly worsening relations between Russia and Japan. Russia finally took a military stand in the fighting around Lake

Hasan and, the year after (1939), in the full-scale battles which flared up along the Manchurian border. However, both sides had to pull in their horns somewhat when war erupted in Europe. The Soviets' diplomatic retreat, pointed up in their subsequent non-aggression pact with Japan, fooled many into thinking that Russia had actually come to terms with its historic enemy. But even had that been Moscow's wish, the facts of geography dictated an eventual military showdown. It came, as it had to, in the summer of 1945 and furnishes a closing page for Miss Moore's study.

Mr. Yakhontoff's book, though it offers little that is new, serves as a commentary which enables the reader to coordinate the findings of Moore and Zabriskie with the broader facts of worldwide Soviet foreign policy. It is a good, if partisan, piece of work.

Any consideration of the Russian question leads one to the discomfiting conclusion that the gift of seeing ourselves as others see us is still as rare as it ever was. And yet, without that gift, how can we possibly expect lasting peace? The way the world looks from Moscow is the only real determinant of Russian policy, just as the way Russia looks from Whitehall or Pennsylvania Avenue is the only real determinant of Anglo-American policy. Neither view is steady nor is it whole—which explains the current and dangerous tension in the affairs of a world that revolves not on one but on two mighty axes.

To expect broader vision in our time is perhaps naive, but some solution must be found. The only one that seems feasible is a cards-on-the-table admission by all the great powers of their maximum and final aims, and an attempt by the UNO to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of those countries which, unsatisfied, will unquestionably resort to war.

In such a balancing of the books, an enlightened public opinion will be essential. These three books could contribute to that enlightenment.

DENIS PLIMMER

BRIEFER COMMENT

Memoirs of Viscount Samuel

BORN OF A WEALTHY Jewish family long settled in England, Herbert Samuel decided while still at Oxford to make a career in politics, and he became a parliamentary candidate as soon as he graduated. Canvassing for a relative in the London slums had already made him a reformer, and as his memoirs, "Grooves of Change" (Bobbs-Merrill, \$3.75), show, a reforming liberal he has remained through all the vicissitudes his country has experienced during his lifetime. That is to say, he has always maintained a careful balance between his real sympathy for the under-dog and his abhorrence of violent change.

From 1906 until 1914—the fruitful Indian summer of the British Liberal Party—Samuel held several important Cabinet posts and was an active promoter of social legislation. After the First World War he spent five years in Palestine as High Commissioner. On his return he headed a royal commission on the coal industry, acted as mediator in the general strike of 1926, worked hard but without conspicuous success to revivify his party. The political crisis of 1931 saw him in office

INDONESIAN FREEDOM DINNER

MONDAY, April 15, 8 P.M.

Hotel Commodore, 42nd St. and Lex. Ave.

Heard and Support This Fight for Freedom from British Interference and Dutch Imperialism. Waged by the Indonesian Republic.

Prominent Speakers • Javanese and Balinese Dancers
\$6 per person

MASS MEETING. Monday, April 22, at 8 P. M.

Manhattan Center, 8th Ave. and 34th Street

Admission 60¢

Prominent Speakers

Advance Reservations

INDONESIAN LEAGUE OF AMERICA, Inc.

18 Allen St., N. Y. C.

WALKER 5-0535

as a member of the MacDonald National Government, but he resigned the next year, unable to stomach the protectionist policies of his Tory colleagues. In 1935 he became Viscount Samuel, retiring to the House of Lords and the status of a respected elder statesman.

As this summary indicates, Viscount Samuel has spent a long life on the inside of British politics and could have given, had he wished, much assistance to future historians. Unfortunately, when he approaches the brink of revelation he nearly always steps back. He does, however, throw some fresh light on the genesis of the Balfour Declaration, for which he helped to pave the way. And he contributes some new facts about the 1931 crisis, when Ramsay MacDonald torpedoed the Labor Party to become the pliant prisoner of the Tories.

Viscount Samuel is as reticent about his private life as he is about public affairs. He confesses to an early loss of faith, but he remained a conforming member of his community and thus, since Disraeli had been baptized as a child, was the first Jew in a full sense to become a British Cabinet minister. Nevertheless, he presents a far better example of successful assimilation than Dizzy. In his faults and virtues, in his instincts, mannerisms, modes of thought, he is much more the eternal Englishman than "the eternal Jew."

KEITH HUTCHISON

Out of Bohemia

PEGGY GUGGENHEIM has such a steadfast incapacity for literary expression that one almost hesitates to hold her responsible for what appears in her autobiography, "Out of This Century" (Dial, \$3.75). The most charitable way of looking at her astonishing lack of sensibility would be to assume that her limited vocabulary and primitive style have made her record of her life far less interesting than that life was in actuality. Though she seems to wish to give the impression of responsiveness and vitality, it is the poverty of emotion that strikes one throughout these pages. Her insensitiveness is at times so great that her book appears to be an unconsciously comic imitation of a first-grade reader. In speaking of her travels she writes, "The people of Egypt are mostly Arabs, and they are very poor." Later we learn that "the British ruling class are pretty awful in their colonies." These quiet observations mean nothing in themselves since Miss Guggenheim need hardly be expected to show any particular sensitivity to geography and government, but the unfortunate truth is that she deals with herself and her extensive relations with artists and Bohemian life in much the same primer fashion. Intellectuals, formidable lovers, and talented friends do not inspire her to any richer statements of feeling than do the Arabs. Even the death of her beloved sister brings forth such feeble comment as, "I started to cry and couldn't stop for weeks. All I wanted was flowers." At every turn it is the author's slumbering mind and soul that shock the reader rather than the amorous incidents she is so fond of describing.

In this cave-dweller's atmosphere it is not surprising that the few references Miss Guggenheim makes to the grim facts of *this century*—strikes, the war, the plight of the Jews, the refugees on the roads of Europe—should be quite blood-

curdling in their inadequacy. But perhaps the most depressing thing in the book is that the author, a not inconsiderable patron of art, seems to be as hopelessly mute on painting as on other subjects and must confine herself to epithets like a "marvelous Klee" and an "incredible Miro."

As a record of the kind of life many talented people lived in the twenties and thirties the book is valueless. Our old friend Mabel Dodge Luhan becomes something of a genius by comparison. It is an unfortunate thing that the uncreative who associate with artists seem to write their memoirs more frequently than the artists themselves.

ELIZABETH HARDWICK

Britain in World Trade

"GREAT BRITAIN IN THE WORLD ECONOMY" by Alfred Edward Kahn (Columbia, \$4) is a thoroughly documented study of Great Britain's place in world trade in the period between wars, 1919-39, with some backward glances at the situation prior to 1914 and a few pages of analysis of what may be Britain's position in the coming years. As a source of information about balance of payments, which are analyzed by country and by commodity, the study is invaluable for its statistical data. If one wishes to find out readily what has been happening to Britain's exports of coal, or to its financial relations with the dominions and the colonies, which industries have declined and which have expanded, one has only to consult this book. Besides this statistical information, there is also a thorough study of the effects of



H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

**"CRUX ANSATA—An Indictment
of the Roman Catholic Church"**

An historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis. Cloth Binding \$1.75

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS" by L. H. Lehmann

A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist collaboration. Cloth Binding \$1.75

COMBINATION Both Cloth Bound Books \$3.00
OFFER

New Pamphlet

**"VATICAN POLICY
IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"**

48 pages of Documented Facts 25¢

Free to those who return this ad with their order
for the above books

Order From:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 451
219 WEST 48TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

certain government policies, such as the return to the gold standard, and of general world economic trends in the period studied. All these elements are integrated into a study of secular and cyclical trends, with the result that we get a full picture of British foreign trade. Incidentally, though the trend has been generally downward, the situation is by no means so catastrophic as some have supposed, and there have even been elements of improvement.

The book, as Mr. Kahn tells us in his Preface, was originally a doctoral dissertation, and though he has completely rewritten it, it still bears some of the stigmata of its origin. There is a certain cautious tone about every statement, as if the author had had his reading committee always in mind. The last thirty-four pages consist of two chapters dealing with British Economy in Transition and the Position of Britain in the Post-War World. And while the book is primarily a study of the period between 1919 and 1939, and therefore largely historical, one cannot but regret that, with the background so admirably filled in, Mr. Kahn did not venture to analyze more fully than he has the lessons most of the leading economists of Britain drew from the economic policies which obtained between wars, and their probable results in the years of readjustment just ahead. Certainly no one knows what will happen if, say, the United States adopts one policy and not another—or no consistent policy at all. But the British have these possibilities in mind and discuss them pretty freely. In the light of their past experiences, at least tentative predictions of their future plans can be made.

ETHEL M. THORNBURY

Zukunftsmusik of the World Community

IN PIRANDELLO'S PLAY we were shown Six Characters in Search of an Author. In "The International Law of the Future" (Columbia, \$2) we find 145 authors in search of the prospective law of nations. It is a scholarly book which offers in 167 pages the postulates, principles, and proposals arrived at in many meetings of American and Canadian judges, lawyers, professors, and other men of reputation, competence, and experience in international affairs. Whether their proposals will really become the international law of the future remains to be seen. The organization of the Community of States on a universal basis is highly desirable. However, the "premises of an effective legal order for the World of States," as set forth in Postulate Two, demand "continuous collaboration by the states to promote the common welfare of all peoples," a collaboration subject to international law, by which sovereignty would be limited (Postulate Three). And there are reasons to doubt the reality of these postulates. Like the rules of national law, those of international law presuppose a body of doctrine approved and accepted by those who are subject to its precepts. Such a body of doctrine does not exist, nor is it possible to ignore the essential differences between the internal structures of the various countries which these architects of the future hope to incorporate into the Community of States. The failure of the League and the difficulty which the UNO is facing certainly justify the cautious proviso that "the organization of the Community of States on a universal basis . . . depends upon conditions prevailing when the organization is to be

launched." The principles and proposals set forth are useful prolegomena to the happier age of mankind, but jurists, no matter how eminent they may be, are as little able to create the international law of the future as midwives to create the babies which they help to bring into the world.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

FICTION IN REVIEW

ADOLESCENCE is the theme of two enormously talented short novels, Carson McCullers's "The Member of the Wedding" (Houghton Mifflin, \$2.50) and Denton Welch's "In Youth Is Pleasure" (L. B. Fischer, \$2.50). Miss McCullers's book is about a twelve-year-old girl in Georgia; Mr. Welch's is about a fifteen-year-old boy in England. Both children are manifestly their authors' not very distant selves, and both books mirror this most anguished season of our growth against the most anguishing season of the child's year—summer, when the cessation of school throws a child back so completely upon its own incoherent resources and when the very physical world would seem to burn with an intensity of hopelessness. If only for their ability to recreate the child's sensations of summer, both novels are remarkable. Both Miss McCullers and Mr. Welch have powers of observation and recollection quite beyond the ordinary, and an equally extraordinary facility in translating remembered experience into language.

Miss McCullers, especially, can communicate almost more of the child's emotions of boredom and emptiness, of the stoppage of time, of the draining of all meaning from life at the same time that the air is so heavy with unformed meanings, than the reader can receive with equanimity. Indeed, it is with a certain relief, as at the lifting of the atmosphere after rain, that one turns from the Addams's kitchen in Georgia—from Frankie Addams's unmoving hours in the company of the colored maid, Berenice, and her six-year old cousin—to the English countryside of Mr. Welch's Orvil Pym. Then one realizes that the fresher air of "In Youth Is Pleasure" is perhaps less a matter of a difference in the physical climates of the two novels, or of a difference in their authors' temperaments, than of the difference in age between the two youthful protagonists. Orvil has lived three years longer than Frankie; in the interval between twelve and fifteen his impulses, however madly confused they may still be, have become at least less diffuse. He collects china, writes poems, has an interest in architecture; he has come to recognize his sexual desires and explore the possible avenues of their gratification. At the end of "The Member of the Wedding" we discover that Frankie, too, has begun slowly to move down the road Orvil has already covered. She has accommodated herself to the idea that she cannot be a part of her brother's marriage; now thirteen, she is "just mad about Michelangelo" and about her new girl-friend, and one suspects that if the kitchen knife still holds charms for her, she will at least not throw it around so carelessly.

But if both books have in common great gifts of perception and unusual powers of evocation, they also have in common, or partially so, failure as complete literary works, and the nature of the failure is suggested by the temptation

—even the necessity—put upon the reviewer to discuss them in immediate clinical rather than general literary terms. Any one writing about current fiction is of course constantly urged in this direction. The source of the temptation, however, is not, I think, the clinical character of the subject matter itself so much as the relation of the authors to their subject matter.

Both Miss McCullers and Mr. Welch seem to me to stand in a wrong relation to their stories, Mr. Welch more so than Miss McCullers. They are still too fully identified with their child protagonists; and what I mean by this can perhaps be best exemplified in a comparison between their novels, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, such widely differing studies of childhood as, say, "Huckleberry Finn," "Swann's Way," and Elizabeth Bowen's "The Death of the Heart." Granted that with each passing year we are being permitted a greater freedom of self-revelation in our literature and that even since the publication of "The Death of the Heart" the boundaries of reticence have considerably widened, it is still not merely a greater frankness but a significant new emotional-intellectual attitude that we note in Miss McCullers's book or Mr. Welch's. For in Miss Bowen's novel, as in Proust's or Mark Twain's, we are constantly aware of the adult through whose mind and emotions the recollection of childhood has had to be filtered; whereas, in Miss McCullers's novel or Mr. Welch's, it is the chief aesthetic point that there should be no such awareness of adult interference. Instead, the experience of childhood rolls from the pen with a smooth ease and lack of inhibition that can only be meant to convey that in recollection it has met none of the resistances that commonly attend our progress from youth to maturity.

This lack of inhibition is distinctly more pronounced in "In Youth Is Pleasure" than in "The Member of the Wedding." It is as if Orvil's feelings have translated themselves to paper quite as they presented themselves in adolescent reality. But surely a fifteen-year-old boy would hesitate to describe himself so forthrightly even in a private diary; the moment he would set about committing his feelings to paper he would wish to be superior to them. And behind this impulse to falsify experience, to give it a meaning—if you will—more acceptable to maturity, would lie the healthy impulse to be himself mature. Mr. Welch's too great pleasure in youth is, in fact, underscored by the conclusion of his novel, where Orvil—unlike Frankie, who by the end of her story makes a definite advance in growth—rather retrogresses even from the age of fifteen: "In Youth Is Pleasure" ends with its young hero happily screaming like a baby.

Clearly, to say that both Miss McCullers and Mr. Welch are, as authors, too close to the adolescent states of mind of their central characters is not to imply that they do not make choices or eliminations among remembered facts. Both writers are far too sensitive to literary style to be bald literalists; and style is in itself, of course, a form of maturity. But just as so many of our present-day novelists who deal with psychopathological subjects betray their overvaluation of the psychopathological by putting so little distance between themselves as authors and their sick subjects, just so both Miss McCullers and Mr. Welch betray the too high valuation they put upon the condition of childhood by refus-

ing to introduce a normal amount of mature judgment upon their child subjects.

I am struck by one thing more about Miss McCullers's and Mr. Welch's novels—the degree to which each of them states a special instead of a universal child case. It seems to me that in the precise though small measure that Miss McCullers is more willing than Mr. Welch to allow her protagonist growth, she achieves more of a generalization of childhood. Yet if we compare either of these pictures of a child to Miss Bowen's or Proust's or Mark Twain's picture of a child, we see how really particularized they both are. Despite all the truths about boyhood that a Proust or a Mark Twain may omit which Mr. Welch announces, there is of course infinitely more generalized "boy" in the young Proust or in Huck Finn than in Orvil Pym; and, similarly, there is much more generalized "girl" in the reticent Miss Bowen's little heroine than in the freer Miss McCullers's Frankie. Here, I suppose, is one of the interesting paradoxes of art—that it depends for so much of its truth upon falsehood. And not alone the falsehood of style but also the falsehood of the bringing to bear of intellect and ideal upon fact.

DIANA TRILLING

NOTICE OF CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Nation subscribers should give at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

do you know

the facts behind today's critical economic issues?

Get information you can't get elsewhere—be WELL INFORMED! Send \$1 for a FULL YEAR subscription to all Legislative, Labor, and Economic publications of

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
61st ST.
BWA ST.
68th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
ALDEN
Jamaica
Kath's
FLUSHING
Kath's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
Manhattan
COLONIAL

RKO NOW

"Able Plotted From Start to Finish."—P.M.

ALICE DANA LINDA
FAYE • ANDREWS • DARNELL

'FALLEN ANGEL'

Based on the Novel by Marty Holland
Produced and Directed by Otto Preminger
— AND —

"SUNBONNET SUE" CALE STORM
PHIL REGAN

"An always interesting drama."—N. Y. Sun

BARBARA
STANWYCK

'MY REPUTATION'

with
GEORGE LUCILE EVE
BRENT • WATSON • ARDEN
From the novel "Instruct My Sorrows" by Clare Jaynes
— AND —

'RED DRAGON' SIDNEY
TOLER

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Musio by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Reuben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Elmo Allen
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mat. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Musio by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Reuben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mat. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A Gag-Happy-
Meaning-
ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4205
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
In JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA
from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4835.
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mat. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

"Enchanting • Brilliant!" Watts, Sat. Review
of Literature

KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S
SHOW BOAT
Musio by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd.
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by MASSARD SMITH.
ZIEGFELD THEA., 54th Street and Sixth Avenue, CL. 5-5200.
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp.
MAIL ORDERS PROMPTLY FILLED

Ballet

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE April 7 to 13 & April 21 to May 5
S. HUOK presents

 Ballet Theatre
THE GREATEST IN
RUSSIAN BALLET

WITH Alicia MARKOVA • Anton DOLIN
Andre EGLEVSKY • Nora KAYE • Alicia ALONSO
John KRIZA • Lucia CHASE • Jane REED
OPENING NIGHT: \$6.00, \$4.80, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80
Evenings 8:30 (incl. tax), \$1.20-\$4.80. Mat. Sat. & Sun., \$1.20 to \$3.00
2,000 SEATS \$1 to \$1.50 (PLUS TAX) AT ALL PERFS.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Buy All the Bonds You Can...

Keep All the Bonds You Buy

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

PARAMOUNT presents
SING BOB
CROSBY HOPE
DOROTHY
LAMOUR

"ROAD TO UTOPIA"

MIDNIGHT FEATURE NIGHTLY
NOW PARAMOUNT TIMES
SQUARE

— In Person —
BENNY
GOODMAN
His Clarinet and
Orchestra with
The Famous Sextet
— Featuring —
MEL
POWELL
PAT
HENNING

She Made a Career Out of Love!

PARAMOUNT Presents
Paulette Goddard and Ray Milland

in "Kitty"

NOW PLAYING AT THE
RIVOLI, B'way and 49th St.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

ANDREYEV'S "He Who Gets Slapped" was presented by the Theater Guild more than twenty years ago. At the Booth Theater the same organization is now offering it again, and those who remember the earlier production are going to be surprised both by what has happened to the play and by what has happened to them. No one, I think, would have called the first presentation "a good show," for the simple reason that it seemed obviously either more or less. But a good show—and I intend the favorable as well as the slightly condescending implications of the phrase—is exactly what one is getting at the Booth today.

Some part of the difference in the effect produced is no doubt due to a difference in the direction and the staging. As I remember it, the earlier version was presented in a somewhat abstract fashion, with so much stress on the supposed symbolism as to make the play a cloudy allegory in which the white-faced recipient of the slaps was supposed to represent the suffering soul of humanity. Even more important, perhaps, is the fact that a generation ago we took for granted the profundity of any work drawn from one of the lesser known literatures and assumed that if there was anything we did not quite understand the fault was necessarily with us. "He Who Gets Slapped" was Russian, and so we called it "very Russian"—which meant of course that it was searching and portentous, tragic and highly intellectual. Today Tyrone Guthrie, the new director, can take the play and utilize with a good deal of theatrical shrewdness what he actually finds there instead of trying to discover what somebody supposed he ought to.

In his hands the otherwise anonymous "He" of the title ceases to be—except in the most remote suggestion—an allegorical figure. He becomes instead primarily one particular betrayed husband who seeks the anonymity of life as a circus clown. The circus itself is not an allegory by means of which Andreyev, going Shakespeare one better, is permitted to say that all the world's a tanbark ring and all the men and women in it lion-tamers, beautiful bareback riders, or clowns who get slapped. Instead, it is merely a very picturesque milieu presenting an obvious opportunity to a clever designer like the one

who did the present production. And once you have deflated the pretensions of the play to this extent, its other elements fall easily into place to compose the romantic and sentimental melodramatic tragedy which "He Who Gets Slapped" really is. Of course the broken-hearted clown will fall hopelessly in love with the beautiful equestrienne whose rascally father has sold her to the wicked old baron, and of course the clown will save his beloved from a fate worse than death by poisoning both her and himself. When the baron shoots himself off stage and thus proves that even he knows finally, if too late, what love really is, nothing is any longer lacking to round out a bang-up piece whose effectiveness suggests the effectiveness of an Italian libretto and which is, as a matter of fact, almost as much like "Pagliacci" in mood and style as the resemblance between the two central characters would suggest. "Laugh, clown, laugh."

Having apparently accepted an attitude toward the play not very different from that which I have been trying to indicate as my own, the Guild has gone on to do a first-rate job of creating on the stage the effects of which romantic sentimental tragedy is capable. The visual aspects of the thing are admirably treated. The picturesque possibilities offered by the cluttered backstage of the circus and its motley crew of performers are realized most effectively. Indeed, the general liveliness of the action, combined with the eternal superficial effectiveness of the romantic themes, makes the whole what Shakespeare would have called "a very merry tragedy." Dennis King is quite acceptable as the clown, and Stella Adler is doubtless just what is called for in the solemnity of the roles—that of a lady lion-tamer who is tortured by the desire that the fiercest of her beasts should love her and whose discovery that she cannot inspire anything but fear in either men or animals is one of the relatively few dubious profundities which survive the present production. Susan Douglas, a young Czech girl new to our stage, is an appealing ingenue, but of all the performances I was most taken by that of another newcomer to New York, John Abbott, who plays the wicked father as a delightfully Dickensian rascal. I liked especially the moment when, enjoying an unaccustomed prosperity as the result of the bargain he has struck with the baron, he remembers just in time to open a cigarette case with a flourish instead of picking up a butt

from the floor. Yes, as I remarked at the beginning, "He Who Gets Slapped" is a good show.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE Monte Carlo Ballet Russe's further additions to its repertory are "The Night Shadow," a new work of Balanchine, with a score that Rieti made out of some music of Bellini, and scenery and costumes by Dorothea Tanning; and "Raymonda," a fifty-year-old work of Petipa, restaged and revised by Balanchine and Danilova, with the original music of Glazunov, and new scenery and costumes by Alexander Benois.

The story of "Raymonda," even with revisions, is one that an audience of today must take in the way that it takes some of the absurd old opera librettos—as the occasion, the scaffolding for the dancing that is the real substance of the work. And to someone with a love for dancing the Monte Carlo "Raymonda" offers Balanchine's beautiful orchestrations of the Petipa steps as he and Danilova have been able to recall them, the *corps de ballet's* execution of these formations with clarity, grace, and brilliance, and a number of dances in various styles by Danilova herself that are a breathtaking display of the entire range of her art. The person who cares about these will ignore not only the story but absurdities in the production like some of the scenery and costumes or the appearance and acting of Magallanes and Talin as the hero and villain; and the things that went wrong at the first performance for lack of the preparation sufficient for security.

In "The Night Shadow" too a story is the occasion for the usual series of dance formations and solos, including a group of divertissements. If not an absurd story that must be ignored, it is one that is of little consequence in itself—as little as the apples painted by Cézanne. But just as those apples were translated into the organized pictorial detail of a Cézanne still-life, so the story of "The Night Shadow"—of a poet at a ball, who falls in love with a coquette, later encounters and falls in love with a somnambulist, is betrayed by the jealous coquette to the somnambulist's husband, and is killed—is translated into a series of details that are new and exciting manifestations of Balanchine's dance invention in the service of his dramatic imagination, his fantasy, his wit. The details include the grotesquely

CANE
LIBRARY
CAN

capering *pas de deux* of the two Blackamoors, among the amusing divertissements, charmingly done by Boris and Lindgren; the seductive and impassioned *pas de deux* of the coquette and the poet, superbly done by Tallchief with Magallanes. And they culminate in a supreme stroke of *fantaisie Balanchine*—the *pas de deux* of the poet's encounter with the somnambulist, in which his way first of expressing his wonder, then of attempting to establish contact with her mind, is to experiment with her moving body, to control its motion—to stop it, to send it now in this direction now in that, to spin it, to grasp the candle in her hand and swing her now this way now that. The episode has terrific impact—from its originality both as dance and as theater invention, from the sudden simplicity and quiet after all the animated intricacy, from Danilova's concentration and intensity in her exquisitely limpid flow of movement. The scenery and costumes and much of the music lend themselves well to Balanchine's purposes—the pleasantly horrible surrealist style of the costumes being by no means as disturbing as the occasional violent wrenching of Bellini's simple musical thought into modern changes of key.

"SELECTED TITLES"

1. ART YOUNG—HIS LIFE AND TIMES. Pub. at \$3.50. ☐ Now \$2.49
2. AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CURMUDGEON. By Harold L. Ickes. Pub. at \$3.00. ☐ Now \$1.79
3. DITTE. By Martin Anderson NEXO. The classic trilogy by the great Danish author complete in one volume. ☐ Now \$2.39
4. WILD RIVER. By Anna Louise Strong. A novel of the building of the Dniester Dam. Pub. at \$2.50. ☐ Now \$1.89
5. SEE WHAT I MEAN. By Lewis Browne. A hard-hitting novel about the Fascist movements in the U. S. ☐ Now \$1.69
6. FALANGE—THE AXIS SECRET ARMY IN THE AMERICAS. By Allan Chase. Pub. at \$3.00. ☐ Now \$1.99
7. GRAVEDIGGERS OF FRANCE. By Ferdinand. Written by the famous French Journalist covering the period Munich to Vichy. Timely. Pub. at \$6.00. ☐ Now \$1.49
8. POCKET SIZE ART MONOGRAPHS. Benton ☐ Davis ☐ Kent ☐ Pierce ☐ Sloan ☐ Speicher ☐ Weber ☐ Ea. \$1.00
9. THOMAS JEFFERSON—WORLD CITIZEN. By Senator Elbert D. Thomas. A portrait of the great Democrat based on Jefferson's public and private statements on democracy, literature, religion and foreign affairs. Pub. at \$2.75. ☐ Now \$1.79
10. NO QUARTER. By Konstantin Simonov. Author of the best selling novel "Days and Nights." ☐ Now \$1.98

SEND FOR LIST OF TITLES

KEYNOTE PUBLICATIONS

DEPT. N

40 E. 42nd St. New York 17, N. Y.

☐ PAYMENT ENCLOSED ☐ SEND C.O.D. POSTAGE EXTRA

NAME

ADDRESS

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

On Self-Determination

Dear Sirs: The discussion between Kingsley Martin and Max Lerner on The Sins of American Liberals in *The Nation* of March 2 is highly interesting and valuable. It focuses a brilliant light on the sins of British Socialists and progressives, who are as convinced as Winston Churchill that they were not called upon by destiny to preside over the dissolution of British imperialism.

Max Lerner is concerned with this basic issue, and so there is one aspect of Kingsley Martin's letter which he does not discuss.

Referring to the future of the Jews, Martin says: "It would have been better, in my view, if the Jews had been content to leaven the cultures of other nations, where they have always played a most distinguished role." True enough, he adds the phrase, "I will understand why they want a home of their own," but that is merely because of the Hitler holocaust, as he indicates clearly. Were it not for this psychopathic development of Jews caused by Hitler, the original position would require no qualifications. This passage is symptomatic of the basic fallacy of the "liberal" approach to the Jewish problem. It has learned nothing since the debates in the *Etats Généraux* which led to the emancipation of French Jewry in 1789.

At that time the theory was expounded that the granting of civic and political rights to Jews depended upon the willingness of Jews to assimilate. The conservative argued, "Do not give the Jews any rights; they won't assimilate." The liberal argued, "Do; they will."

The clarity of those days is today overlaid by a turgid phraseology, but the point of view, barring a few exceptions, has remained much the same. The run-of-the-mill liberal and the die-hard conservative on the Jewish question agree on this assumption—that human rights as far as Jews are concerned are a quid pro quo, to be granted only in return for the dissolution of Jews as a group.

Such reactionary groups as the American Council for Judaism and such liberals as Kingsley Martin both overlook the fact that whatever may be their own secret desires for Jews, there are Jews, millions of them, who are not content

to "leaven the cultures of other nations" and be kneaded to dust in the process. Some of them have been taught by anti-Semitism, others possess a strong cultural loyalty, while still others are motivated by religious considerations. But a democratic society is a travesty without the right of "spiritual self-determination" for all. I here register merely the existence of this point of view among millions of human beings who happen to be Jews. I might ask why the Jews alone should be expected to leaven the cultures of other nations.

It may be granted that there are many Jews, liberals and reactionaries alike (and they are alike on this question!), who wish personally to assimilate. That right is incontestable, but so is the right to meaningful group survival. Both are corollaries of this basic right of spiritual self-determination. Elementary justice demands that this right be accorded to all men, even to the Jewish people.

ROBERT GORDIS, President,
Rabbinical Assembly of America
New York, March 11

In Defense of the Arabs

Dear Sirs: An article entitled Middle Eastern Munich, by Eliahu Epstein, appeared in your issue of March 9. Mr. Epstein, as do other Zionists, indicts Haj Amin al Hussein, his cousin Jamal, Musa Alami, and other Arab leaders as "anti-British" and as "agents of Nazi aggression." Besides condemning these Arab leaders, Epstein casts reflections on the Arabs by stating that "slogans of Nazi philosophy made an infinitely stronger appeal to the Arab masses than the British policy of appeasement."

In fairness to Haj Amin, it is sufficient to make accusations against him without looking into the reasons which drove him into the arms of the Nazis? Haj Amin Hussein's conduct should be placed in the perspective of alliances in general. Haj Amin may be compared with the men of '76, who did not shrink from contracting a *mariage de convenance* with the enemies of their mother-country, the despotic race of the Bourbons. Jefferson and Franklin felt sure they were serving the genuine interests of liberty when they turned to the undemocratic French court for moral, financial, and military support against British tyranny. In making that strange alliance those American lovers of free-

dom were not subscribing to Bourbon despotism.

Nor was the alliance of the American colonies with France singular in history; all alliances are based on interest and expediency rather than principle. By way of illustration, may I just mention the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 and the British-Russian-American alliances? Needless to say, Britain and America did not embrace communism when they joined forces with Russia during the recent war.

If it can be said that some Arab leaders accepted German assistance in their mortal struggle with Zionism, it does not follow that they fell in love with fascist ideology. The Arabs, on the contrary, are extremely democratic. Regimentation is foreign to their nature, and Nazi practices are abhorrent to their concepts of individual freedom.

We have the British and the Zionists to thank for Haj Amin's anti-British policy.

KHALIL TOTAH,
Executive Director, Institute of
Arab American Affairs
New York, March 13

The Labor School

Dear Sirs: Increasingly, the veterans of World War II are taking advantage of their educational opportunities under the G. I. Bill of Rights. However, there is a great deal of confusion in their minds as to what constitutes education, and what they can expect from our secondary schools. Some of them might gain their greatest benefit from the kind of education which the California Labor School in San Francisco has to offer.

The California Labor School, now in its fifth year, is sponsored and supported by the labor unions, A. F. of L., C. I. O., and the Brotherhoods, in this area and by progressive individuals. It offers courses in labor organization and history, the social sciences, writing, and industrial art and design. As many as 2,500 people attend its classes every semester.

The California Labor School is the only labor school which, so far, has been recognized under the G. I. Bill of Rights. It is the only one in a position to offer its students, veterans and non-veterans alike, a full-time program.

Information about the school may be obtained by writing to Ned Kramer, registrar, or if you are a veteran, to Leon Alexander, Veterans' Director, California Labor School, 216 Market Street, San Francisco 11, California.

LEON ALEXANDER
San Francisco, March 7

For World Government

Dear Sirs: There can be no doubt that university and college students are thinking and talking about world government as the only solution for the present chaos in international affairs.

At the closing session of the recent conference held at Mount Holyoke College and attended by students from seventeen Eastern colleges, it was decided that strong support must be given to the campaign for world government. This resolution was adopted.

The forty-five members of the Inter-collegiate Conference "From UNO to World Government," held at Mount Holyoke College, March 1 and 2, agree by overwhelming majority to the following:

1. We advocate a world government as soon as possible, based on democratic principles which respect the integrity of the individual, and brought about by peaceful means.
2. We advocate that this world government shall represent a world sovereignty to replace existing national sovereignties.
3. We advocate the attainment of world government through the United Nations Organization so far as possible.
4. As the most advisable method of backing our belief, we support the furthering of knowledge concerning world government and the teaching of its necessity.

SYBIL SMART, Chairman
South Hadley, Mass., March 25

Free Enterprise in Tacoma

Dear Sirs: Long a reader and admirer of *The Nation*, I am taking the liberty of sending to you this vignette of present day "individual enterprise" and its fate where "big business" controls a city.

In August, 1945, two civic-minded artists conceived the idea of an Amusement Guide for Tacoma. No such thing had ever existed, and there was a need for it since the streets were thronged with men on leave from the ships in Commencement Bay and from Fort Lewis and Madigan Hospital.

Before the first copy went to press, the managers laid their plan before the Chamber of Commerce and the Better Business Bureau. It met no objection.

The folder was delivered in bundles to Fort Lewis, Madigan Hospital, and USO centers, and met with approval everywhere. Care was taken to keep it up to a high standard; every place was inspected before its ad was accepted; generous space was given to drives for the Red Cross and similar activities.

Then the Chamber of Commerce,

working through their man, Thad Stevens, suddenly decided to put out a similar sheet called *Hi-Life*. It was filled with filthy jokes and political ads, and was so cheap and vulgar that soon the commander at the fort refused permission for it to be delivered out there. The same was true at Madigan.

Then, one day, February 15, 1946, all the theaters and ballrooms withdrew their ads from the Guide. No one would give a reason for doing so; just said they were not giving "copy" to the Guide any more. Obviously, without them it was not an amusement guide at all, and could not pay for itself. Thus was the business wrecked, not by fair competition but by "big business," which controls the Chamber of Commerce. In this case it probably is the Weyerhaeuser timber interests.

Whether this outcome is typical of similar attempts to establish an "individual enterprise" I do not know; and I leave it to you what should be said about it.

LELIA H. GORETT
Tacoma, Wash., March 15

BOOKS FOUND FREE!

WHAT BOOKS DO YOU WANT?

We quote lowest market prices. No charge for locating Hard-to-Find and Out-of-Print Books. All books, OLD or NEW, mailed POST FREE. SEARCHLIGHT BOOK REPORTS 22 East 17th Street, New York City

SPRING BOOK NUMBER

Reviews of the more important books of the season will be featured by *THE NATION* in its regular Spring Book Number to appear on April 20th.

Publishers wishing to utilize the special advantages offered by this feature issue for advertising of better books are urged to make space reservations as soon as possible. Deadlines: for space reservations, April 5th; for final OK's or complete plates, April 11. Publisher's advertising rate, \$200 per page. For information, phone BARELAY 7-1066 or write.

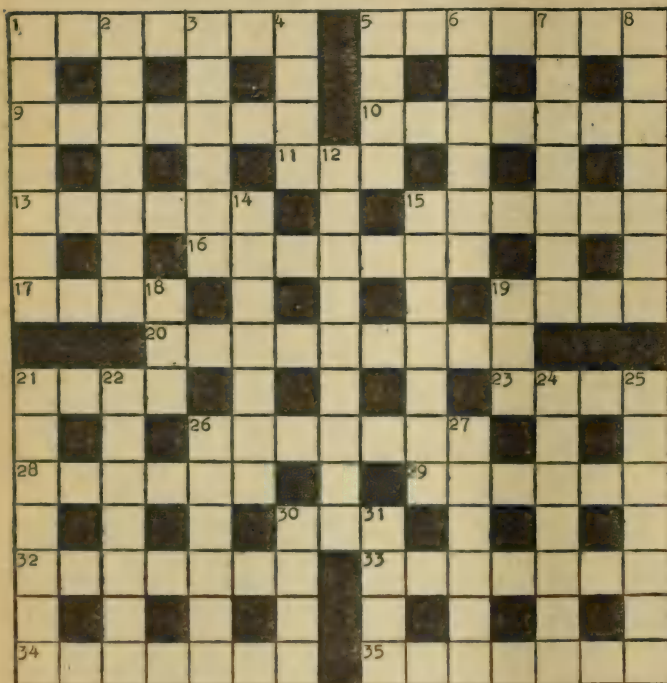
Advertising Department

THE Nation

20 VESEY ST., NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 155

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Not a blue plate—it's the wrong shade of color
- 5 It is an exaggeration, like the artist's tie (two words, 4 and 3)
- 9 One in a position to have first-hand information
- 10 Margery Allingham's whimsical detective
- 11 Where you can drive without a license
- 13 Where our men were involved in more than one kind of dust-up
- 15 Appeasement is the only remedy for this
- 16 L E GG
- 17 Where to go for eats
- 19 Potpourri
- 20 Hardly a suitable steed for the Iron Duke (two words, 4 and 5)
- 21 Foreign title that might be made for you, madam!
- 23 Under the influence
- 26 Melisande made him promise to stay with her
- 28 Operatic composer who wrote all his own libretti
- 29 Hamlet picks up his skull and apostrophizes it
- 30 "Egregiously an ---" (*Othello*)
- 32 Blinker on a horse's bridle
- 33 Might be part ape
- 34 Watched closely. Scot due, perhaps
- 35 Spanish girl full of learning

DOWN

- 1 Destroy
- 2 Dusty rewards
- 3 Prevail on
- 4 The hunted animal, not the beater

- 5 "Their discords sting through Burns and Moore, Like hedgehogs dressed in ---"
- 6 Halo
- 7 Name, apparently, of most Irish domestics
- 8 Breezy line for the farmer to take
- 12 The young emerge unscathed from these wrecked shelters
- 14 A Mr. Noel distributes the hand-outs
- 15 Common talk
- 18 A victory for neither side
- 19 The best thing between France and England, thought Douglas Jerrold
- 21 Water finders' divining rods
- 22 Not game (anag.)
- 24 Not what they usually do in the gallery
- 25 Bismarck and Pierre are their respective capitals
- 26 Not one of the big shots
- 27 Reddish-brown
- 30 Nice chap, Edmund, is he not? (hidden)
- 31 Potato spade?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 154

ACROSS:—1 ENTERPRISE; 6 SCUM; 10 CORSAGE; 11 OVERMAN; 12 ENSHRINE; 13 IDRIS; 15 OVERT; 17 INVIOLE; 19 ENVISAGED; 21 ELSIE; 23 ERICA; 24 LOMBARDY; 27 TOLLING; 28 CAMORRA; 29 RAGE; 35 EPIMENIDES.

DOWN:—1 ETCH; 2 TERENCE; 3 REACH; 4 RE-EDITING; 5 SNORE; 7 CAMBRIA; 8 MINISTERED; 9 SEMITONE; 14 LOVE LETTER; 16 TASMANIA; 18 VADE-MECUM; 20 VEILING; 22 SIDE-ROD; 24 LEG UP; 25 AMMON; 26 RAYS.

RESORTS

INVITATION TO RELAX
Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous countryside, swimming fireplace, delicious food—and fun. Only 66 miles from New York.
MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY

plum point
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N.Y. Tel: Newburgh 4270

The Fieldstone

On Round Island Lake

A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York.

CLOSED—RE-OPENS APRIL 12th
MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7965

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A resort of distinction fashioned from a country estate. Water sports, hiking trails, tennis, library, open fireplace. Unexcelled atmosphere. Famous cuisine.

HATHAWAY LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces and private porches. Winding Mountain Trails. Delicious food. Easy Transportation.

Make Reservations Now for Easter

For reservations or further information write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone, Tannersville 259

BREEZEMONT PARK

ARMONK, N.Y.
35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY
"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"

The nearest of all nearby resorts. Exclusive location. Luxuriously furnished. Dined. All sport activities. Excellent cuisine.

OPEN ALL YEAR Phone Armonk Village 968

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N.Y. Newburgh 4477

Delightful...All sports. Boating on private lake.

Open fireplace.

Different...the colonial atmosphere.

Delicious...unexcelled cuisine.

Diverting...recordings for listening & dancing.

All this only 53 miles from New York City

A Resort for Adults Only

WESTERN VIEW FARM

Will reopen in May

TED OHMER

New Milford Connecticut

Classified Advertisements

62 cents a line (six words)

MINIMUM — 3 lines

\$6.16 per inch

Attractive discounts for multiple insertions.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.
BARCLAY 7-1066

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 13, 1946

NUMBER 15

The Shape of Things

TENSIONS WITHIN THE SECURITY COUNCIL reflect the combat fatigue from which all the nations of the world are suffering, not least the Soviet Union. Gromyko's latest demand that the Iranian issue be completely dropped from the agenda indicates that Russia will continue to make it difficult for the U. N. to establish its prestige. The demand is in effect a restatement of the Soviet representative's first insistence that Iran be barred from the Council table. To accept it would be to confess that the decisions of the Council had been a mistake from the beginning. Russia would in fact be exercising an *ex post facto* veto. On the other hand, the situation has changed since Byrnes' resolution suspending the discussion of Iran until May 6. An agreement has now been entered into between the Soviet Union and Iran; an arrangement has been worked out on oil; the issue of Azerbaijan autonomy has been declared an internal matter. In all these questions the statements of the Iranian government and the Soviet Union coincide—a situation which did not prevail when Gromyko first made his bid to the Council. The delegates are therefore in a position to decide independently—and not on the terms of Mr. Gromyko—that the Iranian matter should be dropped. The resentment they may feel at Russia's intransigence should not deflect them from a reasonable course of action. What is needed now is that the Council, including Mr. Gromyko, get down to the new business on the agenda. Matters of procedure which loomed large in the Iranian discussion should not occupy much time after the careful study given them by a committee of experts. Of greater importance, both to the immediate prestige of the United Nations and to the ultimate peace of the world, is the case of Franco Spain which Poland has raised. We reprint in this issue of *The Nation* the main sections of a memorandum on Spain submitted to the Security Council by a number of representative liberal organizations. Decision on Europe's last fascist state must not be side-stepped again.

✱

THE GREEK ELECTIONS WOULD CERTAINLY have been postponed but for the insistence of the British Foreign Secretary that they be held on March 31, but we have yet to learn what Mr. Bevin thinks of their

outcome. Perhaps this is because he finds the results embarrassing, as well he might. Indeed, even Mr. Bevin might blush at the idea that the first post-war election in Europe held under the patronage of a British Labor government produced a majority for an extremely conservative monarchist party with a large admixture of fascist elements. Of course, it was not a real majority, for despite strong pressure half the electors responded to the appeals of the left and center parties—not just the Communists—and refrained from voting. But since Mr. Bevin has shut his eyes to the fraud and terror, vividly described by Hal Lehrman on another page, which occasioned this boycott, he is not in a very good position to question the representative character of the monarchist gang now forming the Greek government. Yet if he gives this ministry a free rein he will be rightly held responsible for every outrage it commits. However, we are not concerned with helping Mr. Bevin out of the pit he has dug for himself but with the fate of the Greek people, who after all the agony of the last few years are threatened with the horror of a new civil war. That is almost certain to break out if the monarchists, on the basis of their "triumph," secured by a total vote of not more than 25 per cent of the electorate, insist on trying to bring the Greek king back.

✱

A SERIES OF WARNINGS NOT ONLY ABROAD but at home indicate that the war against Nazism and fascism is far from being over. The most sensational was the news from Frankfort that some 800 Germans were arrested in raids in the British and American zones of the Reich and Austria designed to crush "the first major attempt to revive Nazi ideologies." C. L. Sulzberger in recent dispatches to the *New York Times* from Germany indicates not only a serious lag in the "denazification" of Germany but the need to weed out American officers whose ignorance and outlook make them instinctively friendly to the covert remnants of Hitler's gang. Homer Bigart reported to the *New York Herald Tribune* from Essen on March 31 that a British control officer had found a half-million-dollar cache of forbidden tools for making arms. Tania Long reported to the *New York Times* that a German official in Bavaria admitted to her

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	413
Anglo-French Relations	415
The Church Belligerent	416
Political Patterns	417

ARTICLES

Atomic Report: Second Reading by I. F. Stone	418
If Roosevelt Had Lived by Harold J. Laski	419
The Greek Elections by Hal Lehrman	421
Socialism and Europe's Fate by J. Alvarez Del Vayo	423
Twilight of Boss Kelly by Milburn P. Akers	425
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	427
Franco Before the Security Council	428

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

De Gaulle: A Dim View by Albert Guerard	438
The Costs of Competition by Charles E. Noyes	439
Briefer Comment	440
Films by James Agee	443
Art by Clement Greenberg	444
Music by B. H. Haggin	445

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

446

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 156

by Jack Barrett	448
-----------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall
European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Aex

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

that Nazis "still control the food and clothing of the population." At the same time Léon Degrelle, leader of the Belgian Rexists, is directing fascist underground propaganda in Belgium, while officially interned in Spain. The powerful German colony in southern Argentina, according to Frank L. Kluckhohn in the New York Times of April 5, has suddenly turned "Swiss." It is more than coincidence that Nazi hopes revive as tension grows between the U. S. S. R. on the one hand and the United States and Britain on the other.

✱

GERMANY'S FRIENDS IN WASHINGTON HAVE chosen this moment to launch an attack on the Kilgore committee. Senator Harley M. Kilgore, Democrat, of West Virginia, has done more than anyone else in Washington to unearth and publish the danger of a Nazi revival. Kilgore is chairman of a Senate Military Affairs subcommittee which started out to deal with the technological problems involved in war mobilization and soon found, as other committees had found before, that the trail led to German-influenced cartels which restricted scientific progress in this country. With the defeat of Germany and the uncovering of cartel records there, the committee has obtained and analyzed evidence of Germany's secret international industrial alliances, of the part they played in economic warfare during and before World War II, and of the part they may play in undermining the Potsdam program for wiping out the military-industrial potential of the Reich. Three isolationists on the Republican steering committee of the Senate—Wherry of Nebraska, Brooks of Illinois, and Bridges of New Hampshire—have issued a report urging rejection of the subcommittee's request for a \$57,000 appropriation and charging significantly that it "has engaged in activities foreign to its authority, such as investigating prewar cartels, monopolies, and Nazi espionage." Unless there is a kickback from progressive organizations, the Kilgore committee may be crippled, its crucially important work ended when it is most needed.

✱

IT IS A PITY POPE PIUS IN HIS APPEAL FOR world aid to combat famine did not feel it politic to focus attention where it belongs—on the failure of the American government to take steps at all commensurate with the emergency. The two countries at which the Pope seemed to aim, Brazil and Argentina, cannot be of major assistance, the former because it never has been an important supplier of cereals, the latter because it has been hit by drought. It is the United States which is failing the world, not because the American people are ungenerous but because greedy business-as-usual food interests and an equally rapacious farm bloc run the Department of Agriculture and its weak head, Secretary

Clinton P. Anderson. They oppose return of rationing and mandatory restrictions and set-aside orders. We face not a 120-day crisis but at least two years of food stringency, and we appeal to the President to appoint someone like Henry Morgenthau as a food expeditor with plenary power to mobilize both food and transportation to fight famine. The Morgenthau proposal for using certificates to bring wheat out of hoarding was the first really ingenious and constructive contribution to the crisis, and has been adopted. Perhaps he has more ideas like it.

✱

THESE ARE DIFFICULT DAYS FOR THE ARMY; it gets itself all prettied up for the delicate wooing of recruits and peace-time support, and then at the critical moment always manages to turn up with its tunic unbuttoned. It appoints a board to "investigate" the caste system and then holds closed hearings so that witnesses "will speak more freely." While this board solemnly sifts charges of discrimination between the ranks, a nearby quartermaster depot sells off surplus nylons to officers only. The army proudly announces a standard uniform for both officers and men, and imposes an arbitrary censorship on one of the greatest morale instruments of the war—the G. I. gripe column of *Stars and Stripes*. The prime relapse, however, and the ugliest, has been the conduct of the Lichfield prison camp courts martial. When the Lichfield atrocities were first brought to light, after flourishing without interference during the war, the army righteously arrested a handful of enlisted guards and two lieutenants. A month or so later it was caught in the act of decorating and promoting the Lichfield commandant, Colonel Kilian, despite the fact that Kilian was obviously involved in and almost certainly responsible for his camp's sadistic activities. Kilian and the rest of the Lichfield brass were finally indicted only after the whole affair had been thoroughly kicked around in the press. And the trial of the first enlisted defendant had hardly concluded when a member of the prosecution resigned after charging that the proceedings were being rigged to whitewash the high officers. The army, and the navy too, would do well to concentrate less on surface reforms and more on rooting out the hidebound military mentality that vitiates every step toward a real reconstruction.

✱

A CAREFUL SCRUTINY OF THE ROSY REPORT on economic conditions submitted by Reconversion Director Snyder reveals a less objective appraisal than we have a right to expect from so responsible a source. Mr. Snyder points out that our civilian production is running at the unprecedented rate of \$150,000,000,000 a year. But an estimate of production in terms of dollar value is obviously deceptive in view of the long-continued rise in prices. A far more accurate guide to the

country's economic health is provided by the Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production. This shows that current output, while far above the 1935-39 level, is actually no greater than that of 1941, the last pre-war year. In some commodities the present level of production is remarkably high. The output of food, except for fats and sugar, is above pre-war records; paper production and coal output, prior to the present strike, were at an all-time high; more automobile tires are being made than ever before. Many other kinds of consumer goods are being turned out in record quantities. But as everyone knows, these achievements are largely offset by severe shortages, especially in textiles, lumber, and building supplies. Mr. Snyder's over-all picture may have been influenced, as his political enemies have charged, by the fact that 1946 is an election year; but the sudden rise in the stock market which followed his report suggests that speculators have been influenced even more by the conservative press's imaginative picture of the hypothetical terrors of government control during reconversion.

Anglo-French Relations

FEELERS recently put out on both sides of the English Channel for a strengthening of ties between France and Britain appear to have become badly snarled in French politics. Anxious as most Britons and a majority of Frenchmen are for a renewal of the entente between the two countries, the basic problem of what to do about Germany still divides them. On March 24, in a speech at Strasbourg, French President Félix Gouin hinted that a modification of the rigid policy of German dismemberment fostered by his predecessor, De Gaulle, was in the cards. Provided that the occupation of Germany was prolonged and international control and administration of the Ruhr established, he suggested that French insistence on a separate Rhineland state might be abandoned. In subsequent speeches and interviews he cautiously reiterated these ideas and expressed the hope that the Franco-Soviet pact would soon be buttressed by an alliance with Britain.

London's response was immediate and hearty. It was authoritatively indicated that Britain also was prepared to compromise on its German policy, at least to the extent of supporting international economic control of the Ruhr and Rhineland. And in reply to a question in the Commons Foreign Secretary Bevin declared that M. Gouin's statement gave the British government, which had always been anxious for "the closest possible friendship with France," an opportunity for fresh consideration of a treaty "which would provide further security against renewed German aggression."

But even before Mr. Bevin had spoken, prospects for

an early Anglo-French rapprochement had faded. M. Gouin, who had voiced the sentiments of his Socialist Party rather than those of his Cabinet, found himself under a cross-fire from right and left. M. Bidault, Foreign Minister and leader of the Mouvement Républicain Populaire, in general favors a "Western" foreign policy for France. But he also regards himself as trustee for the Gaullist solution of the German problem, and hence he and his party protested vigorously against any weakening of the French demand for the permanent removal of the Rhineland from the control of Berlin. The Communists, the third party included in the French national government, are for the time being at least supporting Bidault, not because Russia necessarily is anxious for the separation of the Rhineland from Germany—German Communists stand for unity of the Reich—but because of Moscow's haunting fear of a "Western bloc." Hence the anxiety of the French Communists to exploit any barrier to closer Anglo-French relations. Their tactics, we can be sure, would be reversed should British opposition to a Rhenish state be withdrawn, for such a state, integrated economically with Western Europe, would enhance the prospects of the kind of bloc that the Soviets are intent on thwarting.

As long as the French "westerners"—the Socialists and the M. R. P.—are thus split, the Communist "easterners" can exercise a veto. And it must be remembered, as Mr. Del Vayo points out in his article on page 423, on many other questions, particularly in the domestic field, Communists and Socialists share similar views. Hence while political power is fairly evenly divided between these three major parties, French foreign policy in general is likely to be negative rather than positive, while the problem of Anglo-French relations, in particular, can hardly be dealt with in a satisfactory manner.

Yet close political and economic ties between Britain and France are essential if Western Europe is not to be squeezed between the two great powers that now flank it. France has definitely lost its pre-war status in world affairs; Britain has been relatively weakened and is barely clinging to its position as one of the Big Three. Both countries have been impoverished by the war; both see their empires slipping from them. If their decline is to be checked—and we believe that their reduction in influence will make the world both poorer and less secure—they need to seek a new source of strength. They cannot find this in efforts to revive and consolidate their imperialist possessions; that way out must mean an ever-increasing drain on their diminished resources. But they might find a prescription for recovery in a socialist integration of their economies. If the two countries could remove the tariff fences between their gardens and plan together for their cultivation, they could provide that broadened market which is essential for the success of modern industrial techniques. More than that, this kind

of association would give them both better insurance against the revival of German aggression, particularly if Belgium and Holland joined with them, than any scheme to dismember the Reich.

Would such a combination, as the Soviets believe, prove a threat to Russian security? We do not think so. Anglo-Russian friction has arisen largely because the security zones of the two nations have overlapped. If Britain were less concerned about the maintenance of its imperial economic bases, if its hopes for prosperity were bound to Western Europe rather than scattered around the globe, there would be decreased danger of Anglo-Russian clashes. Unless Moscow is determined to extend the Soviet sphere of influence to the Atlantic Ocean—an undertaking fraught with peril to peace—its opposition to any form of Western association seems to us singularly short-sighted.

The Church Belligerent

IN A curiously ominous address to the Catholic Institute of the Press recently Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen twice "scooped" the press of the country. He revealed first that a Soviet agent had been "picked up" at a Congressional committee meeting and, second, that the death of an American naval attaché in Poland suggested foul play. The press was not alone in being beaten to the draw by the Monsignor. So were the FBI, the chief of the Justice Department's criminal division, and even the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which has been curiously reticent about what it would surely regard as a supremely happy development. All three expressed surprise at the report concerning the Soviet agent, and one official indicated politely but definitely that the gentleman of the cloth knew not whereof he spoke.

Monsignor Sheen merely cited these bits of "news" to support his thesis that the world is being divided into two camps, "the comradeship of anti-Christ and the brotherhood of Christ." "Whether swords will have to be unsheathed," he added, "we know not; whether blood will have to be shed we know not."

We know not, either; nor do we know exactly who belongs in which camp. But we do know that such entries into the field of politics as Monsignor Sheen's speech and the incendiary campaign which the Knights of Columbus are waging as "Christian Americans" in behalf of "Christian Spain" are producing a division among Christians which the Monsignor can hardly desire and the world can hardly afford.

Within a week two powerful Protestant voices have been raised against the political maneuvering of the Roman Catholic church. Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, affirming his own readiness "to protect the

religious liberty" of Catholics, attacked the church for being itself "a grave threat to political and religious freedom." At the same time a British Methodist leader, Professor A. Victor Murray, addressing an assembly of the Free Church Council in London, warned against the "irresponsible influence of an internationally organized society, with its headquarters in a foreign country—in this way exactly parallel to communism."

The so-called "Free Churches" constitute a powerful group, including all Protestant faiths outside the established Church of England, and Professor Murray's remarks may be expected to carry far. They are specific, dealing with such matters as the blessing bestowed by the Pope on Mussolini's expedition to Ethiopia, the donation of high church dignitaries to Franco's rebellion, and the Vatican's divisive activities in Poland today. Bishop Oxnam's criticism was equally forthright, stressing "Catholic pressures on newspapers, radio, and other sources of public information" and "practices that are political and designed to secure secular privileges."

In reply to these charges the *Pilot*, organ of the Boston Archdiocese, asserts that at the heart of Bishop Oxnam's "objections to the Catholic church is his unwillingness to acknowledge the divinity of Christ." Not being theologians ourselves, we are willing to take at face value the Bishop's word that the core of his argument is what he says it is—a simple admonition to the Roman Catholic church "to be a church and not attempt to be a church and state." The combination has been tried in the past and produced nothing but misery.

Political Patterns

THANKS to the respective national committees of the two major parties, the political air is beginning to clear. Through the fog of coalitions and intra-party rebellions the pattern that has become a tradition since 1928 emerges again: a Democratic Party essentially liberal despite the millstone of its Southern primitives versus a Republican Party essentially primitive despite the prodding of its Western liberals.

The Republicans set their course when their national committee, without serious resistance, picked as its chairman B. Carroll Reece, Representative from Tennessee, Old Guard wheelhorse, and candidate of the Ohio machine run by Bricker and Taft. Reece's choice appeared to be a thoroughly calculated blow at the Stassen faction, which will now have to crusade for One World under the party leadership of a man who voted against the establishment of Selective Service, against Lend-Lease, and for retention of the embargo even after the war had started; a man who in a quarter-century of Congressional service achieved a maximum of obscurity and a minimum of independence.

In view of the increasingly open display of affection between Republican Congressmen and their Southern colleagues across the party aisle, it is incidentally interesting to note that the G. O. P. has gone to Tennessee for its new chairman. Southern Republicans up to now have been odd fish in the party, stepchildren who never aspired to election except in freakish Republican pockets like Reece's district. They are usually "kept" by this or that party boss for trading purposes at the national conventions. The elevation of a Southerner to the party chairmanship just at this time is quite possibly geared to the hope that the coalition politics now on display in Congress may one day destroy the Solid South and open up a dazzling vista of Republican Representatives from Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and so forth.

Among the Democrats a similar polarization has been taking place within the party. The leadership, confronted with rebellion by the Southern coalitionists, has accepted the challenge. Some weeks ago Chairman Hannegan quietly arranged the formation of a bloc in Congress, headed by Representative Gore of Tennessee, to run interference for the Administration program and stand up to every attack, whether from Republicans or party renegades. This move, not conspicuously successful, was followed by a speech in which the normally non-ideological Hannegan bitterly attacked "dissenting Democrats" and "economic wreckers." Next came Secretary Wallace's well-intentioned but peculiarly inept proposal to purge the dissenters, and at the Jackson Day Dinner the President himself pleaded for "party responsibility." The *Democratic Digest*, an official party organ, went so far as to invite readers to let Representatives who voted for the Case bill—107 Democrats among them—understand that theirs "was a vote against the American people." And, above all, the Democratic high command unofficially but definitely gave its blessing to the C. I. O.'s projected drive to organize Southern labor—a campaign which, if successful, will at the same time revolutionize Southern politics.

The reaction of the Southerners in Congress has been natural, vociferous, and futile. A committee of fifty-five was formed to demand an apology from Hannegan for the explosive item in the *Democratic Digest*. All they have received so far is a disavowal of responsibility, but whether they get their apology is of small consequence. The real purpose of the caucus is to force a showdown on their status in the party as against the P. A. C. The group is planning a series of representations to the leadership on the "effort by the C. I. O.-P. A. C. to take over the party organization." They may regret forcing the issue. Chairman Hannegan knows that President Roosevelt would have won all four of his campaigns without a single electoral ballot from the South, but not without the liberal-labor vote in the key states of the North. And Hannegan is concerned with votes, not abstractions.

Atomic Report: Second Reading

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 7

IN LAST week's letter I called attention to certain dangerous aspects of the Lilienthal report on the international control of atomic energy. I dealt at that time almost entirely with the introduction. This introduction was written by Dean Acheson, General Groves, and the three other members of the State Department committee of five for whom Lilienthal and his associates acted as a board of consultants. The nature of the hedging in the committee introduction turned the plan offered by the Lilienthal board into a rather one-sided proposal under which other nations were to hand over control of their uranium resources to an international body in return for a promissory note with an implied escape clause from the United States. The promissory note obligated us at some time in the future to hand over the secret of the atomic bomb to the new authority and to cease our own production of bombs—if Congress did not change its mind about the matter when that time came.

I have since reread the entire document, and I want to make it clear that, far from being opposed, I am heartily in favor of its central idea—the idea that world safety lies in international control of the production of fissionable materials. There is much that is creative and intellectually stirring in the way Lilienthal and his colleagues have tackled the key problem of our time. They have provided a blueprint which must be the focal point of progressive education on the subject. But on rereading the report I was again impressed by the fact that its immediate dangers, unless recognized, stressed, and corrected, may outweigh its long-range virtues.

It would be a mistake to assume that these dangers exist only in the hedging of the introduction by the State Department committee of five. It is true that it is the introduction which insists on the continued manufacture of atom bombs; the body of the report is silent on this matter. But what I regard as the first obstacle to acceptance of this plan is to be found in the report as well as in the introduction. The obstacle is that we are asking other nations to hand over control of their uranium deposits well in advance of our handing over the secret of the atomic bomb to the new international authority. The Lilienthal board recognized this difficulty when it said on page 70 of its report that "the sequence, the ordering, and the timing of these steps"—that is, the steps by which we make our knowledge of atomic energy and the bomb available to the proposed atomic development authority—"may be decisive for the acceptability of the international controls."

But the Lilienthal board, like the top committee of five, also asks an immediate quid for a distant quo. The Lilienthal board said it was "convinced that the first major activities of the authority must be directed to obtaining cognizance and control" of the raw-materials situation. "Cognizance," as is evident a few sentences farther on (page 71), means making a geological survey, and the board reemphasized the point when it said (page 72) that "the control of raw materials is an essential prerequisite for all further progress, and it is the first job that the authority must undertake." But the board, too, leaves the secret of the atomic bomb to be handed over last. The Lilienthal report, no doubt in an effort to placate domestic opinion, puts into words the very thought that will alarm foreign opinion. It is that since we have the only plants for making atomic bombs, "should there be a breakdown in the plan at any time during the transition, we shall be in a favorable position with regard to atomic weapons." But if other countries fulfil their part of the bargain by handing over their uranium deposits to the new authority, might not such a "breakdown" be an unwillingness on the part of the United States to deliver the atom-bomb secret as its part of the bargain? The Lilienthal board showed its awareness of this fear when it said (page 75), "A too cautious release of information to the atomic development authority might in fact have the effect of preventing it from ever coming to life." It is hard to imagine Moscow opening Russia to an international geological survey and handing over control of its uranium to a new international body on the promise that some years hence the United States—unless it changed its mind—would reciprocate by giving the atomic development authority the secret of the atomic bomb. It is on this question of timing of the disclosures that the whole fight may be lost, and it is on this question that attention must be focused.

I repeat: it is with no intention to disparage the central idea put forward by Lilienthal and his colleagues that I call attention to these difficulties. Unless they are faced and solved, there is little chance that the central idea itself will be adopted. I ask the skeptical to go back and read *The Nation's* atomic-bomb supplement of December 22 last and see for themselves how well the current situation was foreshadowed by Walter Millis of the *New York Herald Tribune*, who made then much the same point I am making now. Were the positions of the United States and the Soviet Union reversed, we would regard the Lilienthal proposal with suspicion.

This brings me to another difficulty with which we

must grapple if we wish to prevent an atomic-bomb race and see an international authority take over the production of all fissionable material. Lilienthal and his colleagues were most admirable when they boldly faced what they called the problem of "strategic balance" in the location of the production facilities to be built by the new international authority. The board recognized that other nations which fear our atomic-energy and bomb plants can develop a greater sense of security only as the atomic development authority locates similar dangerous operations within their borders—for should war break out each nation would at once seize the atomic facilities

on its territory. It is perhaps this crucial issue of where the authority shall build its plants that leads the board to suggest that some integral organ of the United Nations, "perhaps the Security Council itself," serve as "overseeing body" for the atomic authority. Again, it is neither from defeatism nor pessimism that I suggest that the problem of winning acceptance for the atomic development authority is inseparable from the problem of creating confidence in the U. N., confidence on Moscow's part that on so vital a question the U. N. can be relied upon to be more than an Anglo-American instrument in which the Soviet Union is invariably outvoted.

If Roosevelt Had Lived

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

Chairman of the British Labor Party

London, April 5

NOTHING that has occurred in the year since Franklin Roosevelt died in any way mitigates our sense of loss or abridges our conviction that he was a very great President. We are beginning to see—in the perspective that death a little mysteriously seems able to make more clear and more decisive—that he brought to his high task special qualities which have since been absent from both the international and the national scene. Particularly, I think, we miss three compelling characteristics. He had the wisdom, born of a unique experience, which enabled him to plan the long campaign rather than concentrate upon the immediate battle. He had in the second place a power, unequalled I believe in any other President, to arrest the interest of ordinary people in America in the problems we confronted. He knew in the third place the secret of that alchemy which held the progressive and the traditional forces in an equilibrium giving proper emphasis to the things they had in common rather than the things by which they were divided. On the plane of international relationships his death has cost us dear. Admit, as I should admit, that some of the agreements he made both at Teheran and Yalta were lacking in that precision which is so essential in diplomatic agreements. Admit that secret understandings were arrived at, like that upon atomic energy, which were unpardonable within the framework of the admittedly desirable unity of the three major powers. It still remains true that his capacity to see the great issue in a great way stands head and shoulders above that of his colleagues and advisers.

Had he lived, I find it hard to believe that the monstrous folly of the Potsdam view of Germany's future would have emerged to haunt us as a grim specter over the next years. Had he lived, I am confident that the distrust between the Anglo-Saxon powers and Soviet Rus-

sia would never have been permitted to assume its present and unnecessary proportions, nor would he have accepted the slow reintegration of Italy into the comity of nations. He knew too well the important contribution the working class of northern Italy had made to the overthrow of Fascism to have left its people so uncertain of their future as to lose the drive to democratic resurgence felt in the first six months of liberation.

I venture also to believe that he would never have allowed the problems connected with atomic power to become a source of poison in the international body politic. He had imagination enough to understand that the central task of our time is to make the age of atomic power the age in which the basis of the world government it implies could begin to be laid. One can almost hear that magic voice saying that this discovery cannot be left to become a new and deadly weapon of power politics. I think he would have seen that its effects were far too overwhelming for the vested interests of militarism to have any vital say in the decisions about its use.

Even if one admits that the grim effort of this war meant inevitably fatigue and the passion for a return to old routines affectionately remembered, the basis upon which malignant men build their hopes of safeguarding privilege against the claims of the future, I think that Franklin Roosevelt could have mobilized a far wider anxiety than we have thus far seen evoked to mitigate the appalling prospect of famine over large areas of the world. He would, I believe, have made the food-producing nations see that hunger is the parent of nihilism and that from nihilism there emerges not the cosmos we could make but the chaos which precedes the breakdown of a civilization. We miss his gift of dramatizing the problems of peace as Mr. Churchill knew how to dramatize the problems of war so that those to whom he appealed recognized that a national responsibility only

becomes effective when it leads not merely to governmental action but also to a continuous sense of individual responsibility.

If a foreigner may venture an opinion upon an American issue, one of the most tragic consequences of Franklin Roosevelt's death is the evident disintegration of the liberal forces which he made a coherent whole. I do not mean that there are fewer liberals in the United States than when he was in the White House. Rather do I mean that there is not the same focal point about which men and women of liberal views can gather; that what was an organic movement has become atomized, and that as a result liberal America has lost both its sense of direction and that sentiment of urgency which gives to an idea its driving power. The exodus from Washington is symptomatic of this disintegration. There are not merely new faces in the Administration—that was inevitable; there is also a change of mind. The trend in the White House is less to build on the foundations President Roosevelt laid than to be uncertain where those foundations were established. One has the feeling that where Franklin Roosevelt made the interplay of institutions in the federal government a great popular lesson in the political education of the electorate, today the interest has waned, and Congressional proceedings have returned to a familiar routine which elicits only an occasional flicker of attention; most of that attention, as in the case of Mr. Pauley's nomination, is bound up with persons rather than with principles. There is thrust and counter-thrust. There is wanting the argument and counter-argument which made the Roosevelt Administration so essentially, and with all its defects so creatively, what Bagehot termed "thinking government."

I hope I am mistaken when I make the guess that for both the major parties the absence of Franklin Roosevelt from the political scene has been on the whole a good deal of a relief. A really great man is always something of a burden to the men who run the political machines. Greatness has a certain incalculable quality about it. It irritates the professional politician because it can never be adjusted to the calculations he is accustomed to make. He is faced with unexpected decisions to which with a swift unease he has to adjust himself. Even worse, he is faced with unexpected appointments which he can never quite explain away to the pushful strivers who look up only to be sent away unfed. When he deals with the leader who conforms to the normal standards he can go back with a sigh of relief to the old game with its old rules.

Franklin Roosevelt differed from Woodrow Wilson in that his leadership was flexible as well as massive, and that he enjoyed the duel with his critics instead of feeling that their opposition was a denial of natural law. He differed from Theodore Roosevelt in the important fact that the leadership he gave was an adult leader-

ship, in which he posed great issues greatly and both demanded and secured their mature consideration. Theodore Roosevelt's leadership was more like that of a robust and thundering Peter Pan, leading his progressives as though they were a band of ardent Boy Scouts out on a picnic. There were always thunder and lightning, but they were always stage effects. The first Roosevelt had plenty of fun firing off the blank cartridges with which he had loaded his pistol, but Mr. Perkins or Elihu Root could always comfort Mr. Morgan and his colleagues by the assurance that this was the rehearsal of a play that would never reach the theater. The second Roosevelt put a dozen vital measures on the statute books with none of his predecessor's sound and fury, but they always meant something which struck at the heart of privilege and put the interests of property increasingly on the defensive.

There is another way in which the death of Franklin Roosevelt made a big gap which no one has yet filled. He had as full a sense as any of his predecessors of the amplitude of American power, but he had a sense also, inherited from his association with Woodrow Wilson, that American power had ceased to be self-sufficient and that his major task was to find the ways and means of harmonizing that power with the needs of a unified world. It is important to note that he sensed the necessity to find the institutions through which this unity could express itself from the very outset of his Presidency. He saw from the first that Hitler was the ugly symbol of a vast counter-revolution which, if left unchecked, would threaten and perhaps destroy the democratic forces of the world. That was why he welcomed the rebuilding of the long-broken relations with the Soviet Union. That was why also he gave the world the solemn warning of the great quarantine speech at Chicago in 1937. That was why he poured in aid to Russia in the critical years after Pearl Harbor. He never failed to realize that the defeat of Russia would mean the victory of the counter-revolution. He put his international faith with majestic simplicity into the noble concept of the Four Freedoms.

Franklin Roosevelt died with the knowledge that victory in the field was certain. He could not know whether the victory in the field would be followed by the translation of the ends for which it was won into the lives of ordinary people everywhere. We do not know ourselves. We can see the leaders of the great partnership which smashed the fascist menace in Europe and Asia standing uncertainly before their handiwork. We are bound to feel a deep sense of uneasiness at their pause. We cannot yet perceive whether it is an interval in which they seek to renew in the making of peace the high purpose for which they fought the war, or whether it is an interval in which, as in the tragic inter-war years, each will seek to shuffle out of common responsibilities

by going his own way. I think that Franklin Roosevelt, had he lived until the spring of 1946, would have bidden us take warning from two terrible memories. He would have noted that the surrender at Appomattox may have broken an evil system only to renew its ugliness in new forms, that Reconstruction, which should have been a reformation, lost the spirit of creation in the irrationality of his hate. And he would have urged us to bear in mind that behind the chairs of the Big Three at Versailles there already lurked the shadow of Hitlerism. He would have wished to bring this world back to peace in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. He would have wished to convince his enemy that nothing is worth fighting for that does not imply a common task in which the defeated can cooperate with the victors in removing the causes of ruin and conflict. Nothing else enables the defeated to begin the recovery of their self-respect, and it is that recovery alone which enables them to make their future instead of attempting to remake their past.

Franklin Roosevelt was a very great President because he was a very great man. I do not think he was a simple person. Great statesmen by the nature of their vocation are rarely simple. I do not think he was an original person in the sense that he had new ideas to communicate or new roads over which to lead. His genius lay in his uncommon power, in the first place, to

make the common man want what he recognized as right when Franklin Roosevelt told him it was right. It lay, in the second place, in his refusal ever to accept defeat, in the persistence with which he attacked again and again from every point of possible advantage the breastworks of that citadel of privilege in which he saw the permanent enemy of the common man. It took immense courage to go on with that offensive for more than twelve years of office. I know that he had many and devoted colleagues. But I think they would be the first to admit two things. First, he never failed them either in courage or inspiration. Wherever the battle was he was always at its center. And second, however superb the help they gave him, in the end the heaviest burden was always his. A great President of the United States, whatever the outward appearance, is always ultimately a lonely man. The final decision is his decision; the final responsibility is his responsibility. In the grave years of his Presidency history never permitted Franklin Roosevelt to forget this was so. He faced immense dangers, and he overcame them. Let us remember that in the effort to overcome them he gave his life. We do not forget that in Europe. If his tomb is in a small township of the state of New York, we who have known him understand why Pericles said that the whole earth is the cemetery of noble men.

The Greek Elections

BY HAL LEHRMAN

The Nation's correspondent in the Mediterranean area

Athens, April 3, by cable

THE royalist at our table was no longer in the army, but he still wore a sergeant's uniform and smiled at the regular officers who passed, and they smiled back. His chest was bright with campaign ribbons—Africa, Sicily, Rimini, and Samos. The trouble was that he did not know the war was over. He said, "I'm down here to protect the royalist candidate, Gonatas, against the reds. Gonatas is speaking at Kalamata tonight. We've a complete military set-up in the mountains. Supplies? We know where the Communist villages are, so we raid 'em. Make plenty of arrests, too. When we catch someone special who isn't fit to live we kill him like a dog. The police are no trouble. They even come to us for help and advice."

That same day I turned down a chance to make \$6,000. Kalamata is where the royalist gang leader, Manganas, butchered twelve hostages last February. The price on Manganas's head is 30,000,000 drachmas. A British police officer told me he had led Greek gendarmes for 150 miles on foot across the mountains vainly

hunting for Manganas. I asked the officers of the Kalamata gendarmerie to help me get to Manganas for an interview and received precise directions on how to find him. The local X-ite (royalist) chief offered to conduct me to the place where he was, three hours from Kalamata. I declined only because I had to get back to Athens for the elections.

The rest of my five-day tour to the south of Greece turned up a dozen other reasons why the elections should not be held. Corinth, Argos, and Tripolis were crowded with leftist refugees from the mountain villages. The crown and the letter X were painted in blue on every wall, but in only one town in fifteen was the E. A. M. still permitted to have offices. The prefect of Messenia was an appointee of the liberal Sophoulis government; when I gave him a lift between Kalamata and Megalopolis, a ninety-minute trip, he took two bodyguards with him. A peasant girl, Vassiliki Papandemetriou, told me that the X-ites killed her mother and brother because another brother once belonged to the E. L. A. S. The possession of arms is punishable by twenty years' im-

prisonment, but a rightist magistrate in Nauplion explained with a wink, "We let the boys off lightly on the excuse that they are suffering from 'confusion.'"

The Peloponnesus is so belligerently royalist that even the donkeys had the King's picture tied to their tails! In one remote village I found that the total voting population consisted of eighty leftists, most of whom had been afraid to register, and five rightists; yet the active registration lists carried well over a hundred names. Throughout Greece the dead, the non-existent, foreigners, and double voters cluttered the rolls.

An indispensable condition for a democratic election is public security. I was visiting the Socialist leader Tsirimokos in Athens when a railway official telephoned to say he could not guarantee Tsirimokos's safety on a trip to Lamia, where he was to make a speech. The anti-E. A. M. Liberals Vlachos and Gondikas were forced to withdraw their candidacies under threats by rightist bands. Even a candidate of the party of Papandreou, a man who had fought in the civil war against the E. A. M., was driven off the island of Cephalonia. The best of all the royalist candidates, Tsailas in Salonika, openly berated his running mates as "bankrupt, incapable quislings," allied with bandits. Ten Cabinet ministers resigned rather than condone the elections. The retiring Minister of Security, Mercuris, publicly declared that weapons confiscated from the E. L. A. S. had been turned over to the rightists. The retiring Vice-Premier, Caphandaris, pilloried the British for blocking the purge of the police. When asked to rebuke General Tsakalotos for banning leftist posters, Premier Sophoulis said, "I do not interfere with Tsakalotos. He is the X-ite leader. He obeys nobody." The Premier admitted to foreign correspondents three days before the elections that the prerequisites for a free vote were lacking but said that international considerations made it impossible to postpone them.

The Centrist government made its debut last November with pledges by the British that elections would be held only after the rolls had been cleaned and order reestablished. Britain's insistence—with the uneasy support of America—on nullifying this promise was a Munich in miniature and dangerously alienated Greek democracy. Although the Labor government's motives are understandable, its gargantuan clumsiness isn't. It all started from the rift over Iran. But the chanting of Bevin and MacNeil that everything is rosy in Greece, whereas Russia's tactics elsewhere are evil and machiavellian, is, to say the least, unimaginative. The British say, "If we lose Greece, then Italy and Turkey go too." Nothing in Greece since the civil war has brought the Black Sea closer to the Mediterranean than this parody of an election.

The presence of the Allied Mission to Observe the Greek Elections put the Greeks on their good behavior

and cleaned up some of the isolated abuses. Ten dead men registered as living voters in Nauplion were scratched from the lists after an Allied observer discovered the fraud. The mission worked hard; its weakness lay in its limited powers: it was to report fraud and violence but not combat them. Allied Mission observers on the island of Crete were unable to accompany me to a Republican rally—"We are forbidden to attend; if there is trouble we'll investigate later." Moreover, most of the members of the mission subconsciously identified their prestige with the success of the elections and therefore personally resented the boycott by the left. The others, sublimely impervious to realities, adopted as their slogan the limerick:

Embarrassing people called Greeks
Have divided themselves into cliques
How awkward the fact
Whichever we back
We'll be wrong in a couple of weeks.

The election itself went off as quietly as could be expected in Greece. The scrimmage in Athen's Omonia Square on the eve of the election, which hospitalized thirty-three leftists and six policemen, and the sporadic country-wide gunplay on election day hardly ruffled the surface. But the much-touted indelible liquid stain which the Allied Mission promised in limitless gallons, so that every voter's thumb might be dipped in it and repeaters detected, failed to appear. Several districts illegally kept the polls open three hours after sunset to give the boycotters every chance to change their minds. At the last moment the rightists reversed their tactics and began to threaten people who had not voted.

The most potent slogan in the election lexicon was *Apochi* (Abstain). Peddlers even hawked *Apochi* cigarettes and souvenirs. Although the preliminary findings of the Allied statisticians showed that early newspaper estimates of the extent of abstention were too high, the total of Republican votes and genuine abstentions indicated that the apparent royalist majority at the polls was actually a minority in the nation.

The monarchist strength is based mainly on the popular desire to avenge and forestall the recurrence of the exaggerated but none the less real excesses of the leftists during the occupation and the civil war. It remains to be seen whether the royalist leaders can resist the vendetta impulse of their followers. Many of the top leftists were busy last week cheerfully preparing emergency hideaways and an underground organization. They calculate that even if the victors restrain the masses, crucial economic conditions will force a cycle of repression by the authorities and retaliatory sabotage by the workers which must culminate in a dictatorship and ultimate reaction against reaction. The leftist leaders, confident of the inevitable swing of the Greek political pendulum, will stand firm and await their hour.

Socialism and Europe's Fate

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, April 2

BEGINNING last Thursday the French Socialists met at Montrouge in a four-day extraordinary congress. Though the meeting had been called for the specific purpose of discussing the forthcoming elections and certain sections of the new constitution, I attended the sessions with deep interest, convinced that at some point the real feelings of the delegates would cut across the restrictions of the agenda. The climax of the congress came on Saturday when Prime Minister Félix Gouin delivered his first campaign speech. Following closely on his Strasbourg speech of March 24, Gouin's talk to the Socialists revealed that he is in an excellent position to capitalize on his growing prestige to the advantage of his party in the coming elections. Though as president of the Constituent Assembly he had displayed ability and leadership, few people thought of him a few months ago as anything more than an emergency Prime Minister.

I began to change my mind when I talked to Gouin at the recent dinner given by Vincent Auriol in honor of the Spanish Republican government. He is a modest man, a subtle reasoner, with an extraordinary amount of common sense and a calm faith in France's ability to weather its present difficulties. At Strasbourg he had dealt mainly with foreign policy, advocating a kind of international consortium for the Ruhr that would secure control of coal and steel production without separating the region from Germany and a prolonged occupation of the Rhineland without annexation. In short, he had tried to find a common meeting ground where American and British views could be reconciled with French insistence on security. His speech at Montrouge was equally moderate. He asked the Socialist Party and the French workers in general for increased production, without, however, promising the country more than its coal and raw-material resources and its financial situation will allow. As the June 2 elections approach, it is important to keep in mind the factor of Gouin's new prestige; a popular Socialist Prime Minister could upset the current predictions of a heavy cut in the number of Socialists who will be returned to Parliament.

Because this was a pre-election congress, controversy was limited to an occasional slap at the other two parties in the present government coalition. But an old hand at Socialist congresses could sense the various nuances. Since the liberation there have been two opposing tendencies within the French Socialist Party—the centrist tendency of Léon Blum and the leftist tendency repre-

sented chiefly by the Resistance. (The rightist tendency was ruthlessly eliminated by the expulsion of no fewer than 120 former Socialist deputies, all of them collaborators or appeasers.) On his return to France Blum worked out a new "declaration of principles" to replace the party's forty-year-old charter. He proposed that French socialism should abandon the ideology of class struggle for a kind of socialist humanism whose principal aim, according to Blum, would be "to liberate the human being from all the servitudes that oppress him and thus assure to men, women, and children, in a society founded on legality and fraternity, the free exercise of their rights and natural faculties." The traditional goal of socialism—the transformation of capitalist society into a collectivist one—was left for some distant future; the declaration spoke only of "the conquest of public authority." Worried by the threats to civil liberties in the post-war world, afraid of the new Europe, Blum was trying to preserve the humanitarian aspects of socialism.

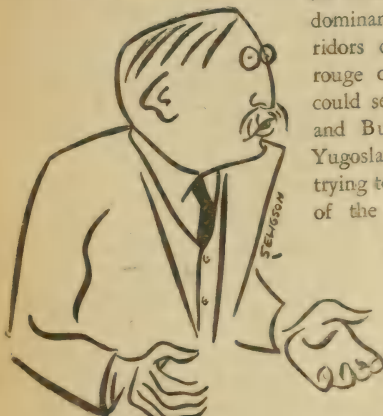
It didn't work. An extraordinarily intelligent leader, he soon realized that the Socialist Party was in a different mood; without any opposition on his part the assembly of regional delegates which met in March declared itself in favor of the strict socialist principles of the 1905 charter. Of course that did not put an end to the reformist trend; one speaker at the Montrouge congress inadvertently referred to "our comrades of the M. R. P." He was loudly hissed.

I got the clear impression that the majority of the delegates were thinking in terms of a government, after the election, composed exclusively of Socialists and Communists. This does not mean that they would have accepted a proposal for closer organic relationship between the two parties; on the contrary, a certain attitude of distrust toward the Communists was perceptible throughout the sessions. And I am afraid this is more or less the case all over Europe. A number of obstacles must be overcome before there can be talk of genuine left partnership. To begin with, there must be an improvement in the relations of the Big Three; the fact that Labor is in power in Britain at a time when a new crisis with Russia arises every other week greatly complicates the problem of getting Socialists and Communists to work together. The Communists resent any attempt by the Socialists to minimize the errors of British Labor's foreign policy. On the other hand, though many Socialists share the Communists' critical view of British policy in Spain, Greece, and elsewhere, they are reluctant to disassociate

themselves entirely from the British party, which is one of the strongest socialist parties in Europe and may remain in power during the decisive years ahead. Recently a British-French Socialist interparliamentary group was formed.

The Socialists resent the treatment of Socialist parties in those countries of Eastern Europe where

the Communists are dominant. In the corridors of the Montrouge congress one could see Rumanian and Bulgarian and Yugoslav Socialists trying to catch the ear of the French delegates to pour out their interminable stories of grievances and miseries. This situation, difficult in itself, is aggravated



Léon Blum

by the activities of anti-Russian, anti-Communist fanatics who for twenty years have been spilling their poison into every Socialist Party. They care nothing about Spain or Argentina or the serious Nazi plot uncovered in Germany two days ago; they are interested only in adding some new detail to the latest story, true or false, that can be used against Russia. As Socialists they do not regret any mistakes made by the Soviet Union, which, whether they like it or not, *is* a socialist state; instead they delight in them. If London were one day to break with Moscow, a most improbable contingency, they would haul down the picture of Karl Marx and replace it with one of Bevin. Even where the majority of the Socialist Party rejects their views, as in France, the fact that they are members creates another element of friction in the relations between Socialists and Communists.

The obstacles I have just enumerated might be filed in a dossier marked "Foreign Policy." But there are others which derive from the differences in temperament and tactics of the two parties within each country. Here the Communists must make the main effort to dispel the suspicion shared by many Socialists whom it would be ridiculous to classify as anti-Russian or anti-Communist—the suspicion that when a Communist talks unity, he means unity on his terms, with the Communist Party running the whole show for its exclusive benefit. It is too much to expect that any Socialist, however convinced of the need of working with the Communists, will let himself and his party be treated almost as intruders in the labor movement. It makes no sense to talk unity and

then denounce a Socialist as a reactionary or a semi-fascist the moment he disagrees with the Communist line.

Socialists are indignant at the thought that the Communists consider them companions to be tolerated only until more useful ones can be found; that the Communists would throw them overboard if they decided an alliance with the M. R. P. would improve their chances in the elections. This fear may be unfounded, but it exists and it would not serve unity to silence it. Socialists may disagree with Léon Blum, as they did in March, but they respect him and are proud of his courageous stand at the Riom trials. They would accept any objective criticism of Blum, and many of them criticized his exaggerated romanticism about civil rights. What they cannot swallow is the idea that if Blum were to come out tomorrow for a merger with the Communists he would be acclaimed by them as an enlightened political thinker, while if he opposed it he would overnight become an old "gaga." The issue is quite clear. Either the Communists feel strong enough to rule alone, or they need the collaboration of other progressive forces and especially of the Socialists. In the latter case, they must change their methods.

Sometimes the question is largely one of tact, if that word is not too bourgeois. In the recent Zurich municipal elections, for example, it was decided after a long controversy in the Socialist press to form a single slate with the Communist *Parti du Travail*. The results were not what the coalition expected. It did not obtain a majority, but the *Parti du Travail* won a large number of seats, the Socialists being the losers. The Swiss Communists celebrated their victory by abusing their Socialist allies and asserting that the elections showed the Communists were going to become the only party of the working class in Europe.* In Germany, too, it might have been possible for Grotewohl, the leader of the merger movement, to win more support if the Communists had not given the impression that the merger had been decided in advance with the blessings of the Russian occupation authorities, and that the Socialists had nothing to say about it. Even so, the plebiscite held last Sunday in the British, American, and French sectors of occupied Berlin revealed that a majority favored a working arrangement with the Communists; while the proposal for fusion was rejected by 19,529 votes against 2,937, still 65 per cent approved some kind of cooperation between the two parties. I am not suggesting that questions of form are the only ones involved, or even the most important; I do be-

*The results in themselves would be no argument against coalition. In Italy it was thanks to just such a coalition that the left fared so well in the recent municipal elections. Returns from twenty-one large Italian cities which voted in last Sunday's fourth wave of local elections show the Communists and Socialists leading in fourteen of them; and it is very likely that the gains of the two parties will increase as returns come in from Milan and other cities in the north. The trend in Italy is unmistakably to the left. Italian anti-monarchists have smashed the desperate efforts of native reactionaries and of Vatican and British circles to save the royal house.

lieve they often have a more irritating immediate effect.

At Montrouge the Socialists declared themselves ready to assume the responsibility of leadership in French politics and voted to continue the practice of presenting their own slate of candidates in the elections. Nevertheless, in many ways they showed their willingness to work with the Communists. For instance, the congress decided to lift the sanctions taken against the leaders of the Tarn Federation for having agreed to write in Communist newspapers and allow Communists to write in the local Socialist press; it also authorized local joint meetings of Socialist and Communist groups. In general, the prevailing tendency of the congress was to the left. On the

question of nationalization and secular control of education its stand was clear and firm. The conviction dominating the whole meeting was that at least limited agreement between Socialists and Communists is indispensable if the social program of the Resistance, demanded by the people, is to be carried through. Without that collaboration the measure to nationalize electricity and gas would not have been adopted the other night by the Constituent Assembly and the trusts would be in a position to sabotage the entire socialization program of the government. On the development of genuine understanding between Socialists and Communists depends the fate of Europe—and indirectly the fate of the world.

Twilight of Boss Kelly

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

Chief political writer for the Chicago Sun

THE shadows of late afternoon are lengthening over Chicago's notorious Kelly machine. Night, whether it falls with the suddenness of the tropics or draws in more slowly as in northern climes, is definitely on the way. Edward J. Kelly, mayor of Chicago, chairman of the Cook County Democratic Committee, chairman in fact if not in title of the Illinois State Democratic Committee, and national committeeman from Illinois for his party, has stumbled—stumbled over an issue that any small-time politician in downstate Illinois would know enough to avoid.

Ed Kelly—who has had a hand in the making of Presidents, who has made and unmade judges, who has controlled, in bi-partisan deals, Republican legislatures, whose whim or fancy has been sufficient for the election of hundreds of minor office-holders—failed to understand that sooner or later the people would resent the exploitation of the Chicago public-school system by his henchmen. That exploitation has now become an explosive issue. Augmented by a half-dozen or so other issues, it is the basis of an increasingly formidable attack on the Kelly machine.

Ed Kelly, at seventy, has reached an inevitable stage in every boss's career. Acts of omission and commission are beginning to catch up with him. Blinded by success and versed only in power politics, Kelly places his dependence on precinct captains. He is apparently unmindful of the fact that many a boss has been toppled from an equally solid throne by the turn-out, on Election Day, of that portion of the public over which precinct captains exercise no control. The school crisis has made an impact on that type of voters.

Last May a committee of the National Education

Association made a report on Chicago's public schools. It charged that they were under political control, that nepotism and favoritism prevailed, and that "some of the personnel practices in Chicago schools are undemocratic and even fascist in nature." It accused the president of the board, James B. McCahey, personal friend and appointee of Kelly, of attempting to "dominate and control teacher organizations and their officers," and the superintendent, William H. Johnson, of maintaining a spy system. It denounced the use, in Chicago schools, of textbooks written by Johnson. So serious were the charges that the N. E. A. later expelled Superintendent Johnson from membership.

Kelly tried to ignore the report. So did his hand-picked state's attorney, William J. Tuohy. Tuohy has yet to ask a grand jury to investigate the charges of corruption made by the committee of educators who spent six months on a survey of the school system. But Chicago, awakening from its civic lethargy, demanded action. The Independent Voters of Illinois, a small but growing organization, some sections of the Parent-Teachers' Association, various civic clubs, some elements in organized labor, and two newspapers, the *Daily News* and the *Sun*, hammered away on the subject day after day.

Kelly, though he has a boss's cynical disregard for public opinion, was finally forced to act. He permitted an aldermanic subcommittee consisting of five of his political henchmen to conduct public hearings on the N. E. A. report. But both he and his henchmen overplayed their hand. It was obvious from the start that the aldermen, all politically beholden to Kelly, were against any examination into school affairs. Late in March the Church Federation of Greater Chicago said of the hearings, "Whether intended or not, those men [the sub-

committee] gave the unmistakable impression that they are not concerned about the public interest nor for the truth; but that even if it costs them their reputations as fair and sincere public servants they are determined to keep as many facts as possible from getting into the record." It concluded, "The councilmen's attitude gave stronger support to the allegation that Superintendent Johnson and Board Chairman McCahey have mismanaged the schools than even the condemning statements made by many representatives of reputable organizations."

Undoubtedly Chicago's schools will be an issue in next November's state elections, when the entire House of Representatives in the Illinois legislature and one half of the Senate are to be voted on. Already candidates are being told by various groups that they will be supported only if they pledge themselves to vote for a legislative investigation of the Chicago school system by a competent committee equipped with the power of subpoena and supplied with funds for attorneys and investigators. Kelly candidates are ducking the issue. To investigate the Chicago public-school system is to investigate Kelly and themselves. To refuse a pledge of such action is, for many, to invite defeat.

One might imagine that Republican candidates would make the most of such an opportunity, but few have tried to do so. Ordinarily, a Republican legislature like that of Illinois would jump at the chance to investigate a Democratic city administration like that of Chicago, but there is a peculiar tie-in between Mayor Kelly and Governor Green. Kelly lets Green name a couple of pals for election to the Circuit or Superior Court—a bipartisan deal they seek to make smell better by calling it coalition—and in return the Mayor gets help from Green when he requires specific measures for Chicago.

Politically, the state, like Gaul, has been divided into three parts—the City Hall for Kelly, the State House for Green, and nothing for the public. But it is extremely doubtful whether "Little Pete," who aspires to the G. O. P. Presidential nomination in 1948, can protect Kelly any longer. It is almost certain that unless Kelly acts on the school issue satisfactorily before the legislature convenes next January, a legislative investigating commission will be named, despite "Little Pete's" furtive efforts to prevent it. Kelly's request that the presidents of six universities in the Chicago area consider criticisms of the school system and make recommendations is described by leaders in the fight for reform as dilatory—they demand immediate action.

Kelly, if he wants to continue as mayor, must be re-elected in the spring of 1947. He cannot run against the N. E. A. report, or against an investigation of his regime by a legislative commission. The aldermen made a failure of the whitewash job. Unless Kelly is willing to risk his kingdom by further defying public opinion, he must make the next move. And that move, it is gen-

erally conceded, will be to toss Superintendent Johnson overboard. Few will shed a tear when this happens, for Johnson has failed miserably as an educator. But it is highly doubtful that his sacrifice will appease those who are determined to free Chicago's schools of Kelly spoils politics. It is the system they want to change; the ousting of Johnson and McCahey and other Kelly-appointed board members is only incidental.

The condition of the schools is rapidly becoming the biggest local issue that has arisen in Chicago politics in several generations. But Kelly is also plagued by a host of other issues. His police force, never over-zealous except in cracking picket lines, has been shown up as intolerably inefficient by its failure to apprehend the maniac who committed Chicago's most horrible recent crime—the kidnaping and murder of little Suzanne Degnan, whose dismembered body was recovered from the city's sewers. The fate of Suzanne will be in the minds of many people on Election day.

There are other weak spots in the Kelly machine. State's Attorney Tuohy, always uncomfortable when outside of Kelly's vest pocket, ignored repeated requests for grand-jury action in the school situation, but rushed in to do a whitewash job for the machine when an eccentric judge—a renegade Republican whom Kelly had put on the bench—cast aspersions on the integrity of several other Kelly henchmen. The judge publicly charged an assistant of Tuohy's with being party to a proposed tax sale of a building in a deal which would have benefited the Kelly machine and gypped the public. Tuohy immediately issued a statement clearing his assistant. When the judge refused to be quieted, Tuohy got a grand-jury review of the case. The jury, of course, found nothing wrong in short order.

There are indications, however, that the alleged tax scandal has not been downed—despite Mr. Tuohy. More will be heard about that deal. And more may be heard about the strange case of "Big Bill" Johnson, a boss gambler with political connections who received a penitentiary sentence five years ago but only recently began to serve time. A federal grand jury has evinced an interest in this case.

Of course Chicago has long watched a steady procession of scandals. The difference today is that Chicago is beginning to wonder whether it can afford the luxury of Kelly and his machine. It is beginning to compare its tax rate—one of the highest in the country—with that of other municipalities. It is beginning to demand that its streets be cleaned, its garbage collected, its air rid of smoke from belching chimneys. Ironically, those voters who would end the Kelly regime have nothing to turn to except the Green machine. No independent Democrat or Republican of sufficient stature to challenge Kelly or Green has emerged. But Chicago—and this is a healthy fact—is certainly looking for one.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Stretching for Inflation

WHAT is parity price? In the original Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 it was defined as "that price for the commodity which will give to the commodity a purchasing power with respect to articles that farmers buy equivalent to the purchasing power of such a commodity in the base period." For four of the five "basic" crops this period was fixed as August, 1910, to June, 1914—years when prices of farm products were comparatively high; so that parity price for, say, a bushel of wheat means a sum which will buy as much cloth, or coffee, or fertilizer, or electric current as the average proceeds of a bushel of wheat in the base period. In other words, parity price is a ratio between the price of any farm product and the general price index. If the market price of cotton remains stationary while the index rises, the parity price of cotton will also rise.

Much of the farm legislation of the thirties was aimed directly or indirectly at hoisting agricultural prices to the parity level. It was justified on the ground that farmers had been receiving less than their fair share of the national income, with the result that the economy had become unbalanced. Undoubtedly there was much force in this argument, but to achieve, and still more to maintain, a steady balance between the proportions of national income accruing to agriculture, to labor, and to capital is an exceedingly delicate operation. Up to the beginning of 1942 the balance, in fact, remained tilted against the farmers, despite government subsidies and support payments. Since then, however, it has shifted markedly in their favor, and today the index for farm prices as a whole is well above the parity level.

Devoted as the farmers have been to the parity conception, they, or at least their organized voices, have been reluctant to realize that it is a two-way proposition. Yet it is obvious that if the parity level represents a price structure which is fair to the farmer and the consumer, a rise above that level must give the farmer something more than his share, must mean that the dollars of the rest of us are less valuable in terms of agricultural products than they were during the base period. Nevertheless, since 1942 the farm bloc and its Congressional supporters have been fighting to raise ceilings while maintaining parity as a solid floor.

Not content with a considerable degree of success in this direction, they have also attempted to tinker with the parity scales so as to give farm products more weight. Representative Pace of Georgia has long been pushing a bill which seeks to include the wages of farm labor among the costs of "the articles that farmers buy." Had this been proposed in 1933, the effect would have been to reduce parity prices, for at that time farm wages were very low. Now, however, it would mean a steep rise, since agricultural workers, while still relatively poorly paid, have about tripled their earnings since the war. On the other hand, labor productivity has also increased sharply, as is indicated by the fact that a huge

addition to farm output has been possible despite a sharp drop in the available labor force.

The Pace bill has twice passed the House of Representatives only to have its further progress blocked. But now Senator Russell of Georgia has succeeded in attaching it to the minimum-wage bill, despite a warning that the President would veto the bill if it included this excrescence.

Regrettable as this outcome would be, the President is clearly justified in threatening to veto a proposal which would open a wide breach in the anti-inflation dike. According to government stabilization officials, upward revision of parity prices would mean an immediate jump of 20 per cent in actual farm prices and add four to four and a half billion dollars (\$125 per family) to consumers' annual bills. This is because the government is committed to support farm commodities by market purchases when their prices fall below 90 per cent of parity. The following table shows the extent to which the raising of this floor would push up present actual prices for leading farm products:

Commodity	Price		Pace-Russell Plan	
	Feb. 15	Parity	Support	Price
Wheat (bu.)	\$1.55	\$2.10		\$1.89
Corn (bu.)	1.11	1.52		1.37
Cotton (lb.)	.23	.29		.26
Hogs (100 lbs.)	14.20	17.20		15.48
Beef cattle (100 lb.)	12.60	12.80		11.52
Eggs (doz.)	.326	.474		.425
Milk (100 lbs.)	3.33	3.89		3.40

Quite apart from its effect on the cost of living, the jacking up of parity prices would add enormously to the potential liabilities of the Treasury. The government has undertaken to hold prices at 90 per cent of parity until two years after the end of the war, and since "the end of the war" for this purpose has not yet been proclaimed, this means for three more crop seasons. Worldwide shortage of food is likely to keep market prices high this year and probably next. But by 1948 there is a possibility of large surpluses which the government will have to buy in order to keep prices at the prescribed level. Consequently, the total cost to the taxpayer of the new parity might well run into billions of dollars.

Defending the revised parity plan, Senator Russell claimed that something had to be done to save the farmers from being "crushed" by the rising prices of manufactured goods. In fact they are already well cushioned against this development, since under the present formula the parity line advances automatically with every rise in prices of the things the farmer buys. Equally baseless is the assertion of Senator Thomas of Oklahoma that "farmers are the only group in America that has not had a break during the war period." The fact is that farmers as a group have done very well out of the war. Since 1939 farm prices have risen 77.6 per cent, those of industrial products 26.8 per cent—which means that "the terms of trade" have shifted sharply in favor of agriculture. Farm-mortgage debt is at its lowest point in thirty years; farm savings are the greatest in history. We should not grudge farmers these gains, for they lost much ground in the period between the wars. But they should beware of overreaching themselves in an inflationary stretch.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Franco Before the Security Council

ON THE day the Security Council convened in New York a Memorandum on Spain was submitted to the President and Delegates. Drawn up by The Nation Associates, the document was signed by representatives of eight national organizations: Henry A. Atkinson, secretary of the Church Peace Union; Reinhold Niebuhr, president of the Union for Democratic Action; William L. Shirer, chairman of the Friends of the Spanish Republic; Jo Davidson, chairman of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions; Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Raymond Swing, chairman of the board of the Americans United for World Organization; Elmer Benson, chairman of the Executive Council of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee; Frank P. Graham, chairman of the Advisory Council of The Nation Associates; and Freda Kirchwey, president of The Nation Associates. Clearly and in detail the Memorandum showed that Franco Spain not only was an enemy of the United Nations during the war, but even now, contrary to the State Department's recent assertion, constitutes a serious threat to peace and security.

The decision of Poland to raise the question of Spain in the Security Council adds timely importance to a document whose intrinsic value is evident, and it is with great satisfaction that we present in the following pages those sections of the Memorandum which contain the basic material out of which the case against Spain must be built. For the first time since the Spanish Republic fell, the issue of Spain's future confronts the world as an immediate, inescapable challenge. Spain can again be betrayed. It can no longer be ignored.

The general press reaction to Poland's dramatic move was one of cynicism. W. H. Lawrence in the *New York Times* referred to it as "part of a new diplomatic offensive by Russia," and this theme was repeated in most newspaper comments here and in London. We have no doubt Russia welcomed Poland's intervention, but it seems to us superficial in the extreme to write the event off as nothing more than an act of retaliation. Russia's interest in Spain is not a phenomenon of the past few weeks. At every stage of the world's downward progress from 1936 the Soviet Union has insisted upon the central importance of Spanish fascism. And in this position Russia has been supported by the liberal and left forces in every country, including Britain and the United States.

But today, as in 1936 and later, Britain and the United States have deliberately forfeited the opportunity to assume leadership in the opposition to Franco. They have refused to act even though they were urged to do so, repeatedly and most insistently, by France. With blind

stubbornness they have permitted Poland to take the initiative and by that gesture have invited Russia to move into Western Europe. Why should anyone expect Russia to decline?

And why should friends of Spanish democracy in this country and Britain decline Russia's support? Over and over we have begged our governments to face honestly the implications of their pronouncements against fascism—and against Franco. For reasons never openly admitted they have refused, taking refuge at last in legalistic doubts as to whether Franco's regime menaces international security. They have tried to gain grace by pious phrases rather than by works. And worst of all they have prevented France, which twice asked that the Spanish issue be taken up by the U. N., from putting the question before the Security Council.

Now Poland has done it; and we rejoice that at last the necessary step has been taken. We have no doubt Ambassador Lange will be able to prove that fascism in Spain is a continuing threat to the peace. Part of the proof is to be found in the White Paper issued by the State Department; part appears in the Memorandum which follows. More remains to be collated and published: it is buried among the captured Nazi documents. Still more is in the possession of newspapermen and other observers recently returned from Spain.

The evidence is important; for when it is properly presented it will, we are certain, show how hollow are the excuses for inaction put forward in London and Washington. The British and American governments may even decide to adopt a new policy on the basis of facts presented to the Council. We cannot believe that they will wish to stand before the world as the sole opponents of collective action to efface the last important focus of fascism on the European continent. Though they have lost the initiative, it is not too late for them to save their democratic faces by supporting Poland's request.

To President Truman, in particular, we commend the concluding passages of the Memorandum submitted to the Council, with its four principal demands:

1. That the United Nations officially proclaim Franco Spain a satellite of the Axis and therefore an enemy of the United Nations, thus making explicit the implicit charge in the resolutions adopted at San Francisco and at London.
2. That a directive be issued to its member nations to withdraw recognition from Franco Spain and apply economic sanctions.
3. That the Spanish Republic be acknowledged as the legitimate government of the Spanish people.
4. That to give practical effect to this policy the

members of the Security Council be authorized to enter into contact with the Spanish Republican government in exile and other democratic groups opposed to Franco, with a view to supporting and recognizing a provisional Republican government representative of all the democratic parties, capable of reestablishing the Spanish Republic on a solid foundation, and pledged to hold a free election at the earliest feasible moment.

We ask for the people of Spain no more than the help accorded to other countries victimized by the Nazis. Neither in the case of Czechoslovakia, nor Norway, nor Denmark did we expect the population, by its own effort, unaided, to throw off the Nazi yoke.

Today it is commonly acknowledged that Hitler's war on the world began on January 30, 1933, when he assumed office, and that the six years between 1933 and 1939 were the preparation for the invasion of September 1, 1939. In this first stage of the Nazi war on the world half Europe was conquered through propaganda, espionage, quislings, and the threat of armed force.

Spain was the first victim of Nazi aggression. Thus the liberation of the Spanish people, already too long delayed, is an inescapable act of justice. It was they who fought the first battle against Nazism and lost a million people in the struggle. Despite the oppression of Franco and the Falange, they have never ceased to struggle for freedom, a fact which is attested by the thousands of Spanish Republicans still languishing in Franco's jails.

In all countries where they were to be found Spanish Republicans were an integral part of the Allied war effort. In France, during the years of occupation, Spanish Republican exiles were a formidable arm of the French underground. Their role with the French *maquis* in the liberation of France provides one of the most striking records of heroism the war has produced.

Action to supplant Franco by any form of government other than the Republic will be acceptable neither to the Spanish people nor to freedom-loving people elsewhere. The latter demand the restoration of the Republic because this was the form of government chosen by the Spanish people in 1931 and because such a government, pledged by its constitution and proved by its acts, is the only assurance that Spain will be a contributing factor to peace—and not to war.

In March of 1944 President Roosevelt, in a letter to Norman Armour, our newly appointed American ambassador to Spain, promised: "Our victory over Germany will carry with it the extermination of Nazism and similar ideologies."

Until Republican Spain is restored, this pledge will remain unfulfilled. Until it is fulfilled, there can be no peace and no security!

The main section of the Memorandum, which follows, supports these conclusions and gives the essence of the argument against Franco. We hope our readers, after studying the text, will write or wire President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes asking for full American support of the proposal of the Polish delegate in the Security Council.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Memorandum on Spain

The Record

IN FEBRUARY, 1936, a free election produced a moderate popular-front government... committed to democracy at home, collaboration with the principal democracies of the West, especially France and Great Britain, and adherence to international commitments.

On July 18, 1936, civil war broke out in Spain. The signal for the war was given when *General Francisco Franco* arrived at Tetuan from the Canary Islands in a *Lufthansa* plane placed at his disposal by Hitler.

On March 9, 1939, after three years of desperate struggle, the legitimate Republican government of Spain was compelled to leave the country, defeated by the armed might of Hitler and Mussolini. It was followed into exile by thousands of civilian refugees and the greater part of the Republican army. One million Spaniards lost their lives in this three-year war. While the Spanish government was prevented from obtaining arms by the policy of non-intervention, Germany and Italy made Spain the testing ground for the world war, which broke out six months after the defeat of the Republic.

Germany's assistance was evaluated by Franco at \$100,000,000 in November of 1943. It included infantry divisions, the use of the Luftwaffe, arms, and, more important, technical and military advice.

The aid received from Mussolini has been evaluated at \$379,000,000. It included the services of some 100,000 Italians who fought with Franco on Spanish soil, an air force, guns, artillery, motor vehicles, bombs.

That Hitler's dual purpose in aiding Franco was to try out German weapons in actual warfare and to divert the attention of the civilized world from Germany in order to permit it to rearm was disclosed in an affidavit dated September 22, 1945, submitted to American intelligence officers in Germany by General Karl Warlimont, Hitler's personal representative at Franco's headquarters in 1936 and later General Alfred Gustav Jodl's Chief of Staff at Hitler's field headquarters.

The New York Times, on November 7, summarized the 7,000-word affidavit of General Warlimont as follows:

The first German intervention came in mid-July of 1936 when Hitler placed a Deutsche Lufthansa plane at Franco's disposal for the historic flight from the Canary Islands to Tetuan, which was the signal for the revolution. The moment fighting started, Franco dispatched the same plane to Germany to plead with Hitler for immediate aid.

Franco's delegation consisted of high Spanish officers and two business men. Hitler received the delegation and acceded to Franco's request for transport planes to fly troops across Gibraltar Strait into Spain.

Thirty JU-52 transports took off immediately via France and the Pyrenees. This was followed in mid-August by a fighter squadron accompanied by a fleet of transport planes containing ground personnel.

At the same time Hitler sent warships into Spanish waters.

On August 25 Warlimont was summoned by Field Marshal Werner von Blomberg, who told him that Hitler had decided that Germany and Italy would give Franco limited

armed aid. Marshal von Blomberg outlined Hitler's policy as follows: "Although German air support would be substantial, German aid on the ground would consist only of armament and sufficient personnel to train Spanish troops in use."

On August 26 Warlimont, accompanied by Admiral Canaris, chief of German Intelligence, flew to Rome, where they met Benito Mussolini and General Mario Roatta. Mussolini agreed to Hitler's program in Spain and promised like aid. Then Warlimont boarded an Italian cruiser and sailed to Tetuan.

At Tetuan Warlimont called himself Guido Waltersdorff. A German plane flew him to Seville, where he and Roatta conferred with General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano. The latter accompanied them to a first meeting with Franco at Caceres.

Warlimont and Roatta each promised to send three companies of fully equipped troops to fill Franco's deficiencies. In October the three promised German companies arrived, but Franco was upset when he examined the German light tanks equipped with one machine-gun each.

Meanwhile the Luftwaffe was exerting a big effort in Spain, but Franco continued to demand more aid.

On November 30 Admiral Canaris arrived at Franco's new headquarters in Salamanca to inform the Generalissimo that Hitler was sending the Condor Legion, comprising 6,000 Luftwaffe men under Field Marshal General Hugo Sperrle. Actually, comments Warlimont, the whole conception of the Condor Legion was Göring's. *He wanted to give Luftwaffe recruits battle training.*

Still Franco was fearful of eventual defeat and demanded greater help. On December 20, 1936, Warlimont and General Wilhelm Faupel, then German ambassador to Spain, met in Berlin with Hitler, Göring, General Ludwig Beck, and von Blomberg to discuss the whole matter. Warlimont's report of this meeting is revealing. He writes: "Faupel wanted three infantry divisions sent to Spain immediately. I objected on the ground that although the Spanish soldier was quite a good fighter, it would not add to the German troops' morale to fight beside Spaniards. Göring and von Blomberg agreed with me. Hitler expressed fear that it would be impossible to camouflage the identity of 60,000 German troops and also that such action on Germany's part would force France to intervene on the Republican side, with fatal results for the Fascists. Moreover, Hitler added that if they could concentrate the world's attention on Spain, it would help Germany. He was not anxious to finish the war quickly. Therefore Hitler decided not to send three divisions but only to increase the scope of German training of Spanish troops and to send additional war material."

This report was confirmed by Hermann Göring on March 14, 1946, testifying before the International War Crimes Tribunal. There Göring stated that he had asked Adolf Hitler to send help to General Franco during the Spanish civil war "to prevent the spread of communism and to try our young forces experimentally. At that time I had an opportunity to see if we had the proper equipment, and I saw to it that the personnel got some experience. Young men continually went and returned."

Whatever doubts may have remained about how Franco came to power were dispelled when on February 25, 1946, it became known that the Italian government was attempting to collect on the sums Franco owed Mussolini for aid.

Franco Establishes a Totalitarian Regime

On April 1, 1939, General Francisco Franco assumed power. The Republican government was supplanted by a totalitarian régime allied in concept and program with that of the Nazis. The Falange became the real ruler of the country. Civil liberties were suppressed, freedom of the press was destroyed, and with it freedom of assembly, organization, and religion; contrary to the practices of the Republic, only the Roman Catholic religion was legally recognized.

To establish its authority the Franco regime instituted a reign of terror, using the Falange as its instrument. By governmental decree the Falange became the sole political party. Subsidized by the state from the national revenue, possessing its own militia and police force, the Falange was henceforth the principal agency of so-called justice and the chief administrator of social relief. The Falange, instructed by Gestapo agents, also became the instrument of Axis propaganda and repression.

In 1943 over a million people were in concentration camps, prisons, and labor battalions. Under the "law of political responsibilities" promulgated by Franco, Spaniards could be legally prosecuted for acts committed even before July 18, 1936. Any Spaniard who had voted for one of the democratic parties in the general elections of February, 1936, could be held responsible for contributing indirectly to the crisis in Spain. Punishment was decreed for those who had abstained from supporting or had been indifferent to Franco's regime during the period of the civil war.

Spain Participates in the Axis War

All during World War II Franco Spain actively aided the Axis war effort. Without any formal declaration of war against any member of the United Nations, it was none the less a direct participant in physical aggression against one of the Allies, the Soviet Union, and served as an integral part of the Reich's machinery of war, which included, in addition to its armed forces, the vital services of a fifth column and a spy network.

In the summer of 1940, after the German occupation of France, Franco seized Tangier, an international zone.

A year later, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, Franco organized the Blue Division, which fought with the German armies on Soviet soil against the Russians.

In 1942 Franco prepared to come to the assistance of the Axis in North Africa. He mobilized his armies in Spanish Morocco for that purpose, compelled the Allies to maintain a large force on the border of Spanish Morocco, and constantly harassed them by a war of nerves. The consequent immobilization of large Allied forces had the effect of actual aggression.

Of even greater importance was Franco Spain's assistance to Nazi Germany in other fields. It helped feed and arm the German armies. It served as a transmission line to the Nazi High Command in the Mediterranean. It was the training ground for a Nazi Gestapo destined for South America.

Germany was the chief beneficiary of Spain's exports. In February, 1944, the German periodical *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* boasted that 39.2 per cent of Spain's exports went to Germany proper and 30 per cent to German industries in the occupied countries.

In Seville Spanish plants made explosives and other chemical products for the Nazi war machine. In Trubia and Reinoso Spanish plants turned out gun barrels for German artillery. In Valencia hundreds of thousands of rifle cartridges were manufactured daily for Nazi use. In Barcelona motors were built for the Luftwaffe and the German U-boat fleet.

Iron ore, pyrites, lead, zinc, glycerine, nitrogen, ammonia, and wolfram, indispensable staples for the German armies, were constantly supplied by Franco Spain.

Collaboration with the Nazis also took the form of maintaining submarine bases at Spanish ports for the repair, refueling, and supply of German submarines and of building a string of air bases in Galicia and the Basque country from which the Luftwaffe attacked British and American shipping.

To enable the Nazis to send instructions to their ships and planes in the Mediterranean and keep in contact with their spies in North Africa, Franco Spain permitted them 100 radio stations in different parts of the country.

One of the most important training centers for Nazi spies was established in Spain. To make it possible for Nazism to spread to Latin America, Franco Spain established the Council of Hispanidad, through which Nazi propaganda against the United Nations was disseminated. With the aid of the Council of Hispanidad, the Nazis were able to send German agents to Latin America on Spanish ships.

Through these agents large Axis funds were transferred to Argentina and elsewhere. Through them newspapers, radio stations, agricultural lands, industrial sites, and miles of waterfront properties in Latin America were purchased with Nazi funds.

The Spanish diplomatic service cooperated in helping the Nazis salt away in Latin America their ten years' plunder.

In the Blue Book on Argentina issued by the United States Department of State on February 11, 1946, the charge was made and documented that during the war Spain was to serve as the transmission belt for the delivery of German arms to Argentina; these arms were to be picked up at Spanish ports by Argentine freighters. Involved in these arrangements was Eduardo Aunos, then head of a Spanish economic mission in Buenos Aires. In August, 1942, Aunos, according to the Blue Book, informed the Nazi agent in Argentina that a secret Spanish-Argentine agreement had been reached for supplying Argentina with ammunition powder, "the execution of which would only be possible with German support."

According to the Blue Book, the German Foreign Office, reporting on various negotiations, "discussed a three-cornered deal, with Spain in the middle, so that Spain would deliver arms to Argentina which we would replace in Spain, while Spain delivers raw material to us which Argentina replaces in Spain."

In February, 1946, the Franco government appointed Eduardo Aunos ambassador to Brazil. After the Blue Book disclosures the Brazilian government refused to receive Aunos as ambassador.

Franco Spain a Continuing Threat

Despite this record and the action at San Francisco, Potsdam, and London, the United States, Great Britain, and other members of the United Nations continue to maintain diplo-

matic relations with Franco and offer him the benefits of the normal commercial and other facilities accorded to friendly powers.

Is there any justification for these friendly relations? Has the menace of Franco Spain vanished? To answer that question it is necessary to examine the record of events since June 19, 1945, when the first resolution barring Franco from the UNO was adopted.

The record shows that the Franco regime is continuing its totalitarian practices. Despite its announced amnesties and so-called democratic reforms, thousands of political prisoners still languish in Franco's jails. Their number is variously estimated at from 60,000 to 250,000. Arrests are an everyday occurrence; the death penalty is still imposed for opposition to Franco—usually defined as "Communist incitement."

Late in February, 1946, the Franco government executed Cristino García and nine other Spanish Republicans who had aided the French resistance forces. On February 25 a military tribunal sentenced thirty-seven Socialist leaders and members of the Federation of Labor to terms of six to ten years on the charge that they were attempting to reestablish the Socialist Party.

Also threatened with execution are Maria Teresa Toral, Isabel Sands Toledano, and Mercedes Gomez Otero, Republicans, who have been accused of political activities.

The Spanish government is now circulating publicity releases in the United States and elsewhere asserting that the executed Republicans and the three women prisoners are simply ordinary criminals responsible for murder and terrorism.

How political prisoners are treated in Spain today was described by C. L. Sulzberger, after a survey of conditions in Franco Spain, in a dispatch to the New York Times printed on February 25. This dispatch said:

Even the most conservative estimates are that at least 30,000 political prisoners are languishing in jail and unknown other numbers in labor camps.

In Madrid alone there are the large Carabanchel Yeserias and Vantas prisons, whose tenants are not all common crooks. No one knows from day to day how many are detained in the dungeons under Puerta del Sol. There are two infamous prisons in Alcala del Henares and a women's jail in Aranjuez.

There are several forced labor camps in Madrid Province alone, three of which supply labor for the Madrid-Burgos railway. There are prisons of ill repute at Ocana in Toledo, El Dueso in Burgos, Santona in Santander, San Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia, Chinchilla in Albacete, and Puerto de Santa Maria in Cadiz. There are special jails in Majorca and Palma reputedly for "political obdurates."

There are feared concentration camps at Naclares de Oca and Miranda de Ebro, in Morocco and Algeciras. There are forced labor camps in the Asturian coal mines and the mercury mines of Almaden.

The agency that usually supplies political prisoners for these destinations is the Seguridad, which operates under the Ministry of the Interior and is actually headed by a Colonel Rodriguez, General Director of Security. It is closely integrated into a wide political-police system. Of its branches the most detested is probably the Brigada Social, dealing with political questions.

The methods employed to obtain confessions are horri-

ble. They include beatings with truncheons and pistol butts, poundings by professional thugs, intricate tortures with electric currents, gouging of eyes, forced holding of burning embers, and suspension by the ankles.

The press is still the prisoner of the Falange.

To work in Franco Spain one must have a certificate of attendance at church.

The record shows, moreover, that Franco Spain is an armed camp, that it is the host to and the chief protector of Nazi wealth, Nazi agents, Nazi technical personnel interested in new aggression.

The FEA Warns of Danger

Two months ago, in December, 1945, the Enemy Division of the Foreign Economic Administration of the United States warned that if future German aggression is to be prevented, it is essential "to establish control in areas outside of Germany of the war-making powers of Germans, their allies, and their friends." It emphasized that "it may be as essential to prevent Germans in country X from making bombs as to prevent them from so doing in Germany." It underscored the fact that in all German attacks since 1900 the Germans abroad and the assets they controlled have been of vital assistance to the homeland.

The possibilities of future aggression by Germany, the report said, lie in its economic penetration of other countries and in the numbers of Germans abroad. The report placed Spain at the head of the list of countries in which Nazi Germany had captured an important economic foothold.

"To prevent aggression," says the FEA, "the control over all important German-owned or -controlled industrial, commercial, and financial assets located outside Germany must be wrested from the nation and its nationals regardless of when acquired and regardless of pro-Nazi or anti-Nazi sympathies of the holder. The future use or disposition of all German assets outside Germany must be conditioned by the interests of international security. This is a policy dictated by practical necessity. No other can be adopted without a full recognition of the dangers involved."

Warning that economic penetration usually precedes political influence, the FEA emphasizes the importance of the German intrenchment in Spain. In Spain today, the report points out, "chemical, pharmaceutical, and electrical-goods industries are largely in the hands of German companies, whose plants are readily adaptable for use in experiments which could be the basis of a new war industry."

The economic occupation of Spain by the Nazis, according to the report, has been accomplished through long-term foreign investments, banks, reinsurance agreements, and patents. "Through reinsurance agreements, mostly of recent origin, neutral insurance companies have been tied to German capital and forced to accept German dictation; in addition, German insurance companies operate directly in the neutrals, thereby creating large fluid assets. In Spain alone there are ten registered German insurance companies receiving premiums of almost \$3,000,000 a year."

Declaring that I. G. Farben gained a prominent position in Spain through its patents, the report says: "The Spanish chemical producer, Sociedad Electro-Química de Flix, is con-

trolled by I. G. Farben and uses the latter's manufacturing processes. When transportation facilities between Germany and Spain were cut off by the occupation of France, I. G. Farben permitted its subsidiary in Spain, Unicolor S. A., to produce several patented products."

By this use of capital and technical skill I. G. Farben became "the most powerful chemical producer in the world and a tower of strength to the German war effort." Through their patents the Germans acquired assets in foreign countries in the form of royalties which very often are retained as a balance with the licensee. Thus, the report says, the Spanish branch of Schering A. G. carried an account receivable of \$300,000 for license fees alone.

Another way in which Nazi Germany acquired a foothold in Spain was through the indebtedness Franco incurred for military aid. In this connection the report says:

During the civil war in Spain Nazi Germany actively aided the Franco party by lending technical assistance and sending the so-called "Condor Division." In this way Germany was able to test its new weapons in actual warfare. But Germany exacted payment from Fascist Spain and the latter reciprocated German military aid by sending the "Blue Division" to fight against Russia. A balancing of financial accounts showed that Spain was heavily indebted to Germany for civil-war aid. In November, 1943, an agreement was reached wherein Spain admitted a debt of about \$100,000,000. Several payments which were made, outside the clearings, made available to Germany at least \$60,000,000 in free credits in Spain. In July, 1944, the Spaniards still owed a balance of about \$40,000,000. Exactly how the Germans disposed of the \$60,000,000 is not known, but it seems probable that they used it to purchase Spanish property, to finance propaganda activities, to pay for goods, and to sustain the diplomatic service.

Nazi Holdings in Spain

An earlier report issued by the FEA on August 6, 1945, estimated that Nazi holdings in Spain, open and cloaked, were between \$100,000,000 and \$200,000,000. After Hitler came to power, Nazi holdings in Spain increased considerably, an important acquisition being a large interest in the production and marketing of foodstuffs, iron, and ferro alloys. This report listed two German-owned banks and ten German insurance companies with a Spanish director general and with total assets amounting to about \$7,000,000. It charged that I. G. Farben controlled the Spanish chemical and pharmaceutical industry:

It controls a number of Spanish firms directly or through Unicolor S. A. I. G. Farben owns 51 per cent. of the stock in Sociedad Electro-Química de Flix, which is capitalized at 6,000,000 pesetas. The manufacturing processes of this company are held under license from I. G. Farben, and a number of Germans are employed in the firm although the management is mainly in the hands of Spaniards. Química Comercial y Farmacéutica, S. A., a subsidiary of I. G. Farben, is capitalized at 3,600,000 pesetas. It represents sixteen German firms and has interlocking directorates with several large Spanish chemical companies. Through stock participation Unicolor has large interests in other companies. Another firm, Unión Química del Norte de España, with a subscribed capital of 60,000,000 pesetas, operates under patents licensed by I. G. Farben.

German Personnel Dominates Spanish Industry

Underscoring the important factor of German personnel, the FEA, in its December report, says:

German personnel abroad represents one of Germany's most intangible and at the same time most valuable assets. While title can be taken to tangible property, the technological, financial, or political experience assembled in the human brain evades control measures. It is entirely feasible for a skilled expert to go into hiding with his knowledge and to resume his activities at a later moment. Investigations conducted in this country at the time of seizure of Axis enterprises have shown the remarkable degree of technological cooperation between German employees of I. G. Farben in various countries. So great a part of engineering, chemical, and other industrial work is based on the cumulative experience of individuals that control over tangible property can never be more than one part of the entire control system.

No other country is so dependent on German personnel as Spain, since there are few Spanish technical engineers capable of directing the installation and operation of industrial machinery, says the FEA:

German technicians know Spanish trade secrets and in many cases control the policies of various companies. Notwithstanding a Spanish law limiting the employment of foreigners, German personnel continues to be firmly entrenched in Spanish industry. Most of the equipment recently purchased by Spain has come from Germany. Naturally, German technicians supervised its installation and often remained as technical managers. But technicians are not the only Germans in Spain; managerial and administrative personnel abound. One has only to glance at a list of the directors of Spanish companies to realize the influential position of Germans, a large number of whom are fervent Nazis.

A German shipping agent in Bilbao, Spain, sent reports on the movements of British shipping to Berlin for use in submarine warfare and even sent supplies to Germans besieged in the French ports. German technicians and other personnel acted as Gestapo or military-intelligence agents, keeping Germans resident abroad in line with Nazi doctrines.

Persons of German origin who have become citizens of other countries are of the greatest importance for the German war potential, according to the FEA. In this connection it says that the Lipperheide family, naturalized Spaniards of German origin, control large mineral interests totaling millions of dollars, and throughout the war supplied Germany with essential ores and funds.

In its August report the FEA described the Lipperheide firm in the following terms:

The most influential German firm in Spain dealing with minerals and metals is Lipperheide and Guzman S. A. (now known as Industrias Reunidas Minero Metalurgicas S. A.), whose widespread holdings include mines, smelters, and transportation facilities. In 1942 the capital of this firm was increased from 2,000,000 pesetas to 20,000,000 pesetas. Lipperheide and Guzman own an interest in or are

closely allied with ten mineral and chemical companies in Spain and control assets of about \$20,000,000.

The fears expressed by the FEA are confirmed by diplomatic observers and newspaper correspondents in Spain.

Spain an Armed Camp

Franco Spain today is an armed camp.

On December 22, 1945, Norman Armour, former American ambassador at Madrid, declared on his return to the United States from Spain that Franco maintains a standing army of between 600,000 and 700,000.

A week later, on December 29, the Spanish Cortes approved the 1946 budget which allocated approximately 50 per cent of the state expenditures to the armed services and the police force.

Four months earlier the Franco government had revived the institution known as *Somatenes*. This is an armed civilian army operating in communities of 10,000 population or less and empowered to make arrests. Under the decree proclaiming its formation it was given financial autonomy and its members were authorized to carry arms.

On October 26 Paul P. Kennedy, in a dispatch from Madrid to the New York Times, said:

The *Somatenes* would provide an ideal niche for the Falange military arm should the organization ostensibly be disbanded. Under the provisions of the decree the Falange military, well trained and equipped, could easily discard the uniform and move effortlessly into a vigilante corps pursuing the almost identical course that it now does.

On March 13, 1946, Charles Menton, in a dispatch to the Overseas News Agency, expressed the belief that what may be a "Spanish version of the Manhattan Project" is now in progress in Franco Spain. He reported:

Dr. Herman von Segerstady, "heavy-water" specialist who worked on nuclear energy at the Nazis' establishment in Norway, is director of the Spanish project. The plant, heavily guarded in all directions, is situated on the plains south of Toledo, near Ocana. Eight miles from Ocana the army has just completed an airport designed to accommodate such long-range planes as the C-47's which the Franco government recently purchased from the Americans.

Franco's armorers, he said, have profited by the worldwide "experiment" of the last five years.

The automatic weapons made at Eibar are second to none in the world. The Trueba works are turning out Krupp-type 155-mm. guns on a Detroit schedule. The Estrella plant is making 1946-type Mausers from blueprints smuggled out of Germany after the Nazi defeat. The Toledo factories, formerly specializing in light arms, are now geared to produce automatic (Bren type) weapons, and a plant near Granada, founded by a Nazi concern in 1943, is daily turning out between two and six thirty-ton tanks.

Certain sections of the French-Spanish border, such as between Elizonde and Fontarrabia, present the appearance of the Maginot line. Every road near the border is disrupted by tank traps. Every bridge and pass across the Pyrenees is mined and guarded by artillery. At Irun twelve long-range guns look down from the summit of Mt. San

Martial, pointing to the French border town of Hendaye. Lieutenant Antonio Jesus Gomez, military commander at Pamplona, recently said that these measures were not merely defensive. He said the border set-up includes a "system of preparation."

Nazi Schools Flourish

Despite the opposition of the United Nations the Spanish government has authorized the reopening of approximately thirty German schools attended by some 10,000 children of the most prominent Spanish families. According to the United Nations, the German schools in Spain were an integral part of the Nazi propaganda machine, working directly under Goebbels and financed by the German government; the teachers were members of the Nazi Party.

Paul P. Kennedy reported that the Nazi government had at least two representatives among the directors of each school, one the local head of the Nazi Party and the other the ranking Nazi diplomatic official. The curriculum in the higher grades was wholly Nazi and was conducted with all the party trappings—salutes, swastikas, and pictures of Hitler.

On December 24, 1945, Joaquin García, in an article in the *New Republic*, said that while some of the schools have changed their names or locations and half the instruction is now in Spanish, the classes are taught by the same teachers, reinforced by numerous intelligence agents and, in the elementary grades, by some 40 of the 200 or 300 *Blitzmädel* (German counterparts of the American WAC's) who crossed into Spain from France when the *maquis* cut off their return to Germany in 1944.

Nazi Agents in Spain

On December 22, 1945, Ambassador Armour declared that one of the major problems still confronting the American and British embassies was the repatriation of some 9,000 to 15,000 German nationals who were in Spain on V-E Day.

On September 8 Paul P. Kennedy, in a dispatch to the *New York Times* from Madrid, reported:

The situation of Nazi diplomats, agents, spies, and terrorists in Spain seems to be shaping up into a first-rate farce. The United Nations authorities have filed with the Spanish government the names of 300 Nazi espionage agents whom they wish to have removed from Spain. This list is not complete as to espionage agents, actual diplomats, many of whom proved to be spies, or known Gestapo agents, many of whom have records here as terrorists. Of the 300 some 50 are interned at Caldas de Malavella, summer resort on the Mediterranean, 25 or 30 have been ordered to intern themselves voluntarily at such favorite resort places as Toja and Foiesgovia. United Nations authorities were informed that the procedure was for the Spanish police to notify the Nazis to report to a certain place, probably of their own choosing, without escort. In some cases the Nazis never reported. Others reported but left almost immediately.

Mr. Kennedy continued:

Hans Lazar, former Nazi press attaché, whose power at one time was such that he could have Germans of ambassadorial rank removed from the Peninsula and who hired and discharged editors of Spanish newspapers, now is entertaining on his former scale at his beautiful home here. The extent of his fear of immediate removal to Ger-

many may be gauged by the fact that he is building a tiled swimming pool on his estate.

Dr. Karl Albrecht, president and director of the Spanish subsidiary of the powerful German electrical corporation E. A. G., not only is at liberty but remains in active control of his business and openly against the United Nations.

Also active is Major General Eckart Krahmer, German air attaché, who on being asked whether he feared United Nations action was heard to reply, "To hell with the United Nations; I will be a Russian general before they succeed in getting me out of here."

Anton Paukner, Nazi specialist in ships, who at least has tried to cooperate with the Allies, is living at San Rafael, mountain resort near Madrid. Dr. Karl Schröder, outstanding Nazi intellectual and educator, is at Malaga. Kurt Meyer-Döhner, Nazi naval attaché, who during the war never missed an opportunity to gibe the United Nations on their "stupidity," is still doing so at complete liberty, as is Hans Dörr, military attaché.

Sigismund von Bibra, counselor of the former German embassy and chargé d'affaires, has returned to his home in Madrid preparatory to the autumn social season.

These are only a few of the Nazi personages in Spain. In addition, there are scores of Nazi technicians and scientists who have filtered into Spanish airways, railways, laboratories, and industries.

United Nations authorities here contend that the presence of these men in Spain constitutes a nucleus for Nazi reorganization. There are unverified but strong reports that unemployed Nazis are drawing monthly sustenance allowances from party funds. Moreover, the Nazis are more or less openly intimidating anti-Nazi Germans.

As late as February 9, 1946, the Spanish authorities were still helping high Nazis to escape deportation to Germany.

On September 25, 1945, the General Union of Spanish Workers, in a report to the World Trade Union Conference in Paris, declared: "In Franco Spain is a remnant of European fascists who are plotting conspiracies in Europe and through the fascist regimes of Portugal and Argentina in Latin America." The report charges: (1) that a powerful German Nazi Party exists in Franco Spain, supported by the Spanish Falange; (2) that Spanish shipyards are working to capacity on the construction of warships.

On October 14, 1945, the *London Times* reported that the Nazis still had large sums of money hidden in Franco Spain and that Nazis in Spain, forewarned of the freezing of German assets, received in advance salaries of from six months to a year. The paper estimated that the Germans had \$5,100,000 and a ton of gold in coins and other assets, and this did not take into account hidden assets invested in industries of all kinds cloaked with Spanish titles.

On October 18, in a dispatch from London to the *New York Post*, Jon Kimche, after a visit to Spain, charged that German industry was closely linked with practically every phase of Spanish economy. He reported:

Progress in unearthing these German assets has been slow and much obstructed by German camouflage and reluctance on the part of the Spanish authorities. Inquiries by the Allied embassies about German firms are often unanswered for months while the process of covering the German tracks continues.

Virtually no assets which should go to the reparations pool have been taken over by the Allies. A number of obvious German concerns, such as banks, news agencies, and shipping companies, have been taken over from the Germans by Spanish government controllers. But the Germans continue in charge and the Allies have no real say. Even in these businesses, it is clear that real German assets have been salted away elsewhere.

German technicians and business experts were sent to Spain to become naturalized citizens, and a great many married into the Spanish aristocracy and commercial élite. German businesses were turned into Spanish concerns with Spanish directors while the German brains occupied apparently minor—but in reality all-powerful—positions.

The board of directors of Unicolor, which is the Spanish branch of the I. G. Farben trust, is typical. Unicolor is now a Spanish firm which, according to Spanish law, cannot be touched by the Allies; yet the board includes Ernst Asselman, Ernst von Steindorf, Dr. Steinhäuser, Erich Ochs, Alfonso Ma Gallardo, Walter Fischbach, Juan Santiagos, Ernst Fischer, Erich Fischer, Gustav Zabel, Josef Mayer-Spiess, José Planella, Salvador Hoyoles, Juan Pittier, Felix Kotegen, Tomas Casanovas, and Juan Llorens.

The president is a Spaniard, and so is the vice-president. But the brains behind the organization occupies a minor secretarial position. He is Herr Ferdinand Birk-Crecelius.

There are a great many mining concerns and others that appear to have no economic justification. Allied investigators are certain that they were set up to make use of the German grip on the country even if Franco was replaced by another regime.

Now, however, the existence of the German industrial octopus depends on keeping the Franco regime in office.

Allied officials in Spain are convinced that German interests in Spain continue to receive strong protection from the Spanish authorities.

German interests are concentrated over the entire Spanish economy but mainly in insurance, chemicals, fertilizers, engineering, and electrical trades.

It is estimated that there are \$40,000,000 worth of traceable German cash assets in Spain and \$100,000,000 to \$120,000,000 hidden away, while most of the assets of the big companies have been camouflaged and will require months to unearth.

If the Spanish authorities take over these firms and run them with German technical assistance, they might provide future German industry with a powerful nucleus.

On December 24, 1945, Joaquin García, in a feature article in the *New Republic*, wrote: (1) that there are between 50,000 and 80,000 Germans in Spain; (2) that some 6,000 German scientists and technicians are engaged in research, some currently concerned with super jet-propelled planes and atomic energy; (3) that there are 3,000 espionage and sabotage agents, many of them officers of the Wehrmacht, who are unrestricted; (4) that 1,200 sailors and customs guards are living in de luxe internment.

Declaring that the protection of German agents by Spanish officials has been achieved primarily through the use of delaying tactics, Mr. García charged that as late as March and April of 1945 some 200 members of the *Sicherheitsdienst*, fluent in the use of Spanish and provided with bogus Spanish identity papers, were flown into Spain, where they now pass as Spanish citizens.

The chief espionage and sabotage agent, according to Mr. García, was Gustav Lenz, a captain in the German army and an officer in the *Sicherheitsdienst*.

Long-time head of espionage and sabotage, his network extended into every Spanish village, every Spanish regiment. One important Lenz group which included thousands of Germans and tens of thousands of Spaniards was generally called the *Camisas Cruzadas*, or Crusade Shirts, and at its peak numbered more than 70,000 commissioned and non-commissioned army officers, members of the secret police, postal inspectors, and immigration officials. Before the end of the war millions of pesetas were turned over to its key agents and assistants.

Discussing German control of Spanish industry, Mr. García wrote:

Radiating out from Barcelona, and secondarily from the Basque iron and shipbuilding center of Bilbao, are the banking, insurance, and industrial enterprises over which the Germans have established, and maintain, financial and technical domination. These industries include the manufacture of armament, mechanical and electrical equipment, dyes, chemicals, and shipbuilding, all significant in terms of a possible future war. To date, the efforts of Anglo-American "safe-haven" economic specialists to establish any type of Allied control or supervision over these industries have been spectacularly unsuccessful.

And further:

Today, throughout Spain, Spanish Morocco, the Balearic and the Canary Islands, German funds and German-owned companies are cloaked by Franquist and monarchist firms and individuals. The extent of this cloaking may be gauged by the fact that although more than 90 per cent of the German assets and flight capital in Spain is centered in Barcelona, Bilbao, and Seville, in the city of Tangier alone during the final months of the war upward of 800 firms suspected as cloaks were registered with the Mixed Tribunal. Typical instances of cloaking are found in the reorganization of the German-owned shipbuilding company Transcomar into the dummy Spanish corporation *Compañía Naviera Bachi*, and in the financial arrangements of Jose Lipperheide, German representative of the German Office for Compensation from Spain.

Another device for facilitating flight of assets was the "sale" to Spanish firms of thousands of tons of valuable machinery stripped from German factories and rushed to Switzerland for storage after the successful Allied landings in France. The transfer of German patents to Spanish firms, a means of enabling such companies as Daimler-Benz, Krupp, Messerschmitt, Heinkel, and Dornier Aircraft to continue their research and engage in production in Spain at the earliest moment, has also been widely employed. By the "reinsurance racket" and by banking manipulations, additional millions of marks have escaped into Spain, and frequently via Spain into Latin America. Other millions in the form of large-denomination peseta notes (a considerable part of the 270,000,000 pesetas which, according to March, 1945, estimates, remained unpaid on the Spanish civil-war debt), which had been kept out of circulation to prevent further inflation of Spanish currency, were flown from Germany to Spain.

An eyewitness account of the extent of German penetration into Franco Spain before and during the war and

since its close is offered in an affidavit submitted in March, 1946, by Carmen Gurtabay y Alzola, Marquise of Yurreta y Gamboa, a cousin of the Duke of Alba. The Marquise, a Spanish Republican since early youth, returned to Franco Spain in 1942 to aid the American Secret Service. Her affidavit, which covers the period from August 1, 1943, to the end of December, 1945, states:

The number of Germans in Spain is not 10,000 as some British papers very optimistically have said. Their number is more like 100,000. They can be classified into four groups:

(1) The Germans who had worked in Spain and lived there since the end of the last war and the beginning of the twenties, although keeping their German citizenship. I could cite many, but as examples I will give two names: Emile Kiechler, Paseo de Recoletos, Madrid, representative in Spain of the Germany rotary-press industry. He is thoroughly pro-Nazi and boasted of being an agent of the Gestapo; he belonged to the German Bund, as most of the German colony in Spain did. Another of this type is Paul Kesler, long-time director of the Hotel Savoy of Madrid, who later owned a bar in the town of El Galgo. There are quite a number of men of this type in Spain; keeping their German nationality and German ideals, they have carried on all possible propaganda.

(2) The second group consists of those Germans who, having official positions as consuls, commercial attachés, military attachés, stayed in Spain after Germany's downfall without being molested by the police, assured of freedom of movement and able to maintain contacts with their compatriots and Fascist Spaniards even though officially the German consulate had been closed.

Of the functionaries who held official posts in Spain before Hitler's downfall, I calculated there were from nine to ten thousand, since in Madrid alone there were from two to three thousand.

(3) The third group consists of Germans who were in transit in Spain during the war and especially those who came in after the French liberation and after the German débâcle. This is the largest group and is scattered all over the country. Though still possessing German passports, they have applied for Spanish nationality. Their best hunting-ground is Catalonia, where they have made very competent business teams with Spaniards.

The Germans have opened up many factories and industries—I can cite Buna and Plexiglass. I think this latter product was originally an American invention, but the Germans have built a big factory, *run by Germans and with German capital, to produce it in Spain, and all this only six months after the end of the war.*

(4) The fourth group, though the least numerous, is the most dangerous. These are the Gestapo agents and other minor war criminals who are on the United Nations Black List and who are trying by hook or by crook to get to the Argentine or to acquire Spanish or Portuguese nationality.

Señor Stock, who, though officially the Chief of the German Cultural and Propaganda Department in Barcelona, belonged to the Gestapo, told my administrator he meant to get Spanish citizenship as soon as possible.

Dr. John Kössler, owning a Portuguese passport, is another typical case. German Gestapo paymaster for the Iberian Peninsula, he naturally thinks that if he becomes a Portuguese everything will be well.

The Portuguese police are very lenient with the few Germans they have had to arrest. They have let them escape under the very noses of the Allies.

The Monarchy as a Substitute for Franco

The newest maneuver to maintain the authoritarian regime in Spain in a form which might be acceptable to the United Nations, or at least to some of the Western democracies, is to substitute a monarchy for the Franco dictatorship. This maneuver is being arranged by the Junta of army generals which put Franco in power and by important elements among the forces which have maintained him in power—the landowners and the clericals.

Anxious to be accepted into the United Nations, these forces are prepared to sacrifice Franco. They do not propose, however, to change in its essentials the authoritarian character of the present regime.

C. L. Sulzberger, writing in the *New York Times* of February 26, 1946, said: "When Generalissimo Franco goes, virtually all Spanish officers will be for Don Juan. The church and big business, including such powerful figures as the Herrera Brothers, who started Señor Gil Robles on his political career, and the famous Basque banking house of Urquijo, foster the Bourbon pretender."

Yet according to Mr. Sulzberger, 70 per cent of the population, on a conservative estimate, are pro-Republican.

Despite the pledges of Don Juan, the pretender to the throne, the intention is to establish a corporate state and to bar genuine democracy and universal suffrage.

The monarchist movement was accelerated after March 22, 1945, when Don Juan called upon Franco to give up his powers and pave the way for the immediate restoration of the throne.

On July 17, 1945, a month after Spain had been barred from the United Nations, Franco announced that he would eventually restore the traditional monarchy. In the fall of 1945 extensive negotiations began between Don Juan and representatives of Franco.

That this action may have the approval of at least one of the big powers is indicated by the fact that on February 1, 1946, Great Britain, which has consistently been cool to any effort to restore the Republic, admitted Don Juan, who arrived in London on a British plane. The ostensible reason for his visit was to meet his secretary. This at a time when Spanish Republicans are consistently denied even transit visas through Great Britain.

Despite his recent denunciations of the Falange, Franco, and the Axis, there is nothing in Don Juan's personal record, the record of the Bourbon dynasty, or the record of the monarchists as a party to support any hope of a true democratic orientation.

Until it became obvious that the Axis would be defeated, Don Juan was an adherent of Franco and the Axis. On July 31, 1936, two weeks after the uprising against the Republic began, he attempted to cross the French-Spanish border to join Franco's forces. On December 6, 1936, he recognized Franco as "Chief of State" and offered to serve in the Spanish navy. On neither occasion was Franco ready for the return of the Pretender.

The authority for these statements is the official biography

of Don Juan written by Francisco Bonmati de Codedico, the Pretender's intimate friend and former secretary, and published by the monarchists in 1938. The book reproduces a photograph of Don Juan wearing the Falange emblem.

Describing a conversation in the lobby of the Hotel Excelsior-Galia in Milan with former King Alfonso, Don Juan, and a Falangist writer, Gonzalez Ruano, Don Juan's biographer tells how Ruano showed the King his membership card in the Falange. "Number 5," he said proudly. Alfonso remarked contemptuously, "I'm 500 ahead of you. The first Falangists in Spain were General Primo de Rivera and I." "The first," agreed Don Juan.

Don Juan was consumed with anxiety lest the Franco revolution against the Republic fail to come off, according to his biographer. One day he burst out: "Could it be possible that the certainty of the military uprising exists only in my imagination?" When, on July 17, 1936, the revolution finally started, "he began to hear the first faint heart-beats of his true Spain." Immediately he asked for permission to join Franco's army. "July 20, 21, 22, 23 . . . Don Juan neither sleeps nor lives nor rests for a single moment. On July 31 he crossed the border into the rebel zone, dressed in overalls, with a red beret and the emblem of the Falange, the arrows."

Six months later, from the Hotel Eden in Rome, he pleaded with Franco to accept him as an officer or a simple sailor on the rebel ship Balears. "I do not know, my General, whether in writing in this manner I am violating protocol. . . . But all my hopes are with you and all my prayers are that God aid you in your noble undertaking to save Spain."

Even today Don Juan is not ready to discard Franco. On March 8, 1946, Don Juan's secretariat, from his headquarters in Estoril, Portugal, denounced the joint attack on the Franco regime by the United States, Britain, and France:

The joint declaration that the governments of France, Britain, and the United States have published regarding the present and future Spanish situation forces His Majesty to state explicitly that he considers absolutely intolerable such foreign intervention in the affairs of Spain and its regime, whose evolution, in the manner and rhythm demanded by circumstances, concerns Spaniards exclusively.

The true intentions of the monarchist forces backing Don Juan are revealed by the following correspondence. Subsequent to the March manifesto of the Pretender, Antonio Goicoechea, leader of the monarchist forces during the Republic and at present head of the Bank of Spain, wrote to Don Juan that he could not support the manifesto because he believed destroying the unity of the forces which encompassed the overthrow of the Republic in 1939 would be fatal. On April 11, 1945, the Marquis de Luca de Tena, a member of the A. B. C. publishing family, who has been flying back and forth between Spain and the Pretender's residence, answered this communication as follows: "I am pained less by your disagreement with the King's authentic manifesto than by the contribution of your juridical and political authority to the falsification being given to that document by attributing to it intentions of pure democracy and universal suffrage, which no one of even mediocre political education can find in the royal words."

Mimeographed bulletins published by the monarchists

further disclaimed any intention to institute democracy. One of these bulletins declared: "When the King's manifesto speaks of a legislative assembly, it refers to one elected by the nation, a reference to the natural organs—family, municipality, corporation—and not to the sovereignty of the masses, which always ends in irremediable communism."

On October 15, 1945, *PM* carried an article by a man just returned from Spain whose name it withheld for security reasons. The article reported an interview with a "key man in the monarchist set-up in Madrid, with an honorable record in the Spanish diplomatic service, openly wearing the monarchist emblem in his lapel." This monarchist leader, as reported in *PM*, described how it was proposed to dismiss Franco and enthrone Don Juan, and the kind of government which would follow. This monarchist leader said: "Franco will have to go sooner or later. Franco received his powers from the junta of generals. He has abused those powers; therefore he must return them to the junta. The junta then will call in Don Juan to take the throne that is rightfully his."

Asked about elections, which had been promised by Don Juan in his March, 1945, manifesto, the monarchist replied: "Elections, but not too quickly. The Spanish people are not like you. They are excitable and they must have time to calm down. But the King has promised elections, and after some months Don Juan's advisers will draft a constitution which will be submitted to the vote of the people."

Spaniards, however, will not have an opportunity to decide whether they want a king, according to the monarchist spokesman. "The king is permanent and cannot change. If Spain is to survive, it must have one stable institution. The king *is*, and cannot be voted in and out like constitutions. The people can decide on the government they want—*under the king*."

A corporative parliament is the institution which the king will provide for Spain. Said the monarchist leader: "Of course there will be a parliament. The constitution that will be submitted to the Spanish people will provide for the type of parliament most suited to the Spanish temperament. It will be on the corporative model."

Asked whether he meant that the Spanish people will be represented not by legislators elected by direct vote but by legislators elected to represent trades, industrial groups, professions, the church, and the army, he answered in the affirmative: "The details have not been worked out, but that is the general corporative scheme. It is not what you have in America, but you must realize that Spain is not America. Our people are not ready for your sort of democracy. In countries like Spain one must have a government 'for the people,' yes, but not necessarily a government 'of the people.' Not yet."

Asked whether there was any conflict between his statements and the manifesto issued by Don Juan, the monarchist answered: "Certainly Don Juan has promised a popular vote on the constitution, but not a plebiscite on the monarchy. He has promised a legislative assembly 'elected by the nation,' not by mass voting."

This, then, is the new "freedom" awaiting the Spanish people under Don Juan.

BOOKS and the ARTS

De Gaulle: a Dim View

I ACCUSE DE GAULLE. By Henri de Kerillis. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.75.

HENRI DE KERILLIS has a good record. At a time when the war cry of the bourgeoisie was "Rather Hitler than Blum!" he is reported to have told Blum, "Vous êtes un grand Français!" A Nationalist deputy, he was the only one of his class and party to vote against the Munich surrender, and he refused to accept the shameful capitulation of 1940. He rallied at once to De Gaulle. His book "Français, Voici la Vérité!" deserves to be more widely known. It remains the most vigorous indictment of the appeasers and, in its last chapter, the clearest summing up of the Gaullist ideal. It appeared late in 1942.

Just three years later Kerillis wrote this attack on De Gaulle, which for blind fury is unmatched in the literature of Vichy. I cannot probe the secrets of hearts and pocket-books. I shall not imitate Kerillis's methods, and use rumors and innuendos as arguments. I take it that if Kerillis was "sold," it was only in the colloquial American sense of the term.

Like G. Ward Price, Kerillis stands for a policy which may be called Giraudism, although it existed before Giraud was invented. To this policy our State Department was pretty consistently committed. Roosevelt was yea-and-nay—as bold as the eagle, as harmless as the dove, as wise as the serpent, a bewildering menagerie. The Kerillis case is simple enough. He believed that France had lost, not a major battle, but the war, and that America was its only hope. A refugee, he was impressed by our formidable war effort. So he adopted, in all sincerity, the rule: "America, right or wrong!" As he was never a democrat but a believer in hierarchy, America for him meant the officials. Anything that might offend the State Department was treason to the best interests of France. Hull never had a more reliable yes-man. Kerillis even echoes Hull's indignation when the Free French liberated St. Pierre and Miquelon, which had "remained loyal" to Vichy. At the time, *The Nation* called Hull's outburst "a diplomatic Pearl Harbor."

Although in 1940 Kerillis had turned against Vichy, he was compelled to adopt the official American view that Vichy remained the sole "legitimate" government of France. (What harm Talleyrand, Ferrero, and their disciples are causing, even today!) De Gaulle had no right to set up a government as long as Pétain was ruling from Vichy. De Gaulle had (doubtfully) the right of enlisting in the fight against Hitler as the leader of French volunteers in the pay and under the command of Great Britain. This is the "military Gaullism" which Kerillis indorsed as opposed to the political. Later Darlan and Giraud were to attempt the paradox Kerillis has in mind: in the name and by the authority of the Marshal to combat the Germans with whom the Marshal was openly cooperating. Pétain, to the dismay of the *attentistes*, the wait-and-see people, did not tolerate that nonsense. Darlan and

Giraud were duly excommunicated, as De Gaulle and Kerillis had been.

In support of his contention Kerillis quotes the Churchill-De Gaulle agreement, the charter of the Free French movement. But that document is explicit: "In the capacity in which I have been recognized by His Majesty's government as leader of all Frenchmen, wherever they may be, who rally to me in support of the Allied cause. . . ." This goes far beyond the conception of a French Legion in the British army with the same status as the Lincoln Brigade in Pétain.

To the very last Washington tried to deal with Pétain, and when that proved impossible, with an authority acceptable to the Pétainistes and attentistes. This barred out De Gaulle. He became a "difficulty." Roosevelt might have said with Churchill, "My heaviest cross is the Lorraine Cross." Yet, with mounting evidence that public opinion in France and in America was behind De Gaulle, with Pétain carrying on his silly national counter-revolution and unequivocally affirming, "M. Laval and I are one," while Laval professed, "I desire a German victory," Hull's position, always shaky, became wholly untenable. But the more absurd it grew the more essential it seemed to Washington to snub and sneer at the upstart. It was immoral that a man with nothing but moral force should be allowed to defy the mighty.

Echo reinforced echo. While Kerillis and his friends were saying, "Hull right or wrong!" Hull could have said, "I am advised and supported by the very best Frenchmen, no less opposed to Hitler than I am myself: a great diplomat (to be sure, he was also a great cryptic poet, but Hull was probably not aware of that infirmity), two of the ablest and most patriotic political journalists, the suavest of biographers. Who are the rest who yap at me? Pinks and reds, the professors and the rabble."

So Kerillis turned against "political Gaullism." De Gaulle was a soldier: his sole duty was to fight, and to fight as a modest brigadier general, under the orders of men who had five stars on their sleeves and képis. Giraud, of course, was above politics. And in a sense Kerillis is right: Giraud, in his soldierly ingenuousness, did not know he was playing politics—or being played. He despised that slimy civilian trade. Of course, he was Right-minded, as any officer and gentleman would be; and he would protect decent society against the rabble-rousers.

It was touch and go. If, through André Philip, De Gaulle had not become the leader of the underground as well as of the Free French, if liberal opinion had not been so alert in his defense, the Kerillists might have had their way. There would have been a large Giraudist army, officered by the proper caste, triumphantly entering France with the victors; and it would have imposed a regime akin to those Churchill favored for Poland, Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia.

That open yet barely conscious plot was foiled. It was foiled through what Kerillis calls "the violation of legitimacy," "the destruction of the army," "De Gaulle against the Allies," "De Gaulle's insatiable ambition." Well, when

our troops entered France, no trace of Giraudism could be found. In the elections of 1945 the French had a perfect chance of restoring the "legitimate" Orleanist republic, and turned it down, twenty to one. Few men had a better opportunity of snatching power than De Gaulle; but the incipient Caesar stepped down with the quiet dignity so well described by Ida Treat. Every one of Kerillis's prophecies turned out wrong.* The dominant coalition of Communists and Socialists has no use for Kerillis and his sort. The third party, the M. R. P., is ardently devoted to De Gaulle. There is nothing for Kerillis to do except join "*le maquis du Maréchal*." He will not be in very savory company.

The saddest thing about this book is that the author, in his impotent rage, stoops to attacks of the vilest sort. There may have been Cagoulards among the early Gaullists; but Kerillis would have it that the General's camarilla was solid Cagoulard. De Gaulle is "a soldier who never fought a battle"—but with his improvised tank force he won, in 1940, one of the few minor advantages scored by French arms. "The hero of an order of the day," he "deserted the battlefield," he "made a 'daring' but safe escape from Bordeaux," he "stayed in London with his family." Never did Vichy, Laval, Doriot, say anything more venomous. Leclerc's division was "composed for the most part of mercenaries, and strongly reminiscent of the special corps created by Franco in Spain."

Kerillis is through: *jam faetel*. De Gaulle is out, but not down. In a recent book I said, "De Gaulle is not France." He is not infallible, and he might become a danger. His action was revolutionary, his methods at first autocratic, and he has the savior complex. Granted; but without these magnificent "faults" he could not have accomplished his task. So far his record is clear: he has done what he promised to do, no more and no less, and resigned. He is still a force: Washington became President many years after his great fight was won.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

The Costs of Competition

ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND SOCIAL SECURITY. By Allan G. B. Fisher. The Macmillan Company. \$5.

SECURITY, if it means that every worker is entitled to remain in his accustomed job at his accustomed wages, and that every investor is entitled to a steady return on his capital, is obviously a barrier against rising production.

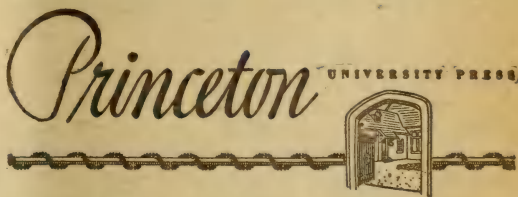
Professor Fisher has developed this thesis eloquently in "Economic Progress and Social Security." But he does not follow it to the extremes of a Friedrich Hayek, although his position is essentially classical. Fisher is quite willing to approve unemployment compensation and government expenditures for public works as cushions for individual misfortune and for the violent fluctuations of the business cycle. His target is anyone, left or right, who attempts to preserve a status quo, and his incisive criticisms of many currently popular economic proposals make his book required reading.

Less convincing is the insistence that it is actually possible to restore—or develop—a genuine free-market economy, in

which both labor and capital will be sufficiently mobile to take prompt advantage of new techniques, and in which furnishing "what the consumer wants" is the ultimate economic good. Americans will read with some skepticism the author's recommendation to his British compatriots that they should devote more attention to our anti-trust laws.

Fisher's interpretation of consumer satisfaction follows the fundamentally middle-class character of classical economics. He writes: "In the last resort it is difficult to see how any consumer can get more adequate protection than is afforded by the knowledge that if his present supplier fails to satisfy him, there is someone else available upon whose services he can call in case of need." This privilege of shopping around is pleasant and is normally taken for granted by a majority in America and a substantial minority in England. But it does not mean much to poor people or poor countries.

Real competition requires that a substantial number of producers of each class of products have unused productive capacity and a reserve of unused or inefficiently used labor to draw upon. Otherwise, they cannot supply new customers. In the long run, Fisher would say, the condition will be satisfied if labor and capital can be freely transferred from one type of production to another. But under present conditions the process involves a considerable waste of labor,



FULL PRODUCTION WITHOUT WAR

By **HAROLD LOEB**. This provocative book shows that full production without war is not just a dream but a very real possibility. It analyses the reasons for non-production—demonstrating that our economy is based on expectant sales at predetermined prices rather than on competition and true demand—and considers the ways of reducing business cycles to sustain demand and production at a high level. \$3.50

THE PROBLEM OF WAR

In Nineteenth Century Economic Thought

By **EDMUND SILBERNER**. A study of the relationship between war and economics as reflected in the thought of the 19th century, examining the ideas of the classical, historical, and socialist schools, and including the concepts of *Malthus, Mills, List, Saint-Simon, Marx, Engels*, and many others. \$3.00

*In particular, he had warned Giraud that De Gaulle would murder him; Giraud, as was his dearest wish, entered Metz at the head of French troops, and De Gaulle paid him a generous tribute.

labor skills, and capital goods. We can afford it in the United States, provided we take care of individual hardship through unemployment compensation and adequate retraining programs, and perhaps it is a desirable luxury. It does not help make our system attractive to impoverished nations.

Professor Fisher doubts that there is any other road to genuine economic progress. And so, despite its many virtues, his book is almost a counsel of despair, since he fails to convince the reader that there is any real possibility of establishing free competitive enterprise throughout the world. And in his long last chapter he holds that the free-market system should be world wide to have a fair chance of success. (He insists, not that it must be established within every country, but that it must apply to international trade.)

Although the style is on the whole somewhat academic, the book contains many quotable phrases, among which the most delightful is: "We may after the war again have to combat the curious notion that economic welfare is best served by preventing a large fraction of the female population from making any contribution to the national income."

CHARLES E. NOYES

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Not So Dead Past

THE LOST LANDSCAPE described by Winifred Welles (Holt, \$3) may be found, in time, around the turn of the century; in place, at Old Norwich, in Connecticut. Presumably also lost is the way of life it describes, that of a decently well-to-do, medium-sized family, living, with servants, in a good-sized house; with a mother who stays home looking after the children, and a father who is a leading citizen in a not too large community; with a surviving grandparent living in the household, and other familiar presences; with ancestors, three or four generations back, also familiar, though not present save as portraits in albums, or attic mementoes. It is fashionable for us, townees in cocktail lounges, to think of this way of life as belonging, irretrievably, save in such memoirs as these, to the American past. Yet—I happened to be reading Bellamy Partridge's "Country Lawyer" at the time I was reading Miss Welles's book—need we be so sure? Is it not quite possible that around the next turn of the century

somebody will find a publisher for a book written with perceptible and perceptive nostalgia about the idyllic quality that went with those unruffled days in the 1950's, in Easton, Pennsylvania, or Manchester, New Hampshire? For there still are towns, or small cities, whose leading citizens stay there all their lives, rear medium-sized families, live in three-story houses, with lawns that seem all too spacious when the grass must be mowed in summer and sidewalks obviously interminable when it is time to shovel off the snow. There are still, even, whole families that go to church on Sunday.

The first and third parts of "The Lost Landscape" deal with Miss Welles's own memories; the middle of the book narrates the history of her ancestors, going back four generations to Dr. Jonathan Aldgate, an army surgeon during the Revolution. Miss Welles seems more aware of the impact of world events on the lives of her ancestors than on her own; the sack of New London, the battle of Antietam come closer home to her senses than the explosion of the Maine, the assassination of McKinley, or the siege of Port Arthur.

Miss Welles writes with fine delicacy, restraint, perception, and love: her lost landscape is clearly and brightly seen, a little frail and diminished, cameo-wise, but not swimming in a blurred, sentimental, and moisture-laden haze. Elizabeth Bowen would have done it better—made it bolder, more intense, more true to scale—and with even greater insight; but almost nobody else would have done it so well.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Psychoanalysis: a Systematic Exposition

THE COMMON RUN of contemporary literature in the field of psychoanalysis gives far too much space to persuasive and often fascinating case histories and far too little to systematic and articulated rehearsal of exactly what is taught by psychoanalytical thinkers. One may recognize that the mental processes described do indeed correspond in a general way with what an introspective "literary man" feels to be true of his own type of mind. Yet one comes away from most books on the subject with little more than a confused sense that their impressive and dramatic insights constitute a consistent system. One could, of course, read steadily through the works of Freud; yet here the disadvantage is that they are bulky and were written over a long period of time, so that to some extent they must reflect the speculative development of the doctrines. What was really needed was as compact an exposition as, say, the student of Thomist philosophy can procure in his field. That need, fortunately, is supplied by Dr. Otto Fenichel's "The Psychoanalytical Theory of Neurosis" (Norton, \$7.50).

Dr. Fenichel's book is not written expressly for laymen, but it is not formidably difficult. Its system and integration are admirable; repetition and "persuasive" argument are avoided. It does not aim to convince, but to expound. The few lengthy case histories in it are frankly labeled digressions. I was more than satisfied by its precision of statement and impressed by the author's signaling of points that remain obscure or in debate within the profession.

Dr. Fenichel is not an eclectic, and he is orthodox; yet his attitude toward non-psychoanalytic therapies is generous. While the only dynamic conception of the mind and its ail-

Are We Winning the Peace?

Hear An Appraisal of
U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

• SEN. HARLEY M. KILGORE • ORSON WELLES
• FRED A. KIRCHWEY • DR. J. RAYMOND WALSH
• ANDREW ROTH • JOSH WHITE

TUESDAY, APRIL 23 CARNEGIE HALL

8:30 P.M.

57th Street and 7th Avenue

ADMISSION: Ranging from 60¢ to \$1.25—Tax Included

Tickets Available at:

N. Y. CITIZENS P. A. C., Room 1515, 205 East 42nd Street

THE BOOK FAIR, 133 West 44th Street

CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF UPPER WEST SIDE, 122 W. 71st St.

Auspices:

New York Citizens Political Action Committee

205 East 42nd Street, New York City

Tel. MU. 3-5580

ments is that contained in the Freudian psychology, other therapeutic techniques have their value. I was much interested, too, by his reticent yet confident direction of thought, at the close of his book, toward the social influences in malformation. He does not make extravagant claims and soberly declares the need for improvement in practice. But all these engaging merits are of much less importance than the major one, which should be restated. "The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis" should be of great use to the inquiring layman willing to take the matter seriously—and not as comforting or "literary" entertainment—for it is extensive, exact, and beautifully systematic.

RALPH BATES

Friendship and Poetry

THE LITERARY ISSUE of the lifelong association recorded in "Florence Ayscough and Amy Lowell: Correspondence of a Friendship" (University of Chicago, \$3.75) was a minor feature of the "New Poetry" movement of thirty years ago—their joint translation of classic Chinese verse which appeared as "Fir-Flower Tablets" in 1921. The part played by Oriental modes of technique and imagery in the poetic revival of 1912-25 was an important if limited one; these letters show the linguistic scholarship (Mrs. Ayscough's) and imaginative sympathy (Miss Lowell's) exacted and not always received by the Chinese masters from their interpreters. The book will thus have its value for students of Chinese poetic art, of its influence on modern literature, and of the translator's problems at their most difficult. For the rest, it is a memoir of two spirited women, a series of personal foot-

notes to contemporary literature, but chiefly an act of homage to Amy Lowell. This no one will grudge. Her driving energy, her talent for the defense and publicity of poetry, her combative loyalties, the zest and enthusiasm she communicated to others, have always been recognized and are here revived. It happens that these are seldom accompanied, in the present pages, by the more sensitive and generous, less political and strenuous qualities that might have made her a better letter-writer (perhaps also a better poet?). Whatever value the letters have for students, whatever charm they had for their receivers, they offer little charm or larger wisdom to the disinterested reader. The task of personal aggrandizement was one Amy Lowell by no means left to friends like Mrs. Ayscough. She pursued it restlessly, aggressively, and rather uncomfortably whenever she lifted her pen. Since this led her not only to promote her own purposes and enthusiasms but to denigrate anyone—Ezra Pound, Harriet Monroe, Arthur Waley—who failed to submit to her infallibility, she ends by being a tiresome and boring correspondent to the reader who takes his standards in this art from poets like Fitzgerald, Emily Dickinson, Yeats, and Rilke. Whether or not these limitations are relevant to Miss Lowell's qualities as poet and intelligence, as apart from her zeal as a leader and her inspiration as a friend, is something for students of her literary productions to consider. Meanwhile the present volume, carefully edited by Mrs. Ayscough's husband, Harley Farnsworth MacNair, may take its place as a minor document on modern poetry during a period of valuable renewals and explorings.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Join BOOK FIND CLUB...Now!

Start your membership with **THE BULWARK**—an outstanding last work by Theodore Dreiser, an American who ranks with the world's great creative spirits. In Solon Barnes, Dreiser has created another tremendous and living character who stands beside Jennie Gerhardt, Sister Carrie, Clyde Griffiths and the others who guarantee Dreiser's immortality. **THE BULWARK** is a book you will want to read. It is a book for all time. Begin your membership in the **BOOK FIND CLUB NOW** with **THE BULWARK** by Theodore Dreiser, **AND RECEIVE AN EXTRA BONUS BOOK FREE.** Simply mail the coupon below (plus a few cents postage and handling).

It costs you nothing to join the **BOOK FIND CLUB.** Every month you receive **FREE** a copy of the literary magazine **BOOK FIND NEWS.** You need only purchase a total of four **Book Find Selections, AT ANY TIME,** at the **SPECIAL MEMBERSHIP PRICE** of only \$1.35 a book (plus a few cents postage and handling), regardless of publishers' list prices which may range from \$2.50 to \$5.00.



Coming Book Find Selection for May—
THE AGE OF JACKSON, by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

BOOK FIND CLUB 401 BROADWAY NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

- ☐ Start my membership in the **BOOK FIND CLUB** with **THE BULWARK** by Theodore Dreiser, and send me a list of Bonus Books from which I can choose my **FREE** gift book for joining **NOW.**
- ☐ Send me further information on **BOOK FIND CLUB** membership.

NAME

ADDRESS

NA1

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
88th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
134th ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL

RKO NOW

"Best thriller in a long time."—*Life Magazine*
DOROTHY GEORGE ETHEL
McGUIRE • BRENT • BARRYMORE

'The SPIRAL STAIRCASE'

Based on the novel, "Some Must Watch"

By ETHEL LENA WHITE

— AND —

'RIVERBOAT RHYTHM' Leon Errol
Glenn Vernon

"Able Plotted From Start to Finish."—*P.M.*

ALICE DANA LINDA
FAYE • ANDREWS • DARNELL

'FALLEN ANGEL'

Based on the Novel by Marty Holland

Produced and Directed by Otto Preminger

— AND —

"SUNBONNET SUE" GALE STORM
PHIL REGAN

PARAMOUNT presents
SING BOB
CROSBY HOPE

DOROTHY
LAMOUR

— in —

"ROAD TO UTOPIA"

MIDNIGHT FEATURE NIGHTLY

NOW PARAMOUNT

— in Person —

BENNY
GOODMAN

His Clarinet and
Orchestra with
The Famous Sextet

— Featuring —

MEL
POWELL
PAT
HENNING

TIMES
SQUARE

She Made a Career Out of Love!

PARAMOUNT Presents

Paulette Goddard and Ray Milland

"Kitty"

NOW PLAYING AT THE

RIVOLI, B'way and 49th St.

MOTION PICTURE

DARRYL F. ZANUCK Presents

GENE TIERNEY

IN

"DRAGONWYCK"

From the novel by ANYA SETON

Walter Vincent Glenn
HUSTON • PRICE • LANOCH

Written for the Screen and Directed by JOSEPH L. MANKIEWICZ
A 20th CENTURY-FOX PICTURE

— ON STAGE —

JACKIE MILES

LANE BROTHERS • LEE SHERMAN

EXTRA!

CONNIE BOSWELL

Now ROXY 7th Ave. at
Playing 50th Street

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Musio by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Robert Alton • Dances by Agnes de Mille
with John Raitt • Eva Withers
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Elio Afton
44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

MAJESTIC THEATRE

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
Musio by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Robert Alton • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

ST. JAMES THEATRE

"A Gag-Happy-
Meaning-
ful New Hit"
—*Life Magazine*

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—*Nichols, The Times*

Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4836.
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

"Enchanting • Brilliant!" *Watts, Sat. Review*
of Literature

KERN and HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Musio by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2d.
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT.
54th Street and Sixth Avenue, CH. 6-5200.
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp.
MAIL ORDERS PROMPTLY FILLED

Films

JAMES
AGEE

OPEN CITY" is a story of underground resistance during the late phases of the German occupation of Rome. The heroes are an underground leader; a co-worker and friend of his who hopes to marry a widow, pregnant by him; a priest who, generally at great risk to himself, is eager to help all of them. The villains are an epicene Gestapo officer; his Lesbian assistant; and a rudderless young Italian girl, misled by dope, sex, poverty, and easy money into betraying the patriots. The widow is shot down in the street. The leader dies under torture, without denouncing his comrades. The priest, who has to witness the torture, does so without pleading with the victim to give in and without ceasing to pray for his courage; then he is executed. The widow's lover survives; so does her eight-year-old son, who is active, with other children, in an effective underground of their own.

I have no doubt that plenty of priests, in Italy and elsewhere, behaved as bravely as this one. Nor do I doubt that they and plenty of non-religious leftists, working with them in grave danger, respected each other as thoroughly as is shown here. I see little that is incompatible between the best that is in leftism and in religion—far too little to measure against the profound incompatibility between them and the rest of the world. But I cannot help doubting that the basic and ultimate practicing motives of institutional Christianity and leftism can be adequately represented by the most magnanimous individuals of each kind; and in that degree I am afraid that both the religious and the leftist audiences—and more particularly the religio-leftists, who must be the key mass in Italy—are being sold something of a bill of goods. I keep telling myself that the people who made the film were still moved to reproduce recent experience and were in no state of mind and under no obligation to complicate what they had been through; I recognize with great pleasure how thoroughly both the priest and the partisans are made to keep their distinct integrities; and the fire and spirit of the film continually make me suspicious of my own suspicions. Nevertheless, they persist; so I feel it is my business to say so. If I am right, as I hope I am not, institutions of both kinds are here, as so often before, exploiting all that is best in individuals

for the sake of all that least honors the individual, in institutions.

One further qualifier, which I mentioned a few weeks ago, no longer applies; some especially close details of torture have been cut, with no loss I feel, considering the amount of backstairs sadism any audience is tainted with. I have another mild qualifier: "Open City" lacks the depth of characterization, thought, and feeling which might have made it a definitively great film.

From there on out I have nothing but admiration for it. Even these failures in depth and complexity are sacrifices to virtues just as great: you will seldom see as pure freshness and vitality in a film, or as little unreality and affectation among the players; one feels that everything was done too fast and with too fierce a sincerity to run the risk of bogging down in mere artistry or mediocrity—far less the WPA-mural sentimentality and utter inability to know, love, or honor people to which American leftists are liable. The film's finest over-all quality, which could rarely be matched so spectacularly, is this immediacy. Everything in it had been recently lived through; much of it is straight reenactment on or near the actual spot; its whole spirit is still, scarcely cooled at all, the exalted spirit of the actual experience. For that kind of spirit there has been little to compare with it since the terrific libertarian jubilation of excitement under which it was all but inevitable that men like Einstein and Dovschenko and Pudovkin should make some of the greatest works of art of this century.

Robert Rossellini, who directed this film, and Sergio Amadei, the author and script writer, are apparently not men of that order of talent; but they are much more than adequate to that spirit and to their chance. They understand the magnificence of their setting—the whole harrowed city of Rome—as well as the best artist might and perhaps better, for though their film bristles with aesthetic appreciation and eloquence, these are

never dwelt on for their own sake; the urgency of human beings always dominates this architectural poetry; nor are the human beings or their actions dwelt on in any over-calculated way. The raid on the bakery, the arrest of the priest and the partisan leader, the rescue of partisan captives, and a sequence during which all the inhabitants of a tenement are hauled down into a courtyard by a German searching party are as shatteringly uninvented-looking as if they had been shot by invisible newsreel cameras.

The scene which shows the violent death of the widow and the violent reaction of her son—in cassock and cotta—has this same reality, plus a shammed operatic fury of design which in no way turns it false. There are quieter scenes which I admire fully as much—a family quarrel, an apartment scene involving two men and two women, and a casual little scene between the underground leader and the widow in which anyone of even my limited acquaintance with underground activity will recognize the oxygen-sharp, otherwise unattainable atmosphere, almost a smell, of freedom. The performances of most of the Romans, especially of a magnificent woman named Anna Magnani, who plays the widow, somewhere near perfectly define the poetic-realistic root of attitude from which the grand trunk of movies at their best would have to grow; and the imitations of Germans seem better than our best imitations because they are more strongly felt and more poetically stylized. The picture is full of kinds of understanding which most films entirely lack, or reduce to theatricality. I think especially of the sizing-up look and the tone and gesture with which the Gestapo officer opens his interview with the newly captured, doomed partisan leader. In art only Malraux and Silone, so far as I know, can equal that in experienced, unemphatic astuteness.

"Open City" was made during the distracted months just after the Allies took Rome over. It was made on a good deal less than a shoestring; mainly with-

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE April 7 to 13 & April 21 to May 5

S. HURON presents



Ballet Theatre

THE GREATEST IN

RUSSIAN BALLET

With Alicia MARKOVA • Anton DOLIN

Andro ESELEVSKY • Nora KAYE • Alicia ALONSO

John KRIZA • Lucia CHASE • Janet REED

Evenings 8:30 (incl. Sun.), \$1.20-\$4.80. Matinees Saturday and Sunday, \$1.20 to \$3.60

2,000 SEATS \$1 to \$1.50 (Plus tax) AT ALL PERFORMANCES

out sets or studio lighting; on varying qualities of black-market film. All sound, including dialogue, was applied later. The author and director had a good deal of movie experience; nearly the whole cast was amateur. The result is worthless to those who think very highly of so-called production valyachs, and plenty of people in Hollywood and elsewhere will doubtless use that fact twice daily, like Mothersills. Others may find this one of the most heartening pictures in years, as well as one of the best. Not that anything it proves will come to them as a revelation. The Hollywood camera man Karl Brown made his excellent, pitifully titled "Stark Love," a story of Southern mountaineers, about twenty years ago, on about \$5,000. And most of the great Russian films used amateur players—and surroundings—on budgets which would probably not pay for an American singing Western today. But plenty of people realize a point that many others will never understand and that there is no use laboring: some professional experience is exceedingly useful and perhaps indispensable, but most of the best movies could be made on very little money and with little professional experience. Judging by "Open City" they can be made a great deal better that way.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE Tenth Annual Exhibition of the American Abstract Artists (at the American-British Art Center, through April 13) asserts a higher level than any other group show of contemporary art that I have seen this year. Not that it is crowded with masterpieces; indeed, there is more than enough to find fault with. Yet one can see at least six or seven strong paintings by young and for the most part unestablished artists; and the failures of the others take place on a high plane. Nobody tries to dodge the real problems for the sake of a facile, quick-selling success.

What most markedly characterizes the group as a whole is the effort to continue and develop the premises inherent in cubism, in the face of all the currents that have flowed so fast in the opposite direction these past ten years or so. In some instances the fidelity to cubism goes so far as to render an artist's work nothing more than a series of pastiches—of Picasso or Gris or Braque, as the

case may be. In other instances cubism is a constricting influence that rationalizes the artist's failure to exert his temperament and search his emotions—which is to misuse cubism, for it was originally and above all a vehicle of emotion. Today cubism remains a creative discipline, a force infusing style into the works of those—and especially those—who seek expression primarily. It is a means, not of inhibiting emotion, but of controlling and so exploiting it.

The three Americans and the one Englishman whose work particularly impressed me at this show represent at least two or three different inflections or expansions of the cubist tradition. Nell Blaine develops out of cubism by way of a purifying process leading through Hans Arp—whose own intention, however, was to depurify and "poeticize" post-cubist art; Fannie Hill-Smith goes in the opposite direction, with the help of Klee; similarly, Maurice Golubov; while the English artist Ben Nicholson, who is a guest exhibitor, seems to go toward Mondrian—but only seems: for Nicholson's art, whatever surface suggestion there may be of severity and renunciation in its precise circles and strict and not so strict rectangles, aims at a maximum of "poetry" achieved by a minimum of means, not at a purification or rationalization of the plastic elements. That Nicholson's work should be taken for cold and formal is the result only of many people's failure to look at it without preconceptions. The most that can be said to extenuate this misunderstanding is that Nicholson is no colorist and succeeds best in conveying his emotion when he confines himself to monochrome.

One of the master artists of our time and the first to put cubism into sculpture, Jacques Lipchitz, is having his second show in this country (at the Buchholz Gallery, through April 20). There is not the space here, nor are there enough of his works in this country, to go into Lipchitz's case exhaustively. It is obvious, however, that in the last six or seven years he has been steadily shifting away from his former premises toward a newfangled kind of baroque. This is an attempt to answer the mood of the times, which proclaims its impatience with such serenity as cubism seems to imply. Having cast cubism off, Lipchitz now gives free vent to a bombast and a badness of taste that have always been latent in his art.

The distance he has gone in this respect is revealed by the difference be-

tween the semi-cubist figure in iron executed in the twenties and in the Museum of Modern Art's possession for years, and the bronze figure that the same museum has recently added to its permanent collection. The former piece, whose title I forget, is perhaps one of the greatest works of sculpture produced in our time, combining a paradoxical monolithic compactness with the modern harmony of its repeated and varied hollow circular forms. The later piece is also constructed of circular—or rather, round, bulbous—forms, but their repetition and mass achieve only a declamatory, overinflated effect, a kind of academicism that tries to conceal itself by exaggerated gestures.

Most of the larger pieces of Lipchitz's present show suffer in a similar way. Often the sculptor plays traitor to his own baroque aspirations—which aim at a denial of the laws of gravity and the translation into airy flight of the heaviest materials—by assigning too much mass to the lower portions of his figures. The piece called "The Rescue," for instance, would have been saved had the tubular forms at its base been radically attenuated.

Yet for all this Lipchitz remains a genius. As evidence, there are, first, the small bronze "sketches" that are far superior to the larger works for which they were prepared, moving as they do with a rhythm and spontaneity which disappear in the final result under infelicitous coloring, over-thumbed textures, and over-emphatic simplifications; second, the tempera drawings, whose uniform excellence leads to the suspicion that Lipchitz's present difficulties may come from the fact that most of his ideas have recently tended to be more



LANGUAGE IS POWER

... Forge ahead, win special assignments, promotion, better job in global peace time opportunities through ability to speak a foreign language.

MASTER A NEW LANGUAGE quickly, easily, correctly by **LINGUAPHONE**

The world-famous Linguaphone Conversational Method brings voices of native teachers INTO YOUR OWN HOME. You learn the new language by LISTENING. It's amazingly simple; thousands have succeeded. ♦ 29 LANGUAGES Send for Free book, Call for Free demonstration **LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE** 81 RCA Bldg., New York 20 • Circle 7-0830

APRIL 14-30

7th Exhibition

Seven Soldier Artists

THE TRIBUNE

International Book and Art Center

100 WEST 42d ST.

COR. 4th AVE.

6th Ave. Subway Arcade, downstairs in the building of Schulte Cigar Store

pictorial than sculptural; third, a large, extravagant, hysterical, impossibly elaborated *cire-perdue* bronze called "The Prayer," which seems like an overcrowded compendium of all the representations ever made of fertility deities. This statue, despite the excess of deliberate and imperious bad taste, or perhaps just because of that excess, has something of greatness about it. In overcoming its own defects it offers even more convincing proof of Lipchitz's creative vitality than the more integrated, balanced, and perfect masterpieces of his past.

Obviously, Lipchitz wants to do more than create beautiful works of art; he intends to realize himself completely in his sculpture, no matter what the cost. Thus he at least places us in the presence of a temperament, and where a real temperament is present, masterpieces will come sooner or later, translating and transcending the bad taste. It might be said that bad taste is often indispensable to great art, that without losses there can be no gains, and that the more one is willing to risk losing the more one stands the chance of winning. Like Courbet, who labored similarly under the handicap of a lumpy touch and bad judgment, Lipchitz stakes all on the strength of his temperament.

It is possible to accuse the painter Jackson Pollock, too, of bad taste; but it would be wrong, for what is thought to be Pollock's bad taste is in reality simply his willingness to be ugly in terms of contemporary taste. In the course of time this ugliness will become a new standard of beauty. Besides, Pollock submits to a habit of discipline derived from cubism; and even as he goes away from cubism he carries with him the unity of style with which it endowed him when in the beginning he put himself under its influence. Thus Pollock's superiority to his contemporaries in this country lies in his ability to create a genuinely violent and extravagant art without losing stylistic control. His emotion starts out pictorially; it does not have to be castrated and translated in order to be put into a picture.

Pollock's third show in as many years (at Art of This Century, through April 20) contains nothing to equal the two large carvases, "Totem I" and "Totem II," that he exhibited last year. But it is still sufficient—for all its divagations and weaknesses, especially in the gouaches—to show him as the most original contemporary easel-painter under forty. What may at first sight seem crowded and repetitious reveals on second sight an infinity of dramatic move-

ment and variety. One has to learn Pollock's idiom to realize its flexibility. And it is precisely because I am, in general, still learning from Pollock that I hesitate to attempt a more thorough analysis of his art.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

A GREAT pianist has days when he rises above his best, and others when he falls below it; but the normal range of such variation is far exceeded by the extremes of good and bad in Schnabel's playing. And what is difficult to understand is how a man capable of the playing—relaxed, unforced, the phrases coming out lovely in sound and miraculous in inflection and contour—that Schnabel did in his recent performances of concertos with orchestras can be guilty of the over-projection, the distortion of sound and shape in his performance of Schubert's D major Sonata at the Frick Collection (to say nothing of the erratic tempos and rhythm, the slovenly execution in the performances of the Schubert Impromptus; to say something, however, of the further distortion introduced by the badly unbalanced radio transmission, and of WNYC's cutting off the Schubert sonata in the finale).

In the concerto performances Schnabel played first with the entire New York Philharmonic under Rodzinski in Mozart's K. 488; and later with about half of that orchestra, conducted as the New York Chamber Orchestra by F. Charles Adler, in Mozart's K. 491, Bach's Brandenburg No. 5, and Beethoven's Second. The later performances pro-

vided the additional pleasure of hearing Schnabel's playing in orchestral contexts that were beautifully integrated with it; and the refinement of the orchestral execution and sonority, not only in the piano concertos but in K. P. E. Bach's D major Concerto for orchestra alone, made it difficult to believe I was hearing the Philharmonic. Also, as I listened to the superb performance of the slow movement of the Brandenburg No. 5 by Schnabel, Corigliano, and Wummer, I was aware of hearing the sound of the piano where I should have been hearing the sound of the harpsichord; but I was aware also of the extraordinary effectiveness of Schnabel's inflection of the clavier phrases, with its gradations of continuous tone that were possible only on the piano. I should add that the effectiveness of the performance of this movement did not make me care more for the music; also that the *Allegro* movements, taken at unusually fast tempos, may have been effectively performed for some listeners, but were often confused as they reached me in row P on the side. Nor did the fine performance of Beethoven's Second make that work more interesting to me. The music of the evening, as far as I was concerned, was the beautiful concerto of K. P. E. Bach, particularly its slow movement; and that succession of marvels, the K. 491 of Mozart.

Schnabel contributed more to the occasion than just his playing: the fact that Mozart left no cadenzas for K. 491 gave Schnabel an excuse for some of those interpolations of his own with which he insists on proving to us that he is aware of living at the same time as Schönberg, and to which our answer is that we are convinced and now will he be merciful and not rub it in. The Ger-

CHILDREN'S PHOTOGRAPHS

TAKEN IN YOUR HOME

We photograph kids in action using high speed cameras to capture those fleeting, elusive expressions which reveal your child's unique personality and character.

To prove to new friends our child camera studies are distinctive and different we make this sensational Easter offer

For a Limited Time Only!

Four superb portraits—all different—5 x 7 inches—complete with beautiful gift folders

Plus

De luxe super-enlargement of your favorite shot, artistically matted and suitable for framing. (Framing size, 16" x 20".)

Only \$9.75

Sittings arranged in your own home, anywhere in New York, day, evening or week-ends.

PHONE NOW! MA 4-3052

HOWARD STUDIO



man-speaking contingent in the audience—exercising the privilege and responsibility of its superiority in musical understanding, general culture, and manners—contributed to the music a counterpoint of running comment on everything that happened. And Victor contributed humor with this advertisement: "Artur Schnabel records exclusively for RCA Victor. . . . Keep informed of new Schnabel recordings through your RCA dealer." Don't bother the poor dealer, who has enough troubles already; but by all means inquire of Victor's artist and repertoire division; and let me know what it tells you about those new Schnabel recordings.


As for the earlier performance of Mozart's K. 488 at a Sunday afternoon Philharmonic concert, I suggest to Schnabel, who has spoken and acted against many practices of the musical world, that he defy the convention which allows a conductor to have a score before him to glance at occasionally, but not a pianist. I suggest this because of the several lapses of memory that have caused breakdowns in Schnabel's performances in the last few years—the latest being the one that caused him to jump several pages ahead of the orchestra in the finale of K. 488. This was the more regrettable because of his fine playing in the fast movements, except for his occasional sloppy execution of some of the passage-work; and his wonderful playing in the slow movement, where there was absolute perfection.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

Facts about America's 10,000 publicly owned projects—bi-monthly, illustrated Magazine and News Letter—Extensive Bulletin and leaflet service. "Studies in Public Power,"—25 chapters—latest data on Bonneville, Grand Coulee, TVA and other federal and municipal projects. For individuals, study groups and organizations. Send 10¢ for descriptive booklet and samples. Full service \$5.00 per year.

Address:

Public Ownership League of America
127 No. Dearborn Street, Chicago 2, Ill.



BOOKS FOUND FREE!

WHAT BOOKS DO YOU WANT?

We quote lowest market prices. No charge for locating. Hard-to-find and Out-of-Print Books. All books, OLD or NEW, mailed POST-FREE.

SEARCHLIGHT BOOK REPORTS

22 East 17th Street, New York City

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

On Reinhold Niebuhr's "Myth"

A Time for Education

Dear Sirs: I am unable to follow the logic of Reinhold Niebuhr's article on *The Myth of World Government* in *The Nation* of March 16. While admitting that the UNO is not strong enough to prevent future wars, he blasts the "immaturity" of the "idealists" who consider world government possible. While admitting the fact that national sovereignty imperils peace, he decries those who object to the veto power of the Security Council.

His whole argument hinges, of course, on the statement that the nations of the world are not ready for world federation—though he admits that they are strongly interdependent economically. He overlooks the fact that most of the nations, with the exception of Russia and the United States, have shown themselves eager for a stronger union than the UNO, as was exhibited by the statements of Bevin and Attlee. Admitting then that the United States and Russia are not ready, instead of bending all his efforts toward bringing about the education of these nations, he spends his time undermining the labors of those who are trying to bring about this education.

CORINNE KATZ,

Wellesley Committee for Federal
World Government
Wellesley, Mass., March 18

Unity from the Battlefield

Dear Sirs: Dr. Niebuhr has stated in his argument against world government that the universal community possesses nothing to create the consciousness of "we." This consciousness, he claims, is necessary before world government can have a reasonable chance of success. He has overlooked a very obvious and pertinent fact. We who fought this war side by side recognized our mutual dependence on the battlefield. We have not forgotten it. We are anxious to work in peace and harmony with our fellow-veterans from all countries.

There was a meeting in San Francisco at the time of the UNO conference whose significance Dr. Niebuhr may have overlooked. It was a meeting of the veterans of seventeen countries whose avowed purpose was the creation of an international league of veterans to provide mass support for the UNO, to

ameliorate the social and economic causes of war, and to spread the idea of justice and liberty throughout the world.

While it is true that the league is still in the formative stage and that its representative in this country, the American Veterans' Committee, is not powerful, nevertheless, this league contains within it the germ of unity that Dr. Niebuhr was unable to find.

MURRAY L. SILBERSTEIN

New York, March 19

Action Requires Decision

Dear Sirs: I enjoyed Reinhold Niebuhr's article *The Myth of World Government*. However, I think it important to view the article in its proper perspective as a footnote or marginal comment rather than a main argument. Otherwise it may divert one's mind from the essential task.

Accepting Dr. Niebuhr's thesis that an international order built on moral compulsion is more durable and complete than an order constructed with legal and constitutional instruments, I'm afraid it is not possible to act on those terms.

Constitutional methods have this advantage, that they present a framework within which all the elements which make for world community may assert themselves. In my own conception an important place is assigned to judicial determination of "aggression" and "sovereignty." We must realize that action requires decision, and I see no reason why we should not sacrifice the fiction of complete understanding to a strong and hopeful program.

OLON CHADWICK REED

New Haven, Conn., March 23

The Economic Angle

Dear Sirs: It would scarcely seem possible to treat the subject of world government without mention of the word "economic"; yet with the exception of a single tangential sentence, that is precisely what Reinhold Niebuhr has contrived. With substantial reason Mr. Niebuhr charges American liberals with immaturity for trying to solve global problems in "purely logical and constitutional terms." He then proceeds to establish his own claim to that character-

istic by attempting to explode their theories on purely moral and social grounds. . . .

The cohesion of a national community is different from that of a world community chiefly because the former has a unity of economic character and purpose whereas the latter is composed either of conflicting imperialisms or of imperialisms plus one planned-economy state. However, every national community is as strong as its weakest economic link; and the time must come when an increasing number of nations find that link snapped and a new international economy in urgent order. The sole solution lies in the ultimate establishment of world government by peoples who have arrived at the conclusion that the most desirable, equitable, and mutually advantageous state is that of an international socialism.

RICHARD EVERETT

Union City, N. J., March 25

We Need Not Give Up Yet

Dear Sirs: Because his opinions are respected and carry weight with many it is particularly important that when Reinhold Niebuhr is mistaken the fact should be clearly and conclusively demonstrated. Mr. Niebuhr's errors are as dangerous as his intellectual achievements of the past are great. . . .

It appears that "the fear of mutual destruction easily degenerates into fear of a particular foe." That is exactly the point. As long as a number of independent nations continue to exist with modern weapons at their disposal, fear of the possibility of attack will poison all relations and lead them into an armaments race from which there is no escape but war. Only through the establishment of a world government capable of monopolizing the weapons of mass destruction and prohibiting them to the member nations can the fear of mutual destruction triumph over the fear of particular foes.

The varieties of languages, customs, religions, and institutions in the world today are not incontrovertible evidence that the world cannot be united under one government. On the contrary, the trend of events is evidence that though the vast majority of men ardently wish to live at peace together, they are forced into war by the institutions under which they live. The problem is not the creation of greater will toward unity; it is the eradication of the condition of anarchy implicit in the existence of a number of sovereign nations. . . .

It may be that the change in established ways of thinking is too great to be worked within the limited period of grace. It may prove to be impossible, as Mr. Niebuhr contends. But we need not reach that despairing conclusion until we have tried and failed.

CORD MEYER, JR.

Cambridge, Mass., March 23

Nothing Constructive

Dear Sirs: Mr. Niebuhr's article is discouraging to say the least. It is very easy to emphasize the tremendous difficulties in the way of a world state; but he offers nothing constructive to solve the problem of human safety.

The general public needs to be thoroughly awakened to the danger, and this might be possible if our editors and publicists set about it. I would concede to Mr. Niebuhr that a world government might be tyrannical. Dr. Einstein feels so, too, but he thinks that even such an eventuality would be preferable to another war. . . .

THAD W. RIKER

Austin, Tex., March 29

Optimism Is Needed

Dear Sirs: I wish to protest with the greatest energy against the spirit of defeatism which pervades Mr. Niebuhr's article. In spite of his claiming that he does not want to "introduce a mood of defeatism," that is exactly what he did by writing the way he did about the world-government idea. . . .

I am ready to admit that the author expresses some positive ideas and makes two useful suggestions, but this does not

excuse the weakness of the article considered as a whole. The present world certainly has no need of being told by professors of "Christian ethics" that it is incurable. On the contrary, it needs all the intelligent and realistic optimism of those who want to fight avoidable evils. . . .

M. E. MAMBONEY

New York, March 23

Minorities Initiate Progress

Dear Sirs: In case you haven't received enough protests about Reinhold Niebuhr's defeatist article, here is another. . . . Niebuhr's reasoning is both philosophically and historically unsound; historically because every progress toward a more complete order was initiated by "laws" created by a minority of progressive, advanced, enlightened men. Our own constitution was created that way, whatever the spark may have been. Dr. Niebuhr's reasons—inherent social unity in national or imperial communities as against the lack of a common denominator in the universal community—were advanced in exactly the same unphilosophical way by the city-states of medieval Europe before they were integrated into the higher sovereignty of the nation-state. . . .

ROBERT A. MEYER

New York, March 19

To the dissenting readers above, as well as to the many others whose letters were omitted for lack of space, the editors recommend "The Necessity of World Government" by Albert Guérard, a reply to Dr. Niebuhr, in next week's issue.

Next Week in the Spring Book Number

DREISER AND HIS CRITICS

AN ESSAY by LIONELL TRILLING

TWO POEMS by RANDALL JARRELL

"EDUCATION FOR THE MODERN MAN"

By SIDNEY HOOK • Reviewed by Irwin Edman

"THE FIRST FREEDOM"

By MORRIS ERNST • Reviewed by Henry Steele Commager

Other Reviews by Clement Greenberg, Morton Dauwen Zabel, Rolfe Humphries, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Ralph Bates.

NOTES BY THE WAY

By MARGARET MARSHALL

DRAMA

By JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

FICTION IN REVIEW

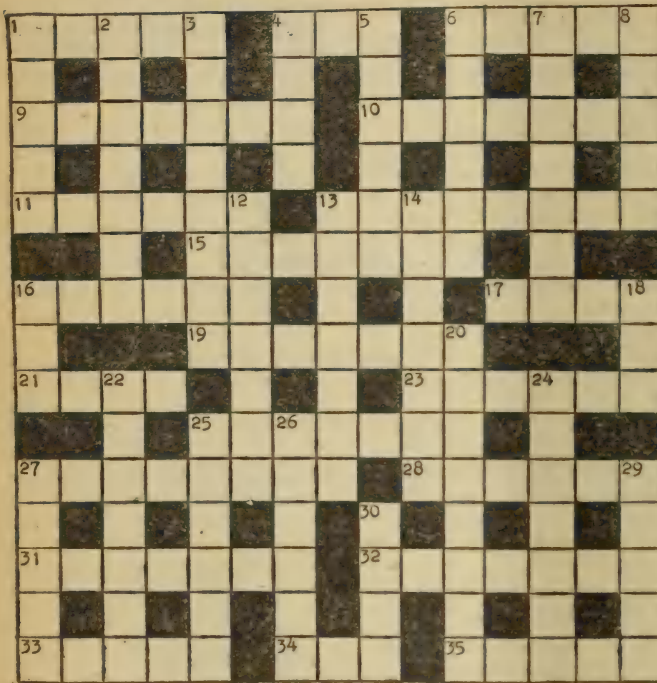
By DIANA TRILLING

MUSIC

By B. H. HAGGIN

Crossword Puzzle No. 156

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Never goes as fast as the money you put on it
- 4 Don't put anything smaller than your elbow in this
- 6 Alleviate
- 9 Time taken at the meeting
- 10 His creator was no mean author
- 11 The king's business
- 13 Confirmed
- 15 Greeted with a few salvos, perhaps
- 16 Weaver in *Midsummer Night's Dream* who fancies he can do everything, and do it better than anyone else
- 17 "Hail to thee, blithe spirit! Bird, thou never ----"
- 19 Quiet, yet in a flutter
- 21 A former President
- 23 Half a peck, and it's nearly all gone!
- 25 The Ford of France
- 27 The congregation's reply to the parson
- 28 Seduce (anag.)
- 31 A whippersnapper
- 32 An interior decorator
- 33 Forget it, Ethel!
- 34 British bishopric
- 35 Filthy stuff, the Apostle Paul called it

DOWN

- 1 "Knew he had no sense of ----," because he laughed at everything!
- 2 A curl
- 8 Muscle which straightens one out
- 4 Her curiosity caused Lohengrin to leave her

- 5 Reddish-brown, though not the color you paint the town
- 6 Were aid far one might feel this
- 7 Appearance of one whom Daniel might have counted
- 8 Give ground
- 12 French general succeeded by Weygand in 1940
- 13 A baldpate of the feathered world
- 14 "Any other country but his own" looks good to him
- 16 It's half the battle
- 18 Just half Tony Galento's weight
- 20 Bird that might prove handy on disembarkation
- 22 Blackshirt
- 24 Conical (anag.)
- 25 If you haven't a bean you can't get the drink, of course
- 26 African fly which disseminates the sleeping-sickness parasite
- 27 It could be lower, but not much
- 29 Waiters and tennis players must know how to
- 30 Nobody's sweetheart is this

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 155

ACROSS:—1 REDDISH; 5 LONG BOW; 9 INSIDER; 10 CAMPION; 11 TEE; 13 AFRICA; 15 HUNGER; 16 ELBIES; 21 EAST; 19 STEW; 20 IRON HORSE; 21 DAME; 23 AWED; 26 PELLEAS; 28 WAGNER; 29 YORICK; 30 ASS; 32 EYEFLAP; 33 PARAPET; 34 SCOUTED; 35 DOLORES.

DOWN:—1 RUINATE; 2 DESERTS; 3 INDUCE; 4 HART; 5 LACE; 6 NIMBUS; 7 BRIDGET; 8 WINDROW; 12 EGGSHELLS; 14 ALMONER; 15 HEARSAY; 18 TIE; 19 SRA; 21 DOWNERS; 22 MAGNETO; 24 WHISPER; 25 DAKOTAS; 26 PELLET; 27 SORREL; 30 APED; 31 SPUD.

RESORTS

EARLY SPRING
IN
THE RAMAPOS
AT ITS BEST ON OUR
1000 ACRE ESTATE



Ride along our 21 miles of woodland trails. Golf on our own excellent course whenever weather permits. Indoors we have game rooms and pleasant cocktail lounge. You can depend upon consistently fine cuisine and excellent accommodations. Open the year 'round.
Only 51 Miles from New York.

The Glenmere

CHESTER, N. Y. Chester 200 (N. Y.) RE. 2-5047

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK **MAMANASCO Lake Lodge**
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A resort of distinction fashioned from a country estate. Water sports, hiking trails, tennis Library, open fireplace. Cosmopolitan atmosphere. Famous cuisine.

INVITATION TO RELAX
Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous country-side, roaring fireplace, delicious food and fun. Only 55 miles from New York.
MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY

plum point
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N. Y. Tel. Newburgh 4270

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477
Delightful...All sports. Boating on private lake. Open fireplace.
Different...the colonial atmosphere.
Delicious...our unexcelled cuisine.
Diversing...recordings for listening & dancing.
All this only 55 miles from New York City
A Resort for Adults Only

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N. Y.
35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY
"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"
The nearest of all nearby resorts. Exclusive location. Luxuriously furnished. Identified. All sport activities. Excellent cuisine.
OPEN ALL YEAR Phone Armonk Village 658

Shangri-La Farm

Welcomes you for the Spring and Summer. Accommodations for 10, children above 8 accepted at this lovely modern home. Enjoy beautiful countryside, delicious food and complete rest.
Rifton, N. Y., near Kingston. Tel. Rosendale 2475.

Classified Advertisements

62 cents a line (six words)
MINIMUM — 3 lines
\$6.16 per inch

Attractive discounts for multiple insertions.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

BARclay 7-1066

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 20, 1946

NUMBER 16

The Shape of Things

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST RUNAWAY INFLATION have been dangerously weakened both by amendments to the OPA extension bill and by the lifting of controls over a long list of industrial and consumer items. Although the House Banking and Currency Committee voted fifteen to four to extend the life of the OPA for a year, it took this action only after it had hamstringed the agency by several dangerous amendments. The worst of these is a provision abolishing the program by which the OPA has attempted to secure an adequate supply of low-cost clothing; this provision makes a sharp rise in clothing prices inevitable. Because of another "public-be-damned" restriction the OPA can no longer force such retailers as automobile dealers to absorb part of the price increases in raw materials that it has granted. Subsidies are to be limited to 75 per cent of the amount requested. At the same time, apparently in response to pressure from retailers, the OPA has abolished price control over several thousand consumer-goods items. Most of them are individually of little importance in the average family's budget, but in the aggregate they amount to approximately 15 per cent of all consumer goods. The OPA abolished price restrictions on six classes of machinery and industrial equipment which constitute one-third of the country's capital-goods output. Sharp price increases are anticipated soon in milk, butter, and other essential food products; a rise in the price of coal is expected to accompany the settlement of the current coal strike. Taken separately, none of these setbacks seem of grave importance, but if we view them in terms of our whole economy, it is plain that we are confronted, not with a series of minor reverses, but with a major disaster on the price front.

✱

STYLES IN POLITICAL MORALITY, LIKE THE Supreme Court of Mr. Dooley's day, "follow the election returns." From a vote in which only the balloting itself appears to have been honest, Colonel Juan D. Perón emerges as the President of the Argentine Republic, and immediately the swaggering fascist becomes a respected chief of state. Forgotten are the mass bribery, the intimidation, the extremes of demagoguery and violence that marked his campaign; all but forgotten, too, is his record as an Axis collaborator during the war and a protector

of Nazi agents. With wholly unnecessary haste the United States has named an ambassador to the new government. In public, Secretary of State Byrnes has notified the Perón regime that if it will now behave itself, all will be forgiven and its signature to a mutual-assistance pact will be welcomed and honored; in private, he has assured a Senatorial committee that his department has already "turned a page on the present chapter of relations with Latin America." At the same time the major Latin American governments have been quick to mount the band-wagon with statements proclaiming their solidarity with the Argentine sister-republic. While all this bowing and scraping proceeds, Perón's followers join in a manifesto proclaiming "one party—one leader." And at the ceremonies attending the installation of the new deputies, the handful of elected anti-Peronistas are howled down and hooted out of the Chamber. The proposal of the Nation Associates that the Perón government be suspended from the U. N. until it fulfils the pledges on the basis of which it was made a member has been renewed in a letter to the Security Council. But so far there has been no sign that the Council is even interested. Only Spruille Braden, among the officials, continues to see in Perón the President, Perón the rabble-rousing friend of the Nazis. And the more tenaciously he clings to his view, the less tenaciously he clings to his job.

✱

THE RECENT JAPANESE ELECTIONS ARE A classic example of how conservative administration can defeat liberal policies. The directives under which General MacArthur operates call for eliminating the dominant role of the *Zaibatsu*, or monopolists, in Japanese political and economic life. Yet we permitted the elections to be conducted by a government headed by a Mitsubishi man, Baron Shidehara. The Shidehara government approved the candidacy of Ichiro Hatoyama, head of the *Zaibatsu*-dominated Liberal Party, despite his past praise of Hitler and Mussolini and his active suppression of anti-fascist teachers and students during his period as Education Minister in the early thirties. Extensive government favoritism, together with adequate financing and an experienced political machine, enabled the Liberals to emerge as the strongest party, capable of forming a Cabinet with the aid of the reactionary

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	449
Act Now on Famine	451
Spain Is Still the Test <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	452

ARTICLES

The McMahon Bill <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	454
We're From Missouri <i>by Ernest Kirschen</i>	455
The World Comes of Age <i>by Albert Guérard</i>	457
Mission to India <i>by Shiva Rao</i>	459
Dinner with Herriot <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	461
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	462
Don't Believe Anything you Read! <i>by Henry Steele Commager</i>	463
In the Wind	465

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Dreiser and the Liberal Mind <i>by Lionel Trilling</i>	466
Two Poems <i>by Randall Jarrell</i>	472
Preacher Manqué <i>by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.</i>	472
The Ends of Education <i>by Irwin Edman</i>	476
The Happy Warrior <i>by Rolfe Humphries</i>	478
Answering Zion <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	479
Briefer Comment	481
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	483
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	487
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	488

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 490

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 157 491

by Jack Barrett

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington *Editor* Literary *Editor*
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall
European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editors:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 19, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

"Progressive" Party and other right-wing elements. There is some consolation in the fact that the activities of the conservative majority will be challenged, if not blocked, by an effective and sizable minority, including the venerable independent Yukio Ozaki, the feminist leader, Mrs. Shizue Kato (formerly Baroness Ishimoto), who ran as a Socialist, and the Communist Sanzo Nosaka, who has advocated a Democratic Front to mobilize Japan's anti-fascists.

✱

THE BATTLE FOR THE NATION'S HEALTH IS being waged on Capitol Hill. The forces of perennial reaction, backed by the American Medical Association, are making their last-ditch stand against a bill that would guarantee medical care to most Americans. The level of opposition to the Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill (S-1606) has not risen much above that set by Senator Taft in his melodramatic exit from the committee hearings. Since then Senator Donnell of Missouri has revealed in his witness-baiting the intellectual and social bankruptcy of those who prefer widespread neglect of a people's health to any measure that might encroach upon the vested interests of the medical profession and the drug cartels. What we want to know is: Where is the active and vocal liberal support that ought to be rallying to Senator Murray? Senator Aiken has made a few appearances. But where are Senators Pepper, Tunnell, La Follette, Morse, and Guffey? Outside the committee the fight for the bill is being headed up by such organizations as the Physicians' Forum, the Committee for the Nation's Health, and the Citizens' Committee to Extend Medical Care (in Chicago). They are working hard to counter the thousands of pamphlets and canned editorials with which the A. M. A. and its stooge organization, the National Physicians' Committee, are flooding the country. But the real battle is on the floor of the committee, and *Nation* readers should urge their liberal Senators to get in there and fight.

✱

NEXT MONTH TWO HUNDRED ORGANIZERS, backed by a million dollars, the determination of Philip Murray, and the unofficial sanction of the Truman Administration, will set out to remake the South. The drive, known in trade-union circles as "Operation Dixie," will be, first, a "straight, clean-cut, pure, unadulterated campaign to organize" more than a million Southerners in the textile, lumber, and chemical industries, in agriculture, and in white-collar jobs. But Mr. Murray, describing the drive as "almost a holy crusade," makes it clear that the "by-products," political and social, are very much in his mind and of the most far-reaching character. "The men and women of the South," he told a Detroit audience last week, "must be free, and we must deliver to them their political and economic emancipation." The very fact of extensive unionization, he believes, will

spell the end of the poll tax and ultimately of all forms of economic discrimination. The Administration appears, with good reason, to see in the spread of unionization the only way of shaking off the incubus of the Rankins without at the same time destroying the party's hold on the Solid South. Political emancipation for millions of Negroes and poor whites, if achieved under the aegis of the Administration would keep the South safely Democratic even if it meant the loss of the Bourbons. And that loss—if such it can be called—is not inevitable. The fight will be long, and fierce at the outset, but let the C. I. O. score a few notable victories and many a Dixie coalitionist, with a nervous eye on his new constituents, will discover fresh virtues in tolerance—and rediscover the advantages of party regularity.

✱

IF THE ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST displayed by the Senate's Banking and Currency Committee prevails in the rest of Congress, Great Britain will receive the \$3,750,000,000 credit it seeks, the free flow of world trade will be greatly stimulated, a new and dangerous autarchy will be averted, and the peace in general will be elevated to firmer ground. It was with these objectives that the committee approved the loan by a vote of fourteen to five and rejected the three crippling amendments proposed by Senators McFarland, Taft, and Capehart. Unless the same objectives are kept in the foreground of debate, these and similar efforts to emasculate the measure will be a continuing menace. For the most part these attempts have come from the right—from isolationist and traditionally anti-British sources. But the misconception that the loan is merely a handout to the British—and should therefore be hedged about with political bargaining—has now sprung up on the left as well. A resolution adopted by the Win-the-Peace Conference calls for a delay in granting the loan until "sufficient guaranties have been given that these materials and funds will not be used for the exploitation and oppression of colonial peoples." What would constitute such a "guaranty"? And how could any nation be expected to debase itself, hat in hand, in this fashion? Obviously no nation is expected to do so—neither Britain, which is the subject of the resolution, nor the Soviet Union, for which the conference demanded an immediate loan without qualifications.

✱

THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY POLLED 102,000 votes at last year's general election, the British Labor Party some 12,000,000; so that numerically the one is to the other as the flea to the elephant. Yet the passionate desire of the insect to affiliate with the pachyderm threatens to overshadow all other issues at the Labor Party's annual conference in June. The chances that the affiliation resolution will be approved are at present rated as rather favorable since the Communists,

having successfully infiltrated the industrial wing of the Labor movement, are assured of the bloc votes of several of the largest trade unions. At any rate the National Executive of the Labor Party has been sufficiently perturbed to issue a very strong manifesto blasting Communist talk of "working-class unity" as an attempt to disrupt the party from within. In addition, Harold Laski as chairman of the party has published a pamphlet demonstrating the incompatibility of Communist and Labor Party purposes. We must say we sympathize with the desire of the Labor Party's top political figures to reject such uncomfortable bedfellows as the Communists. Combining tremendous energy and pertinacity with a talent for political manipulation and a ruthless opportunism, they are likely to rule or ruin any organization which unites with them. At the same time it is only just to observe that the British Labor government is not without responsibility for the support which the Communists have attracted in recent months. At home as well as abroad, Foreign Secretary Bevin's failure to follow a clear, democratic international policy has played into the hands of the extreme left.

Act Now on Famine

MR. PRESIDENT, it's definitely up to you. You and no one else have the immediate responsibility of saying whether millions of people starve while Americans grow fat. All tests of public opinion show that we are willing to back you up on a stiff set-aside and rationing program. We'll back you in cutting bakers and millers to 75 per cent of their 1945 allotment of flour. The emergency is here now, an emergency just as acute—if we had the imagination to realize it—as any we faced during the war. For unless we act quickly, famine will take a bigger toll than war in Europe and Asia, and the basis of rebuilding a democratic civilization will be destroyed.

Jockeyed around by pressure groups and selfish food interests your Administration has up to now given fumbling leadership. Congress is actually calculating the cost of aid to starving people in terms of votes next November. Neither the palsied efforts of the Administration nor the callous isolationism of self-styled Representatives reflects the conscience of the American people. It is our considered opinion that voluntary measures are utterly inadequate and that the kind of emergency action which we welcomed during the war is now called for.

We can't believe, Mr. President, that the Secretary of Agriculture speaks for the American people when he complains that rationing is much easier for a small nation like England than for a "large nation like the United States, which produces so much wheat over such a large area." The mechanics may be difficult—although it is strange to hear an American plead mechanical diffi-

culties at this stage of victory—but it is grimly laughable to put our food “difficulties” in the same sentence as England’s. LaGuardia is on sounder ground when he shames us by appealing to England to stint itself still more because its peoples know what it is to sacrifice.

Nor is Secretary Anderson making much more sense when he continues to speak of the “critical ninety days” ahead of us and pleads that rationing could not be introduced soon enough to be of much help. Every reliable report from the famine fronts testifies to the absurdity of this point of view. The emergency is most acute now. That simply means that food has to be moved out of this country and into Europe fast if hundreds of thousands are to be saved. But after this acute stage has been passed, the long job of building up the world’s depleted food reserves remains. Extraordinary drafts on last year’s harvest both for export and feed have made inroads on the North American carry-over. However good the immediate prospects, lack of fertilizer and man-power shortage will keep Europe’s next year’s crop far below the pre-war normal. Moreover, the drought in India will, it is estimated, reduce grain crops by seven million tons—a catastrophic fall in view of the acute shortage of rice throughout eastern Asia.

Meanwhile what are we doing? Washington issued a thirty-point food-saving program some weeks ago but has followed it up with no active propaganda campaign. Herbert Hoover, visibly shocked by his findings in Europe, still insists that rationing is not needed. The average American, attempting to put into effect the advice of the government and the dictates of his conscience, finds it hard to make the imaginative leap between his breakfast table and a hungry child in Poland. Private agencies like “Food for Freedom” work with a desperate fervor to arouse public opinion. Other nations are behaving with a more adult appreciation of the nature of the crisis. England has volunteered to install bread rationing if we do and is already using every possible propaganda device—movies, radio, billboards—to prevent waste. Canada has kept butter and sugar rationing, has reestablished meat rationing, and has set aside for export to the famine areas 10 per cent of the wheat that went into domestic milling in 1945 and 50 per cent of wheat that went into distilling. Even Argentina, according to the latest reports, is contemplating drastic steps.

Mr. President, there is no time to be lost. This is an issue in world affairs in which the United States cannot afford to shirk its responsibilities. You have recently promised to stand in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, who gave, not only to the American people but to the free nations of the world, leadership throughout the bitter war years. In this crisis we know the line he would have taken. Now is your chance to fulfil that pledge. For unless we, as the world’s most fortunate nation, do our part in bringing about freedom from acute want, all four freedoms are in danger of being lost.

Spain Is Still the Test

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THREE years ago a middle-aged shop steward in Glasgow said to me: “I tell you the active unionists, the workers who know what this war is about, they follow what’s happening in Europe. They’re suspecting a big sell-out of the common people all over Europe. And the countries they are watching are Russia and Spain. They have a special strong feeling about those two countries; they’ve come to be a kind of test. . . . You can look for trouble if the government tries to sell out Spain or Russia again.” Those words are exact: I wrote them in my notebook as soon as the conversation ended.

Today I think we can leave the conduct of the present British Foreign Minister to the judgment of that Scottish shop steward and the other workers of Britain. Greece was only a warning; Spain is still the test. Watch well, Ernie! Your own fate and that of your government are at stake in the vote your agent, Sir Alexander Cadogan—such an odd representative for a Labor government—casts in the Security Council on Spain.

Of greater and more pressing concern to Americans is the policy of our own government. By the time this page is read, the State Department will probably have revealed its position on Poland’s proposal. But even before the issue is joined, one can safely anticipate what that position will be. Unless all signs fail, Mr. Stettinius will commit the United States to a brand-new, 1946-model non-intervention policy. If he does, we shall know at last where we stand.

Ten years ago the shameful farce of non-intervention drove Spain into the arms of Hitler and Mussolini. The death of Republican Spain not only won the Axis a useful and subservient ally; it also revealed the political and moral weakness of the great democratic powers, their helpless confusion in the face of fascist determination. Not until their own existence was directly threatened were they able to rally their courage and overwhelming resources to oppose the aggressive power they themselves had so patiently helped to create. In 1936 non-intervention was the measure of the timidity of the democratic powers. It revealed how much greater was their fear of popular resistance to fascism than of fascism itself.

In 1946, too? If so, what meaning is to be found in the death of millions and the destruction of a Continent; what hope in a United Nations that repeats the hypocritical subterfuges that brought the League of Nations to its late unlamented suicide?

Non-intervention! The ugly symbol hangs again over the Council of the new league. Again the democracies, driven by the same fears, yielding to the same pressures, protesting the same devotion to the sovereign independence of fascist states, look for new ways to win delay and avoid issues. And again, as in 1936, their delegates

leave the defense of a great democratic cause to those nations they have freely attacked as the enemies of democracy, while whispering among themselves, "See, Spain is just a Communist issue; always was."

Am I moving too fast, prejudging my own government? Am I assuming without evidence that it has learned nothing since it stumbled down the road of appeasement into war? I hope so. I hope this week will have proved me unfair. But signs accumulate to justify my mistrust. From the time the Spanish issue was ruled out by State Department fiat at Chapultepec, just a year ago, the United States has ducked and dodged and hidden behind a barrage of sanctimonious words which time has shown to have no meaning. It was in the face of the express disapproval of Mr. Stettinius that a resolution barring Franco from the United Nations was offered at San Francisco last June. We have in our possession a remarkable letter to the Friends of the Spanish Republic in which our permanent delegate to the Security Council said frankly, before that resolution was introduced:

... The question of the admission ... of specific states not at war with the enemies of the United Nations is not ... expected to be brought before the conference. Consequently, the United States delegation ... does not expect to be called upon to take cognizance of a request for the admission of Spain. *Such a request might properly be entertained by the International Organization after its formation.* [The italics are mine. F. K.]

It was against the wish of the United States, and on the insistence of Russia, that the Potsdam conference last August put its seal on the San Francisco resolution. It was against the wish of the United States that the issue was raised at the General Assembly in London in February. And since then the United States has steadily resisted every proposal of action. It signed the three-power note with Britain and France branding Franco as an Axis-created dictator but turned down, first, the French request that the question be laid before the Security Council and then its alternative suggestion that the three powers apply economic sanctions, reduce their diplomatic relations to a minimum, and refer the security problem to the Council of Foreign Ministers.

Now that the question of Spain has been brought before the Council not by France, which yielded to American-British pressure, but by Poland, what will the State Department do? Already the old non-intervention devices are being made ready for use. Already it is preparing to demand "proof" that Franco's regime is a threat to international security. Proof—after seven years in which the Spanish fascists actively collaborated with the Axis in its war against the United Nations. (Evidence on this point provided by the State Department itself in its White Paper issued on March 4.) Proof—when every United States embassy in Latin America is loaded with reports of Phalangist espionage and support of fascist and anti-United States activities. (Spruille Bra-

den could speak on this before the Security Council.) Proof—when the State Department has in its files the reports of its own agents and the investigators of the Foreign Economic Administration citing by name Nazi concerns which have all but monopolized important sectors of Spanish industry. (See the Memorandum on Spain submitted to the Security Council and printed in last week's *Nation*.)

The strategy of the State Department today echoes Britain's strategy in 1936 and 1937 when the Loyalists pleaded at Geneva for nothing more than an equal application of the rule of non-intervention. Throughout those bitter years, while 100,000 Italian Fascist troops fought in Spain and openly boasted of their presence and their deeds, and German planes with German pilots wiped out undefended Spanish villages, the League of Nations and the Non-Intervention Committee kept on asking for proof. Proof was offered—sheaves of documents captured from Italian and German commanders; German and Italian prisoners in thousands, German and Italian weapons. But the Non-Intervention Committee remained officially unconvinced.

Today our State Department wants Poland to produce specific evidence in support of its charge that Franco menaces the peace. Poland will be foolish if it falls into this old trap. To permit the issue of fascist Spain, in the year 1946, to turn on the question of whether a particular plant near Bilbao is equipped to carry on atomic-energy experiments and whether German scientists are at work there would be a major tactical error. If the story is true, it is a telling item in a case long since made. If it is untrue, the broad indictment of Franco remains unaffected.

By condemning Franco as an Axis creation, by broadcasting his deals with Hitler, by urging the Spanish people to turn him out, the United States has already admitted that the regime in Spain is in fact an international problem—not a purely domestic, Spanish one. Why, then, is our government so eager to keep the matter out of the hands of the United Nations? The reason, I am afraid, is this: Action by the Council would be public and aboveboard, ruling out deals behind closed doors. Action through diplomatic channels, backed by occasional remonstrances in public, makes possible a transition from the present dictatorship to some "moderate" Badoglio regime, such as we have favored elsewhere, approved by church and army and pledged to the stern suppression of disorder. Good sources in Washington report such a deal in the making; the initiative is said to have come from the Vatican. If this is so, the obvious policy of the State Department will be to stall for time and prevent action in the United Nations. If this is true, only the urgent demand of the people of America—sick and tired of deals with dictators—will force the President and Mr. Byrnes to reverse the fatal course set in 1936 and behave at last like democrats.

The McMahon Bill

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 14

WHEN General Groves was before the McMahon committee last November, he was asked by Senator Austin of Vermont if it made any difference whether production of fissionable materials was placed "in the hands of an institution that is operating as a private enterprise" or left to a government agency. "I cannot imagine the government," General Groves replied, "failing to continue to have a controlling voice in this problem, because it involves the whole existence of the government and the people that make up that government." Senator Connally followed this up with another question. "Would it not be wholly impracticable," the Texan asked, "to turn this over to any private corporation?" The General answered, "I feel that this is so important that it must be retained under complete governmental control and that private industry should have no rights whatsoever with respect to this, excepting those rights that can be given without interfering with the welfare of the United States." The reply brought no protest from other members of the committee at that hearing, though these included leading conservatives of both parties—Vandenberg and Hickenlooper, Tydings and Byrd. That the military should take this point of view and that Senators of such rightist hue should acquiesce in it measure the revolutionary impact of the atom bomb on American thinking, and this is reflected in the terms of the McMahon bill as revised by the committee for submission to the Senate.

I do not set it down as any indication that a socialistic Utopia is around the corner, but history will record the fact that the laissez faire system was a victim of the bomb that fell on Hiroshima. After that, it will be noted, private enterprise played but a peripheral role in our economy, the state became the dominant element in the economy, and power was held by the classes or forces which succeeded in gaining control of the new government agencies created to handle atomic energy. In that perspective the McMahon bill is a better and more progressive bill than the May-Johnson bill or the Ball bill, not because it gives the proposed Atomic Energy Commission more power, but because it gives the commission less discretion. The May-Johnson and Ball bills are more sweeping in their grant of authority, so sweeping that wide areas in the development of this new discovery might be farmed out to favored monopolistic companies. The crucial fight will not come over whether atomic energy is to be government controlled, but (1) over the personnel of the commission to exercise that control, and (2) over the extent to which that commission is accorded freedom from Congressional direction and supervision.

The first victory for public control in the McMahon bill is its provision that "no member of the commission shall engage in any other business, vocation, or employment." The May-Johnson bill, as drafted "with the detailed supervision of Dr. [Vannevar] Bush and Dr. [James B.] Conant [of Harvard]," would allow members of the commission to "engage in other occupations or businesses, private or governmental." This was intended to permit army officers and big-business executives or their academic allies to serve on the commission. It would legitimize that dual allegiance which was so familiar a part of the war-agency set-up in Washington. The McMahon bill, perhaps partly as a concession to balance its insistence on full-time commissioners with no other loyalty, now provides for a general advisory committee on which business men and academicians may serve and for a military liaison committee.

The powers of the military liaison committee, as established by the so-called Vandenberg amendment, jeopardize civilian control of atomic energy. In the final bill, as it will be reported to the Senate, the military liaison committee can require the commission to "advise and consult" with it "on all atomic-energy matters which the committee"—the committee not the commission—"deems to relate to military applications." These are defined as including "the development, manufacture, use, and storage of bombs, the allocation of fissionable material for military research, and the control of information relating to the manufacture or utilization of atomic weapons." This is broad and holds the seeds of much conflict in the future. We must remember that for some time to come there will be a choice between continued production of bombs and large-scale civilian development; we do not have adequate facilities and materials for both. We must also remember that the "mania for secrecy" exhibited by the military "hampers our own scientific effort very greatly," as Dr. Harold C. Urey testified before the McMahon committee. The commission would be required to keep the military liaison committee "fully informed of all such matters," and if the committee at any time "concludes that any action, proposed action, or failure to act of the commission" is adverse to the responsibilities of the War or Navy Department, it can appeal to the Secretaries of War and Navy, and either of these two officers can appeal to the President. Those who hailed this provision as a victory for civilian control will live to rue their optimism if the bill passes with this unchanged. Alone or in alliance with members of the general advisory committee, the military liaison committee could seriously harass and often control the committee on fundamental questions of policy.

One of these questions is how much of the information on atomic energy is to be made public. The original McMahon bill carried a section on "dissemination of information" which in the bill as finally revised significantly becomes a section on "control of information." The committee removed the clauses establishing a board of atomic information, weakened the clauses requiring reports from private persons or companies engaged in independent research or development, and added very stringent security regulations. These provide for penalties of up to \$20,000 in fines and twenty years in jail for the release of "restricted data" "with intent to injure the United States or with intent to secure an advantage to any foreign nation." "Restricted data" may cover not only atomic weapons but the production of fissionable materials and their use in the production of power, "but

shall not include any data which the commission from time to time determines may be published without adversely affecting the common defense and security." These provisions are a menace to scientific freedom and progress, and a major fight should be made to revise them.

In its general provisions on the control of fissionable materials, production facilities, and patents the McMahon bill seems an excellent measure, and Senator McMahon and his associates deserve high praise for them. Praiseworthy also is the bill's provision for reports to Congress whenever "any industrial, commercial, or other non-military use of fissionable material" has become practicable, and forbidding the issuance of licenses for any such manufacture or use until Congress has been given ninety days to consider whether it desires to provide supplemental covering legislation.

We're from Missouri

BY ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

Editorial writer for the St. Louis Star-Times

St. Louis, April 9

WE MISSOURIANS are supposed to be all a-glow over the presence of Harry Truman in the White House. Even though he got in by the back door, he is the first President from Missouri. That is regarded as cause for pride. In addition, we are supposed to feel warm satisfaction with the plums of patronage which the President is distributing with even-handed impartiality between St. Louis and Kansas City.

Actually, the color in most Missourians' faces comes nearer to being a blush than a glow. We are more than a little critical of the President's record. When it was recently proposed to change the name of Fifteenth Street in Kansas City to Truman Road, protests swamped the public hearing. The two outspoken afternoon newspapers in St. Louis have been handling the President with anything but kid gloves—particularly in connection with the Pauley and Vardaman appointments. And don't forget that Mr. Vardaman comes from St. Louis.

Missourians are of the opinion that the record of the Truman Administration is "just adequate." Sixty-nine per cent of those questioned in a state-wide survey conducted by the *St. Louis Star-Times* said that Harry Truman had declined in stature since his inauguration; only 27 per cent said that he had grown. (No opinion was expressed by 4 per cent.) Yet there is more sympathy than hostility behind this criticism. There is a general feeling that Truman was called to a job beyond his talents but is trying to do his best; a clergyman in Gentry County summed up this attitude graphically when he said, "He is like a little dog in high grass."

We Missourians find it difficult to forget that Mr.

Truman is a "political accident." We saw him fail as a farmer and a small merchant, and we saw him go into local politics for a livelihood. He had aspired to nothing more than the job of a county administrator when Boss Pendergast of Kansas City picked him to defeat a St. Louis candidate for the Democratic senatorial nomination. We know, too, that Harry Truman owed his reelection to the Senate in large measure to a last-minute decision of the Dickmann-Hannegan Democratic machine in St. Louis. Missouri voters smashed both machines—first Pendergast's and then Hannegan's—and they were hardly enthusiastic when Boss Hannegan became national chairman of the Democratic Party and then went to work to make Harry Truman Vice-President. A shrewd political writer in Jefferson City has estimated that Truman's name on the ticket cost the Democrats at least 10,000 votes in the state in 1944.

However, we have little against Truman personally. We have always found him to be friendly and helpful. We believe him to be honest and well-intentioned, but we are displeased by some of the political company which he has kept—the politicians to whom one St. Louis business man refers as "Harry Truman's hunchmen." Sections of rural Missouri are almost as regularly Democratic as the Solid South, but this "Little Dixie" was shocked by the carryings-on of the Kansas City and St. Louis machines. If Governor Stark and Maurice Milligan, the prosecutor who sent Boss Pendergast to the penitentiary, had not split the anti-Truman vote in the 1940 primary, another man might be President today.

For more than fifty years Missouri Democrats deferred to old Champ Clark and his son, Bennett

Champ Clark, but as war approached, the younger Clark's strident anti-Roosevelt isolationism brought a revulsion. In 1944, for the first and only time, even the home-town paper up in Pike County came out against a Clark. Mr. Truman, however, lost little time in appointing Bennett Champ Clark to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals—a post for which some Missourians thought he was hardly qualified.

Other Truman appointees from Missouri have aroused similar disapproval. There is a feeling that the President has not in every case selected the best man available in the state. This is attributed to his false sense of loyalty to "courthouse cabals" and his taste for "government by cronies." However, the appointment of Stuart Symington to the Surplus Property Board and later to be Assistant Secretary of War for Air was generally commended. Mr. Symington's fight against the Aluminum Corporation of America has certainly vindicated the President's judgment. Another widely approved appointment was that of General Omar Bradley to the Veterans' Administration. And all who knew Charlie Ross were glad to see him take over as press secretary.

Many Missourians believe that if Mr. Truman had retained more men like Harold Ickes and Judge Rosenman among his close advisers, his record would be better. Their advice might have helped him keep in check a tendency to make snap judgments and to stick to them stubbornly. While a good many Missourians may have agreed with his atomic-bomb policy, they were disturbed by the offhand way he announced it in the course of a fishing holiday at Reelfoot Lake in Tennessee. They felt that the surroundings did not bespeak sufficient deliberation. His visit to the American Legion Convention in Caruthersville—in the cotton-growing Missouri boot-heel—misfired. Folks were glad to have Harry Truman come home to Missouri, but some of them looked askance at the carefree manners of his holiday companions. Such sentiments may stem from a streak of puritanism, which is as prevalent in Missouri as elsewhere in rural America.

Since more than 50 per cent of the 600 persons to whom the St. Louis *Star-Times* sent its questionnaire answered, the results can be accepted as a fairly good cross-section of opinion in the state. Forty-two per cent said that President Truman had conducted foreign affairs well, 41 per cent felt that he had handled them poorly, and 17 per cent were without opinion. As to his domestic policies, 57 per cent expressed a mixed opinion, 28 per cent said they were unsound, 15 per cent said they were sound. With respect to the President's relations with Congress, 48 per cent said he had been wrong in trying first to conciliate Congress and then in going over its head to the people, 44 per cent said he was right, and 8 per cent had no opinion.

Concerning Presidential appointments, 63 per cent believed them to be mediocre, 28 per cent bad, only 8 per cent good; 1 per cent had no opinion. The nomina-

tion of Edwin Pauley to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy brought Missourians closest to unanimity, 89 per cent saying that it was unwise; only 7 per cent approved, and 4 per cent had no opinion. The following table shows what Missourians think about the President's policies on some specific issues.

	RIGHT	WRONG	NO OPINION
	Percentage		
The atom bomb	60	27	13
The British loan	66	24	10
Labor and wages	33	63	4
Price controls	63	33	4
The army-navy merger ...	59	22	19
Compulsory military training	48	45	7
Full employment	49	40	11
FEPC	44	40	16
His support of an MVA ...	46	37	17

Some of these figures deserve a second glance. That Missourians seem to be strongly in favor of the loan to Britain should give pause to the political commentators who have been trying to develop the theme that the Middle West is beginning a post-war swing back to isolationism. The strong support for continued price controls show that hill-and-hollow farmers as well as industrialists and bankers find the threat of inflation more ominous than the lure of fat profits is inviting. The support for the Missouri Valley Authority shows that the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation have by no means stopped the fight for this great project. Most significant of all is the fairly substantial vote in favor of the FEPC—in a state which still segregates Negro school children and will not admit Negroes to its university.

These figures seem to bear out the conclusion of many observers that fairly general support for the President's program is coupled with the feeling that he has been ineffective in pushing it through Congress. A few persons have said that Mr. Truman backed a liberal program for the sake of votes rather than out of deep conviction, and that he would not have given his support to some items had he not felt sure Congress would reject them. Generally, however, the President's good intentions are accepted and applauded. It is rather his lack of executive "know-how" which is deplored. Most Missourians would like to see his program succeed. They hope that they may still be proud of Harry Truman.

At the moment they do not think too highly of his chances for reelection: 29 per cent think they are good, 51 per cent think they are bad, and 20 per cent have no opinion. But they admit that if he weathers his current difficulties and the country settles down to enjoy a boom, his chances will probably improve. Much depends on his opponent. To beat Truman in Missouri the Republicans will have to nominate a better man.

The World Comes of Age

BY ALBERT GUERARD

Professor of general literature at Stanford University and author, most recently, of "France: a Short History"

REINHOLD NIEBUHR is among those world citizens who deny the existence of the world, among those Children of Light for whom Darkness alone possesses reality. This would be puzzling if we were not familiar with his method. His system of Christian apologetics is founded upon the notion of "paradox," by which he means—paradoxically—contradiction, antinomy. If Niebuhr were ever to agree with himself, he would stand self-condemned.

All this banter, of course, is within the family. I know that Niebuhr's heart is in the right place, and I have a deep respect for his mind. A controversy between us is not a duel or even a fencing bout: it is a symposium, an attempt to focus our thought.

There are two theses in Niebuhr's essay on World Government.* The first is that a community cannot be created by legal or constitutional means. The second is that the world community does not exist. In the vernacular: "First catch your hare; but there is no hare."

On the first point I am in complete agreement with Niebuhr, and with the rest of the world. It is a truism. I have yet to find a man, presumably sane, who believes that a community can be created *ex nihilo* by the magic of a constitutional formula. Even Ely Culbertson, who in my opinion relies far too much on a mechanism fearfully and wonderfully made, is aware that his plan would be futile unless it satisfied the needs and desires of living men. In the many agencies that are working on this great problem there are outstanding authorities on constitutional law. Their contribution is invaluable; they challenge both idealists and pragmatists to give the words they use a definite meaning. But they never mistake verbal niceties for principles, or abstractions for concrete facts. The law can define the conditions of peace, but the law per se cannot create or enforce those conditions. The task before us is not of the same character as that of the atomic scientists. When a mysterious force had been surmised, discovered, released, harnessed, the work was done, and could not be undone by public opinion. But the drafting of a constitution is not the working out of a mathematical equation, not the performing of a chemical experiment. There is no inevitable, no ideal constitution: under ideal circumstances no constitution would be needed. Like any other man-made law, a constitution is the acknowledgment of human infirmity. It is the co-

ordinated effort of the "do-gooders" to forestall and curb the evil-doers.

So I need not be told that the Weimar constitution was both fool-proof and still-born. I know that our own Constitution, based as it is on the eternal verities, is so loose that the Nine Old Men often differ about its meaning. It failed to prevent the only severe crisis in our history, the Civil War. When borrowed by other lands, it creaked, stalled, or broke down.

On the other hand, a constitution which is an amorphous mass may function admirably if it is in harmony with the instincts, the habits, the ideals of a people: the classical example is that elusive "myth" known as the British constitution. The United Nations, during the war, achieved a remarkable degree of coordination. It may be asserted that the normal work of the World State will be child's play, compared with the task that the defenders of freedom had to face between 1939 and 1945. Many organs were created, but there was no overall constitution. The will must find a way, but the will is more important than the way.

Niebuhr's second, and major, point is that such a will does not exist. I beg his pardon: he did not actually say anything so absurd. He did not deny that the men he criticized had, like George Washington himself, the will to world unity. But he believes they are a contemptibly puny group. They may be right; as a Christian, he must be convinced that they are right. But they are so few and so weak that they should, realistically, submit to the vaster, fiercer will of the nationalists, that is, the followers of Hitler.

Even if it were so, I should refuse to bow. But I am not striking an attitude of heroic defiance. It is as an observer, not as a prophet, that I challenge the accuracy of Niebuhr's assertion. He says: "National and imperial communities all have ethnic, linguistic, geographic, historical, and other forces of social unity. The universal community, however, has no common language or common culture—nothing to create the consciousness of *We*." This is the pure doctrine of Joseph de Maistre, against the Enlightenment, the Révolution, and the Rights of Man. "I have met Russians, Englishmen, Frenchmen: I have never met *Man*"—and De Maistre called himself a Catholic! This thesis was emphatically false 150 years ago. How does it stand today?

I shall not dwell upon the threat of the atomic bomb, "one world or none," because it is demeaning to argue

* The Myth of World Government, in *The Nation* for March 16.

on the basis of fear. I merely note that Niebuhr advocates "transferring our dangerous knowledge to some kind of world judicatory"—and if he would tell us what he means by judicatory, he would give us the gist of a world constitution. But the atomic bomb was simply the irrefutable confirmation of a fact with which we were familiar: it is impossible today for any nation to be a hermit. We tried isolationism, that is, the thoroughgoing denial of the world community. Realistically speaking, it was not a success. For better or worse, technical progress has made the world physically one, more closely knit than two neighboring valleys in eighteenth-century England. Behind modern technique there is science, and Niebuhr knows that science ignores national boundaries. Germans, Danes, Italians worked on the atomic problem; Frenchmen, Russians, Japanese had prepared the path.

All this belongs to the material world; Niebuhr spurns it, and I cannot blame him. But he condemns also the religious and philosophical world, which ought to be his own, and which posits the unity of man. He moves in the murky mystic atmosphere of German romanticism, in which national culture is the only reality. There is a "German spirit," there is an American spirit, and never the twain shall meet; there is no human spirit.

This seems to me in manifest contradiction with the facts. In the first place, the national spirit has been grossly exaggerated. The crucial instance is that of Franco Spain. There a nationalist ("There is no world community") killed half a million pure-blooded Spaniards with the aid of Italians, Germans, and Moors. The French nationalists, ten years ago, vowed: "Rather Hitler than Blum!" Today, the nationalist Kerillis does his best to defame De Gaulle. And a "German spirit" that would integrate Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Einstein, Goebbels, and Hitler would have to be so broad that it might well be called *Welt-bürgerlich*.

On the other hand, the world unity which Niebuhr denies is plain for all eyes to see. The *Homo sum* of Terence has never lost its validity. A few random examples. We are submitting without protest to food restrictions, because we cannot face the thought of being sated in a starving world. According to Ségur, people wept for joy in the streets of St. Petersburg when the Bastille fell. Father Gratry said, "So long as Poland is martyred, we shall live in a state of mortal sin"; and today the power of Franco weighs us down with shame and remorse. The planet felt the wound when Dreyfus was unjustly condemned, and great meetings were held in Paris to plead for Sacco and Vanzetti. This feeling that the world is morally one is not the privilege of an élite; it is more ardent, more spontaneous, among the masses than among the sophisticates.

I am a student of literature. I know—and Niebuhr knows—that world literature, no less than world art and world science, is more real than any purely local mani-

festation. I am not thinking of the happy few who enjoy Kafka, Gide, or Unamuno better than "Forever Amber." World literature begins in the cradle, not in the graduate school. Children do not reject Aesop's "Fables," Grimm's "Fairy Tales," "Pinocchio," or "Heidi" because of their foreign origin. Adolescents used to revel in Alexandre Dumas and Jules Verne. "The Hunchback of Notre-Dame" and "Les Misérables" are better known to the average American than the valuable work of Joel Barlow. If there is but a single book in a log cabin, it will be the Bible. Culturally, the world exists more vigorously than its provinces, Germany, America, or France, just as these have more intensity of life than Baden, Nebraska, or Poitou.

It is hard to argue with Niebuhr. If we suggest to him that selfishness is wasteful, that security, law, and order are sound business propositions, he will tell us loftily: "You are thinking on a low materialistic plane; national consciousness (My country, right or wrong! *Deutschland über Alles!*) is an ideal." If we plead that the fundamental unity of mankind is deeper than all tribal superstitions, he will call us naive, wishful, stary-eyed. Our ancestors called such nimbleness of wit "running with the hare, hunting with the hounds."

The world community does exist. There is a humanity common to all men; to defend it is our "common cause." This community is unorganized because our political institutions lag a century or more behind our political consciousness. Fanatical nationalists are but a virulent minority. Fully conscious, determined world citizens, I admit, are a minority also. The masses are confused, not in their feelings, but in their minds. They hate war; they hate oppression and injustice anywhere in the world. Both our pacifists and our isolationists proved that they did not want to fight for empire or prestige. Americans could only be made to fight for a human cause—democracy, freedom. The war for them was never a tussle for wealth and power but a gigantic operation of the world police against the law-breakers. If the war had not been for the defense of the world community, it would have been the ghastliest and silliest of crimes. Ask veterans, laborers, church members, Rotarians: "Do you want world war or world law?" Their answer is unequivocal. But when it comes to translating these deep feelings into definite terms, there rises some clever, plausible, learned man: "Absurd! Utopian! Immature! Unrealistic! Perfectionist! Your common humanity is nonsense. Cherish and harden those differences that cannot be maintained except by the sword." Julien Benda denounced "*la trahison des clercs*": there are intellectuals, aye, and clerics too, who see the light, and try to shut it out.

Niebuhr would say—did say: "Let the world spirit grow organically, unconsciously, and no constitution will be needed." The world spirit is full grown, but it is unarmed. It is the fossils who have the weapons; living

souls are told that they need none. This must be reversed. Our aim is to focus the consciousness of mankind through institutions. Let us ask the people: "Do you want the world community, which now lives in chaos, to be *constituted*, that is to say, to live under law? Or do you want each nation to be a judge in its own quarrels, a law unto itself?"

The desire of the common man is clear. It can be gauged by the response to the popular books of Wendell Willkie and Emery Reves. To turn that desire into a *working* world order is not an easy task. It will not happen unconsciously, automatically, organically, according to the lazy, fatalistic philosophy of the nineteenth century. A world order is not merely an aspiration; it is an act of faith, an act of will, and a complex technical problem. Many, including mad Emperor Norton, wished for a bridge over the Golden Gate; but the bridge could not be built until it was planned for, blueprinted, voted upon, financed. All this preparation—this listing of ob-

stacles, this definition of terms, this meeting of solutions—is indispensable, and it is the work many of us are engaged upon. Modestly, without megalomania: no Lawgiver is going to descend from Mount Sinai with new Tables of the Law. But while prophetic voices are urging that the work should be done, scientific minds are exploring how it can be done. Then will come the statesmen, and it will be done. A world constitution will not end human woes, any more than ours has cured all our ills. But it will be the symbol and instrument of unity. It will not be a static Utopia; like our Constitution, it will not be merely a check but a goal to be striven for.

To this difficult task Reinhold Niebuhr, as a Christian, as a teacher, as a humanitarian, was and remains summoned. He may choose to stand, a lost teacher, with the "prophets of the past." It would be a tragic paradox. I know what Niebuhr wants in his heart: why should he be of so little faith?

Mission to India

BY SHIVA RAO

Formerly correspondent in India for the Manchester Guardian; now on the staff of the Hindu of Madras

New Delhi, April 9

DURING the two weeks the British Cabinet mission has been in New Delhi it has listened to every political group—the Congress, the Moslem League, the ruling princes, the untouchables, the Sikhs, the woman's movement, and the Communists. Sir Stafford Cripps has been the most active of the three Ministers, engaging in informal talks as well as official interviews. The atmosphere of these discussions continues friendly, and most groups, including the Congress, seem confident of their successful conclusion.

Only the Moslem League remains adamant. Mr. Jinnah has summoned a convention of the League representatives in all the eleven provincial legislatures for the purpose of affirming their uncompromising adherence to the principle of Pakistan, with complete separation of the northwestern and northeastern zones from the rest of the Indian Peninsula. A boycott against British goods has been talked of. Bloodshed has been threatened. The convention, however, has shown marked indifference to such fiery utterances. A great many of Jinnah's present followers, as Nehru has repeatedly declared, are men who owe their position and influence to British patronage. The younger Moslems will probably take up Jinnah's slogan "Pakistan or Perish," but not the aging knights and landlords accustomed to lives of luxury.

The Congress leaders, in striking contrast, have adopted an extremely conciliatory line. Nehru, recently returned from Malaya with visions of an Asiatic federa-



Sir Stafford Cripps

tion in which India would play a leading part, has gone to the farthest limits possible to allay Moslem apprehensions. He proposes an all-India federal union with a minimum of federal authority and maximum autonomy for the units. Coupled with this is an ingeniously elastic provision that units may, at their discretion, surrender

some of their powers to the federal government. The Congress Party will not coerce unwilling units to enter the federation—or to secede from it. The plan includes revision of existing provincial boundaries so as to give the Moslems a dominant position in two more provinces (West Punjab and East Bengal). It commands the assent even of an appreciable section of the Moslems. But it is not Pakistan, and so far Mr. Jinnah has rejected it.

The Congress Party's status has altered in the last two weeks by reason of its assumption of ministerial responsibility in eight provinces; in the ninth (Punjab)

there is a coalition ministry dependent on Congress support. Thus the demand for a new central government commanding public confidence now comes with authority from nine provincial governments. It is backed by the warning signals of approaching famine. Thirty-three unidentified dead were picked up on Calcutta's streets last week.

No one who has not visited India since the end of the war can appreciate how the masses have awakened in these last six years. When I returned home after less than a year's absence in America and England, I was struck with the change in their attitude. In the pre-war decade I had seen numerous riots—Hindu-Moslem friction and industrial disputes developing into clashes with the police—in which unruly mobs would indulge in arson and assault and disappear on the arrival of troops. But fear of authority has not quelled the serious riots in Calcutta and Bombay in recent weeks. Rifles and revolvers and tommy guns have no terrors for the crowds today; whether they are students or industrial workers, they defy the soldiers to do their worst.

Almost daily the Indian press gives prominence to incidents in Indonesia, Egypt, and the Levant. Believing with Nehru that India must champion the liberty of all the subject races of Asia, Indians seek also to emulate their resistance. It is not only the young student whose enthusiasm is fired by accounts of the Indonesian revolt or of the Anti-Fascist League in Burma. Indian soldiers returning from the various theaters of war follow with intelligent interest events in different parts of the world. They resent fiercely discrimination of any sort between Indians and British, whether officers or "other ranks."

Nearly a million men will have been demobilized by summer. Their prompt reemployment offers a problem. These men have grown accustomed to standards of living in the army which they will be unable to maintain outside. An Indian officer working on demobilization plans explained to me some of his difficulties. After two or three years in North Africa and Italy, he said, men find the normal life of a Punjab village intolerably dull. There are no cafes, no picture houses, and no women to take out. Unless these men are settled in life and given work they will make serious trouble; they respect Mahatma Gandhi but have no use for his non-violence.

Then there are the Communists, smarting under humiliation and defeat. The Congress Party expelled them for "betraying" the movement for national freedom in 1942, and Nehru has challengingly described them as "the tools of British imperialism." The weakness of the Indian Communists as an organized group was exposed by the general elections. Except for a few stray Labor seats picked up, they lost every contest by overwhelming majorities. But they will not easily accept defeat.

Discontent in the industrial centers caused by growing unemployment and wage cuts is flaring up into wide-

spread agitation. The Congress Party's success at the polls is an incitement to the Communists to test its election promises to the industrial workers. Strikes must therefore be expected. Trouble is brewing among the railway, postal and telegraph, and textile workers.

It is in the midst of such conditions—unemployment, unrest in the armed forces, interracial and inter-party bitterness, all darkened by the threat of famine—that the Cabinet mission must function.

All sections of the population—with the single significant exception of Mr. Jinnah—have welcomed Mr. Attlee's bold and generous description of the role a free India can play. Sir Stafford Cripps and Lord Pethick-Lawrence are known to have sympathy with India's aspirations. Mr. Alexander, though new to the Indian problem, brings a fresh and unbiased mind to bear on it. The Congress leaders—the cultured Moslem president Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, and their colleagues—are anxious for a settlement. On both sides, Indian and British, there is apparent a determination to succeed.

Will the Cabinet mission listen to Jinnah and the Moslem League or to the urgings of all the rest of India? So far the mission has refused to disclose its intentions beyond declaring that the framing of India's permanent constitution is closely linked with the immediate problem of setting up a provisional government. Exploratory talks will continue for another week with a short break for Easter; then the negotiations will probably reach the stage of decision.

Judging from the public statements of the Cabinet Ministers, particularly Cripps and Pethick-Lawrence, and from what has been gleaned from their talks with individual political leaders, their position seems to be that India must have independence but whether it is to be inside or outside the British Commonwealth is a matter India must decide for itself. The Indian leaders, the Ministers hold, must assume the primary responsibility for settling the existing deep internal differences, for the reason that independence is not compatible with outside arbitration. The first task of the Cabinet Ministers, they believe, is to clarify and narrow down the issues by talks with representatives of the different groups. If no accord can be reached, the mission must announce its award.

Congress leaders express little impatience with the procedure adopted. They take the line that, independence having been promised, discussion is necessarily limited to the settlement of internal differences. They are confident that the three Ministers recognize the grave danger of allowing Indo-British relations to deteriorate farther by denying India independence. They would accept outside arbitration—by the United Nations preferably—provided the reference of the internal differences is made by a government of an independent India and freedom is not made contingent on the decision.

Dinner with Herriot

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, March 9

IF IN present-day France there is a man truly representative of the period preceding the war, it is undoubtedly Edouard Herriot. The others who could claim that title are either lost in the whirlpool of the war and Vichy or have become liabilities to their own parties—men like Daladier, whose appearance at the Radical Socialist Congress in Lyon

last week made even those who applauded him, simply because they had been applauding him for the past twenty years, feel uncomfortable. With Herriot it is different. Personally he is as popular as before. When he speaks in the Constituent Assembly, even his opponents listen with delight, as one would listen to a well-written historical play in which

Gambetta was the hero. But he does not convince any of the members except those faithful dozen and a half deputies who with him survived the disaster of the last elections.

I had dinner with Herriot the night before he left for Lyon to preside at the Congress, which he dominated throughout the three days it lasted. As if by agreement, all the Paris cartoonists came out with the same joke, about a Congress attended only by Herriot; their drawings showed Herriot at the rostrum, Herriot in the picture hanging above the speakers' table, Herriot's initials on the loud speakers, Herriot filling every seat in the large hall, smoking his pipe and philosophically accepting the spectacle of a once great party now reduced practically to himself.

We dined at the home of one of those well-to-do families which have been Radical Socialist for generations and which adore Herriot as the last knight of freedom in a world that does not sufficiently appreciate individual rights. In a small gathering of that sort he is unique; he can talk with the same profound knowledge about Spanish literature and Dutch painting, about American and Russian history. That evening he got into a lively discussion with a leading Zionist authority as to whether or not Moses could read.

I made Herriot talk politics by telling him people with whom I had spoken about the elections predicted that the Radical Socialists would be among the gainers. He shrugged his shoulders: "Bah! Perhaps a few seats. Not enough to change the trend of French politics. If we make any gains it will be not so much because people like us better as because some of them are getting tired of so much socialist experimenting." Once started on politics, he would not stop until he was called back to the Assembly, where he remained until three in the morning fighting against the new constitution. He carries his seventy-three years well, and I have the feeling he has not entirely abandoned his dream of one day entering the Elysée as President of France.



Courtesy
France-Amérique

Listening to Herriot in intimate surroundings, I realized more clearly than on any occasion since my arrival in France what an absolutely different country has emerged from the liberation. Though always subtle in his remarks, he often gave the impression of already belonging to Madame Tussaud's Wax Works. He does not seem to understand any of the revolutionary changes that have been taking place in the French mind, and tries to explain the acceptance of planning and a controlled economy as "indifference" and "weariness." "What can you expect, *mon pauvre ami*," he said to me, "from Frenchmen who are condemned to drink only water? Let them have their daily bottle of wine again and there will be real political life and genuine, free discussion."

Then he began to denounce the evils of three-party rule, of *tripartisme*, already almost a classic expression in French. "In political language this is a pure marriage of convenience; it is confusion." And nothing is more unwelcome to Herriot's Cartesian mind than a medley of conceptions and ideas. The Lyon congress was a model of clarity when it came to define the "*rassemblement des gauches républicaines*." As Herriot had predicted, the congress flatly rejected any contact with the Parti Républicain de la Liberté (the P. R. L.), an extreme right-wing party in spite of its name. But on the other hand, what a curious *rassemblement* whose birth is celebrated by the exclusion from the party of Pierre Cot and Albert Bayet, the only real *gauches* among the Radical Socialists!

I fear I touched one of Herriot's sore spots when I suggested that what was taking place in France today could result in the triumph of socialism by purely democratic methods and that this might be the second great social experiment of the century, the Russian Revolution being the first. He smiled kindly and only said with a certain sadness: "I shall go on fighting for my principles. True, I have not been very successful in my political life. I was beaten on the issue of paying our debt to the United States. Now I have been beaten on the issue of freedom of the press. But I cannot give up."

And then he went to Lyon, where he made the Congress accept a program whose points are, first, the defense of individual liberties and of private property; second, the return to an electoral system that permits the voter to choose and know his candidate; third, the safeguarding of the secular character of the schools and liberty of conscience—this point directed against the M. R. P.; fourth, improvement of workers' conditions; fifth, the independence of the state from domination by big business, while limiting nationalization of the trusts to those whose existence is a threat to the public interest; sixth, a foreign policy which will repudiate nationalism and the formation of antagonistic blocs, at the same time guaranteeing security for France against Germany, and which will promote international solidarity within the United Nations. He wanted to distinguish his party's policy from that of De Gaulle and take a position against the fanatical anti-Russians. It is in the realm of foreign policy that Herriot is most up to date.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Britain's Budgets

THERE is a surface appearance of financial orthodoxy about the British Labor government's first annual budget, introduced by Chancellor of the Exchequer Hugh Dalton on April 9, which may mislead those who fail to consider fiscal policy in the context of over-all economic planning. By maintaining revenue near its war-time peak in the face of a sharp reduction in expenditure Mr. Dalton has been able to approach, as he put it, "the goal of traditional financial rectitude"—a balanced budget. If non-recurring items are omitted from both sides of the ledger, 91 per cent of expenditures are covered by receipts, as compared with 53 per cent in the last year of the war. Thus the fiscal year beginning April 1, 1947, is likely to end the era of "unplanned deficits," and thereafter, said Mr. Dalton, "the choice between having a budget surplus and a budget deficit is in our own hands."

This statement, I think, should make it clear that the Labor government does not regard fiscal equilibrium as an end in itself. In the future it may bring in budgets which are unbalanced, balanced, or overbalanced. Whatever the choice, the decisive factor will be the measures required to bring about a balance in Britain's man-power and international-trade budgets, for it is on this that full employment and a rising standard of living depend. At the present time Britain is not concerned about lack of jobs; its problem is rather one of man-power shortage and insufficient production. Internationally, its immediate need is to expand exports, for while the American loan, if and when it is ratified, will help to bridge the gap between external payments and receipts for a few years, Britain's whole future depends on eventual achievement of a balance at a high level in its international accounts.

Not long ago the British government published a man-power budget indicating the distribution of the total labor force which, it was hoped, would be secured by the end of this year. The following table shows in compressed form man-power goals and the actual situation just before the war.

	Mid 1939	End 1946
	<i>millions</i>	
Armed services and munitions...	1.8	1.7
Export industries	1.2	1.7
Building and construction	1.3	1.4
Home-market supply	14.2	14.6
Total civil employment	16.7	17.7
Unemployed	1.3	.6
Total labor force	19.8	20.0

It will be noticed that the export industries are assigned half a million more workers than in 1939, but even this increase of 41 per cent may be insufficient to permit the

attainment of the export drive's target—a 75 per cent expansion in volume above the pre-war figure. Such an expansion in overseas sales, it has been estimated, must be secured to compensate for loss of income from foreign investments liquidated during the war, to cover service of a swollen foreign debt including the American loan, and to maintain imports at a tolerable level. However, it is not anticipated that this target will be hit before 1948, by which time it may be possible to divert more workers into the export industries.

The allotment of labor to building and construction also looks low in relation to the work to be done. In addition to a huge housing job, Britain must undertake in the next few years the replacement of numerous commercial and public buildings destroyed in the blitz and the provision of hundreds of new schools, hospitals, and clinics required for the fulfilment of social programs. If exports and building are to be given priority, the supply of goods and services for the home market must suffer, and after six years of austerity the home market is very bare indeed.

Since man-power shortage is the crux of the British economic problem, financial policy has been designed to further broad plans for the utilization of labor. Thus the Chancellor resisted demands for general tax reductions, which would add to aggregate purchasing power and increase pressure on the limited supply of consumer goods. On the other hand, while discouraging consumption, he had to bear in mind the importance of providing incentives for greater productivity. The few tax reliefs he announced were undoubtedly decided upon with this end in view. For instance, as from October next, earned income allowances are to be raised from 10 per cent to 12½ per cent, and the income-tax exemption for working wives is to be \$440 instead of \$320. These measures will relieve half a million workers from liability to tax and, it is hoped, serve to reduce absenteeism, which has been encouraged by a combination of high taxes and scarcity of goods. In particular, the concession to working wives aims at persuading women to remain in or return to the factories. In peace as in war Britain needs their aid in raising productivity.

The elimination of the excess-profits tax after the end of the year is directly related to the same objective. Mr. Dalton made it quite clear that he expected business firms to use their tax savings to finance the improvement of their plants, since an increase in output per worker depends largely on modernizing equipment. Should the additional profits which accrue to business be paid out to stockholders, a higher tax on dividends would probably be imposed.

While the budget was perforce geared to immediate necessities, the longer perspectives were not neglected. A new step toward spreading wealth more equitably was taken by abolishing the inheritance tax on estates under \$8,000 and increasing it on those above \$50,000. For estates of more than \$10,000,000 the rate will now be 75 per cent. Coupled with this change was an offer to accept payment of the inheritance tax in land, which means that many beautiful and historic properties, instead of being subdivided and sold to pay taxes, will become available for a national park system. Amid its preoccupations with urgent bread-and-butter questions the Labor government is not forgetting its wider social commitments.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Don't Believe Anything You Read!

BY HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Professor of history at Columbia University and author of "The Story of the Second World War"

IT'S ALL propaganda." That seems to sum up the attitude of a shockingly large number of Americans, civilian and military, toward the whole mass of evidence proving the guilt of the German people and nation in bringing on the war and in their manner of fighting it. That attitude emerges from the letters written by Americans to friends in Germany, excerpts from which have recently been made public. It emerges from polls taken by the army among its own personnel, and it is reflected in some of the polls taken among civilians here at home.

Yet that Germany planned for war, organized for war, broke treaties and international law to make war are facts which, it would seem, no one who lived through this past decade could question. Now the details of that planning, of the violation of treaties and of law, are being daily spread before us in the Nürnberg trial. The deliberate murder of millions of Jews, Poles, Russians, and others—civilians and military alike—is a fact authenticated by overwhelming evidence. The deliberate creation of atrocity camps is a fact authenticated by the testimony of documents, witnesses, and photographs. The pillaging, looting, burning, the fifth-column activities, the deliberate debauching of morals—but why go on? No one in his right mind, it would seem, could challenge these facts or the conclusions about German guilt based upon them.

They are not indeed challenged, for "challenge" suggests a rational process. But a large—and it is to be feared a growing—number of our people simply ignore them. They regard these facts with apathy, with a blank incredulity; they shrug them off. "It's all propaganda," they say, or, "Don't believe everything you read." Or, "The Germans can't be that bad—no people could be that bad."

What is the explanation of this curious, this psychopathic attitude? Some who maintain it are simply unreconstructed fascists who, like the traitor William Joyce, are still loyal to their perverted ideals. Some are so consumed by hatred of Jews—or of "inferior races"—that they find it easy to forgive the Germans. Others again are inspired by an abnormal hatred of Britain, or of Russia, or of Roosevelt, and persist in looking upon Germany as somehow the victim of a conspiracy. But the number animated by these motives is probably small and may be said to constitute the lunatic fringe of the group. What of the far larger number—ordinary Americans, ordinary G. I.'s—who refuse to believe the stories

of German guilt and are ready to wipe the slate clean?

The explanation here lies, I think, in a psychological situation which is very dangerous. The fact is that for almost a quarter-century the American people have been conditioned against believing what they hear or read. They have been made the victims of propaganda against propaganda. And the responsibility for the inculcation of this attitude is a widespread one. It lies not only at the door of those publicists who exposed the "atrocity" stories of the last war or who wrote off World War I propaganda as a tissue of lies. It is shared by newspapers, by advertisers, by the radio and the moving pictures, and by politicians—by the most powerful forces in American life.

DEBUNKING OF WORLD WAR I

It all began with the rehashing of the "war-guilt" question for World War I. During that war Allied propaganda, British and American alike, had undoubtedly been somewhat crude, though not so crude as the German. Our own entrance into the war was justified not so much by the stark necessity of national survival as by high idealistic reasons, with the inevitable result that the decline of idealism left that justification inadequate and unconvincing. The German atrocity stories were overworked, and the subsequent exposure that most of them were fictitious brought a strong reaction. Then historians and pseudo-historians set to work to prove that Germany, far from being the villain, was actually the victim. In so far as they exposed the tangled web of international diplomacy and power politics they performed a useful service; where their exposures led to the wholly erroneous conclusion that Germany was guiltless, they did a great disservice.

In this reexamination of World War I American historians, publicists, and politicians were especially active. In time they constructed a whole new mythology, and this mythology was eagerly embraced by a generation already inclined to cynicism. The war, so the mythology went, was just another in the long series of imperialist conflicts that had for centuries cursed the European peoples. Responsibility for it could be distributed equally among all the warring nations. By 1916 and 1917 it was clear that the Germans were winning, and the Allies resorted to desperate efforts to bring the United States in on their side. In this effort they found support in America. The United States was drawn into the war, finally, not by the U-boat warfare but by a

combination of British propaganda, American munitions manufacturers, and American bankers—especially the Wall Street ones. In the end the war did no good and much harm. A Punic peace was imposed on Germany, and from this wicked peace all subsequent evils that afflicted world politics followed.

If all this was true—and an astonishing number of Americans believed and still believe that it was—it followed that the official explanation of the war and the peace was just "propaganda." We were lured into the war by a pack of misrepresentations; we were sold a bill of goods. This conclusion, that propaganda had dragged us into one useless war, conditioned our national attitude and policy all through the twenties and the thirties. It explains, in part, our retreat into isolationism, our rejection of the League and the World Court, our enactment of the Johnson bill and of the fateful neutrality legislation of 1935-37, our inability to see the real issues of the Second World War until they were brought home to us by the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The experience of this war has cured most Americans of that psychological infection of the twenties which produced moral and mental astigmatism. But the virus was widespread, and it is obvious that the infection has not been entirely cleared up. The propaganda against propaganda went so far that a goodly number of Americans are still unable or unwilling to accept the evidence of German guilt in this war. They are still conditioned against believing what they read.

NO WONDER WE'RE SKEPTICAL

This debunking of World War I is by no means the only factor which explains the psychopathic skepticism of some Americans. There are other factors of a more permanent and general character that require attention. Among these are the techniques of advertising, the sensationalism of the press, the escapism of movies and the radio, and the irresponsibility of politicians. None of these, to be sure, has deliberately inculcated an attitude of cynicism or skepticism; all of them have created a climate of opinion which is one of cynicism and skepticism.

The most notorious of these instruments is advertising. There are, of course, honest advertisements, advertisements that present facts, that appeal to reason, that are designed to be accepted and believed. But the vast mass of advertising does not even pretend to present facts or appeal to reason. It presents pictures, and appeals to emotions—the emotion of fear, or of emulation, or of snobbery. It argues the merits of a nail polish or a perfume or a dessert or silver not on grounds of fact but on extraneous and irrelevant grounds. No one is really expected to believe these arguments or to take them seriously. No one is expected to believe that a particular nail polish or perfume will lead the girl unflinchingly to

the altar, that a particular dessert or flat silver will really persuade the boss to give John a raise. The technique of the testimonial is widely used, but again it is not designed to be taken seriously. Few people over twelve really believe that the baseball players, movie stars, and society queens who lend their names to breakfast foods or cosmetics or cigarettes actually use these things. Nor does anyone suppose that, even if they did, that would be an argument in their favor. Because a famous hostess smokes—or says she smokes—Virginia Rounds or Tareytons is no reason why these cigarettes should appeal to anyone else; that "men of distinction" drink a particular brand of whiskey—which may well be doubted—is no reason why others should like it. What must be the consequence on the American mind of so large a part of every newspaper, every magazine, every radio program being given over to statements that no one believes? Is not the inevitable result an attitude of cynicism toward everything that is written and said?

The appeal of the movies and the radio is equally to unreality. We acknowledge, frankly, that the value of most movies and most radio programs is in the escape from reality which they offer to their patrons. We are not expected to take seriously the love stories or the pictures of high society that Hollywood spreads before us, nor are we expected to accept soap operas as a transcription of real life. This is, for the most part, harmless enough. The trouble is that the proportions of romance and reality, of fancy and fact, are so lopsided. It is natural enough that in the effort to distract us from the humdrum realities of ordinary life the movies and the radio should lead us into never-never land. It is not natural that they should so rarely present the realities of ordinary life or that their transcription of that life, when they do attempt to present it, should be so misleading. It is relatively easy for the movie or the radio addict to conclude from the evidence that nothing is ever what it seems.

The responsibility of the press in all this is far graver than that of the movies or the radio, for it is the function of the press to give facts. With a few honorable exceptions the press has not fulfilled this function. The great news-gathering agencies, to be sure, furnish the facts; the newspapers distort them—not only in their editorials but in their news columns as well. Surely it would not be extraordinary if readers of the Hearst papers, for example, should decide not to believe anything that they read, and if their cynicism should extend not only to obvious propaganda but to facts as well. Surely it was not extraordinary that the majority of the readers of the New York *Daily News*, which has the largest circulation of any American newspaper, discounted, so far as we can tell, both its news and its editorials about Roosevelt whenever they voted. Mr. Bevin's recent outburst that the function of the press

was to entertain, amuse, and mislead was undoubtedly ill-advised and unjust, especially in a country which boasts the *London Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Yorkshire Post*. It would probably stand as a fairly accurate characterization of a substantial part of the American press.

Nor are our politicians exempt from the charge that they have helped create in the average American an attitude of incredulity toward information and argument alike. Do Congressmen who read into the *Congressional Record* hundreds of pages of special pleading of Poles, Lithuanians, Zionists, and others expect to be taken seriously? Do the Congressmen who waste their colleagues' and the public's time denouncing organized labor or rehearsing the social statics of Herbert Spencer expect to be taken seriously? Do platform committees that draw up planks solemnly denouncing the opposition for leading the nation straight to ruin, and lyrically promising Utopia, expect to be taken seriously? Do campaign orators who claim a monopoly for their candidates and their parties on the "American way of life" and threaten that grass will grow in the streets of our cities or the Republic will come to an end if the opposition wins expect to be taken seriously?

REASON REPUDIATED

An attitude of incredulity is probably to be preferred to an attitude of credulity. There is little likelihood that a people who are skeptical of anything they hear or read will become victims of the kind of propaganda that the Nazis employed so successfully in Germany. Yet in the end the two attitudes add up to much the same thing. For skepticism of this kind, needless to say, does not imply a critical mind. Those Americans who refuse to believe the stories of German atrocities are not exercising critical acumen. They are, on the contrary, repudiating reason and logic. They are like people so confirmed in their distrust of the weather man that they refuse to come in out of the rain.

The crusade against facts, the assault on intelligence and on reason, is fraught with most serious consequences. Historians who teach that all facts are, after all, subjective will find that students readily enough display a contempt for any facts, as the *New York Times* questionnaire revealed. Psychologists who analyze the dangers of propaganda will find that their failure to distinguish between propaganda and factual information has immunized the public against both. Advertisers who rely on the exploitation of fear or of snobbery, or merely on pictures of pretty girls, will discover that these appeals are equally efficacious for the good and the shoddy products. The movies and the radio may divorce themselves so completely from reality that they will never be able to effect a reconciliation or a remarriage. Newspapers may find themselves powerless to form public

opinion. And politicians who evade real issues and agitate phony ones, whose appeals are emotional and whose arguments are sensational, whose warnings are usually irrelevant and whose predictions are almost invariably mistaken, have already been paid that contempt they have so richly earned.

The refusal of some Americans, then, to believe in German war guilt or German atrocities is no isolated phenomenon. It is merely an extreme illustration of an attitude that is widespread. The repudiation of reason, the celebration of illogic, the appeal to emotion have produced their natural results. It is time we remember not only the injunction to "Prove all things" but to "Hold fast that which is good."

In the Wind

WE HAVE A HOT TIP that Iran may hereafter place its trust in a higher authority than the United Nations. *Magazine Weekly* has revealed that Hussein Ala, Iranian ambassador, took time out from the Security Council sessions to enter subscriptions for *Superman* and *Batman*, comic magazines.

GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY: A recent army recruiting advertisement features a banner headline proclaiming "World Travel for You!" Underneath is a drawing of a procession of grinning G. I.'s being borne up a long flight of stone steps by sullen, straining sets of coolies.

FIRST FEDERAL COURT ORDER forbidding the segregation of school children for race, creed, or color has been issued by a United States judge in Los Angeles. His decision—which has been appealed by the Santa Ana, California, Board of Education—declared discrimination against Mexican children to be unconstitutional.

HEADLINE in the Sacramento, California, *Bee*: "Bank of America Will Open in Paradise." (Paradise, it goes without saying, is located in California.)

ANOTHER CALIFORNIA PAPER, one of our readers reports, has pronounced the definitive judgment on the state of the post-war world. It is quoted as advising in an editorial, "There is nothing wrong with the world that a good Chamber of Commerce program could not remedy."

THE NORTH CHINA MARINE, a Leatherneck occupation newspaper, ran a feature story on the work of the small-claims commissioner who pays out damage claims brought by Chinese citizens against the Americans. Compensation, says the article, averages: for a wrecked rickshaw, \$40; for the death of a mule, \$135; for the death of a relative, \$55—"provided the victim was not guilty of misconduct."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

DREISER AND THE LIBERAL MIND

BY LIONEL TRILLING

WE ARE all a little tired of Henry James—or, rather, we are tired of the Henry James we have been creating by all our talk about him, by those intense and bitter conversations in which he existed as a symbol so glowingly but so passively, the martyr-hero of a certain kind of culture. It is now time, surely, to let him go back into privacy, releasing him from the deadly public life of polemic, to read him again in quiet. And yet I cannot help detaining him for a moment longer in the life-in-death of argument by mentioning him in connection with Theodore Dreiser, whose name has again been so much with us since his death and the appearance of his posthumous novel, "The Bulwark" (Doubleday, \$2.75).

James and Dreiser: with that juxtaposition we are immediately at the dark and bloody crossroads where culture and politics meet. One does not go there gladly, but I found that I was there perforce, for as I read the new Dreiser novel my thoughts kept recurring to a pronouncement on James which I had come on some months ago. The passage had then struck me as so representative of a certain aspect of American intellect that I had saved it. Robert Gorham Davis is commenting on the belief, held by some, that there is a kind of political value in James's awareness, in his moral perceptiveness. Mr. Davis says, "Unfortunately, it is a little too late for this . . ." and then goes on:

There has been a tremendous increase in our cultural awareness and achievement in recent decades, and American intellectuals need feel no inferiority before European culture or the ghost of Henry James. But these same decades have taught us that delicacy of perception, knowledge, a refinement of relationships within limited groups can coexist with the grossest evils and dangers and do almost nothing to counter them. The disasters that we have just barely escaped and the disasters that are certain to threaten demand a kind of self-committal, a going forth to battle with Apollyon and Giant Despair that James's experience, emotional and metaphysical, simply cannot help us with. . . .

Mr. Davis, as we know, is not the kind of critic who brushes aside delicacy of perception and knowledge—on the contrary, he is notable in his own work for these very qualities. And as the rest of Mr. Davis's review shows, he has great respect for James and takes no delight in throwing him to the wolves of political fate. He only wants to warn us that the moral and intellectual qualities which he and James have in common are not to be counted on in moments of crisis.

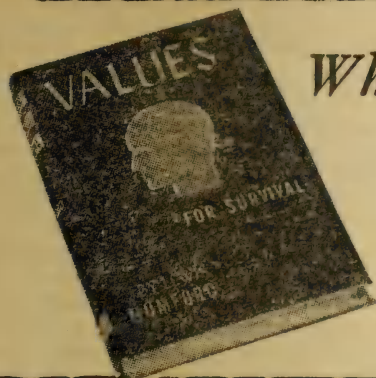
American intellectuals, especially when they are being American or political, are remarkably quick to warn us that perception and knowledge, although somehow valuable—

"American intellectuals need feel no inferiority before European culture"—will never get us through gross dangers and difficulties. We are still haunted by a kind of social fear of intellect, the same uneasiness that Tocqueville observed in us more than a century ago.

This uneasiness is the more intense when intellect works as intellect ideally should, when its processes are vivacious or complex and its results are interesting and brilliant. It is then that we like to confront it with gross difficulties and dangers and challenge it to save us from disaster. What I suppose was meant by the idea Mr. Davis is commenting on, the political value of James's qualities, was not that they will set up an umbrella against the atomic bomb or solve political contradictions but that, within the natural limit of the art that contains them, they can suggest the moral and intellectual qualities that might save us and that certainly make salvation worth while. When intellect is awkward and dull, we do not put it to the question of ultimate or immediate practicality—no liberal critic would go out of his way to remark that "unfortunately it is a little too late" for what Dreiser gives us. James's style, characters, subjects, and especially his manner of personal life are looked upon with a hostile eye, no quarter given. But Dreiser's faults, we have always been given to understand, are essentially virtues. Parrington established the formula for the criticism of Dreiser by calling him a "peasant." When Dreiser thinks stupidly, it is because he has the slow stubbornness of a peasant; when he writes badly, it is because he is impatient of the literary gentility of the bourgeoisie. It is as if wit and flexibility of mind, as if perception and knowledge, were to be equated with aristocracy, while dullness and stupidity must naturally suggest a virtuous democracy, as in the old plays.

The liberal judgment of Dreiser and James goes back of politics, goes back to the moral assumptions that make politics. It is the fear of mind, much more than any explicit political meaning that can be drawn from the works of the two men, that accounts for the unequal justice they have received from our progressive critics. If it could be conclusively demonstrated—say, by documents in James's holograph—that James intended his books as pleas for co-operatives, labor unions, better housing, more equitable taxation, and closer relations with Russia, the American critic in his liberal and progressive character would, one feels, still be worried by James because his work shows so many of the electric qualities of mind. And if the opposite were proved of Dreiser, it would be brushed aside—as his anti-Semitism has in fact been brushed aside—because his books have the awkwardness, the chaos, the heaviness which we associate with "reality." In the American metaphysic, reality is always material reality, hard, resistant, unformed, impenetrable. And

HARCOURT, BRACE & COMPANY, NEW YORK



What we must do to survive

LEWIS MUMFORD is acknowledged to be one of America's foremost political philosophers. In these dynamic essays, addresses, and letters Mumford warns his readers what modern man must do to be saved from the disintegrating forces which, at war's end, still threaten to engulf us. \$3.00

The Peoples of the Soviet Union

CORLISS LAMONT'S brilliant story of ethnic democracy in action. This is the first complete story of how the Soviets encouraged cultural and economic progress among backward peoples, and how they have given complete racial equality to every ethnic group in the Soviet system. *Illustrated, \$3.00*

Britain: Partner for Peace

PERCY E. CORBETT presents a lucid analysis of the assets and liabilities of Great Britain in its triple role as center of the British Empire, a member of the big three, and a chief proponent of world organization. A convincing argument on why Britain will remain a necessary partner for peace. \$2.00

I Accuse de Gaulle

By **HENRI DE KERILLIS**. Based on facts unknown to the general public, here is a striking profile of a French general who, at the time of his country's defeat, chose to become a politician. The documentary evidence here submitted throws much-needed light on recent French politics. \$2.75

Minerva's Progress

TRADITION AND DISSENT IN AMERICAN CULTURE
DR. ALFRED E. COHN emphasizes the urgency of re-examining all of our ideas about education in this penetrating essay on the state of culture in America. \$2.00

America is in the Heart

By **CARLOS BULOSAN**. "Bitter and beautiful...The (autobiography) begins delicately and sadly, as a poet's should, with no hint of the dynamite packed within, a little like his memorable book of Philippine peasant life, *THE LAUGHTER OF MY FATHER*."—*N. Y. Times* \$3.00

Why haven't these facts been told before?

**WHO OWNS THE NEWSPAPERS?
THE RADIO? THE MOVIES?**

DICTATORSHIP may come to a nation in any of several ways. A people may be deprived of their rights by violence. Or they may vote them away. Or they may sit idly by while a few persons monopolize the means of communication. A handful of men can quietly come to dominate practically all the motion pictures of a nation. A quartet of companies can become the owners of the best radio stations. A score of men can be the proprietors of the majority of Sunday newspapers. This—says Morris Ernst—is exactly what has happened in the United States. His book, which may become one of the most controversial of the season, is filled with facts supporting his contention. He proves beyond doubt the trend toward monopoly in the fields of mass communication.

"AN ILLUMINATING BOOK on an alarming subject," says E. B. White in a featured *New Yorker* review of *The First Freedom*. "It names names, gives bills of particulars, marshals quantities of disturbing figures, and ends with specific recommendations for correcting the illness... It seems to me an exceptionally valuable and exciting book."

PAUL BIXLER says in *The Chicago Sun*, "Before you have turned many pages in Ernst's book you ask why his facts haven't been made available before. Some of the conditions he describes are of years' standing. Why didn't someone tell us these things?"

**A BOOK FOR FREE AMERICANS
WHO WANT TO STAY FREE!**

Morris L. Ernst's The FIRST FREEDOM

\$3.00 at your bookstore MACMILLAN

that work of mind is felt to be trustworthy which most resembles this reality by reproducing the sensations it affords.

Professor Beard in "The Rise of American Civilization" gives an ironic account of James's career and implies that we have the clue to its irrelevance when we know that James was "a whole generation removed from the odors of the shop." Or Granville Hicks in "The Great Tradition" comments on James's stories about artists and makes the point that such artists as James portrays, so concerned about art and their integrity in art, do not really exist. "Who has ever known such artists? Where are the Hugh Verekers, the Mark Ambients, the Neil Paradays, the Overts, Linberts, Dencomes, Delaways?" The question, Mr. Hicks admits, had occurred to James himself, but how had James answered it? "If the life about us for the last thirty years refused warrant for these examples," James said, "then so much the worse for that life. . . . There are decencies that in the name of the general self-respect we must take for granted, there's a rudimentary intellectual honor to which we must, in the interest of civilization, at least pretend." And to this Mr. Hicks, shocked beyond argument, replies, "But this is the purest romanticism, this writing about what ought to be rather than what is!" James was a traitor to the reality of the odors of the shop. He betrayed the reality of *what is* for the projection of *what ought to be*. Dare we ever trust him again?

To Mr. Hicks, Dreiser is "clumsy" and "stupid" and "bewildered" and "crude in his statement of materialistic monism"; and in his personal life—which perhaps is in point because James's personal life is always supposed to be so much in point—not quite emancipated from "his boyhood longing for crass material success," showing "again and again a desire for the ostentatious luxury of the successful business man." The judgment is true, and so far as it is personal it is based on Dreiser's own statements. But Dreiser's faults are the sad, lovable, honorable faults of "reality" itself, or of America itself—huge, inchoate, struggling toward expression, caught between the dream of power and the dream of morality.

Or again: "The liability in what Santayana called the genteel tradition was due to its being the product of mind apart from experience. Dreiser gave us the stuff of our common existence, not as it was hoped to be by any idealizing theorist, but as it actually was in its crudity." The author of this statement is a writer who certainly cannot be accused of any lack of feeling for what James represents; yet how easily Mr. Matthiessen, in his *Times* review of Dreiser's novel, falls into the liberal cliché which establishes as the criterion of Dreiser's value his difference from some "idealizing theorist," his opposition to the genteel tradition. This is the line on which has proceeded the long, wearisome defense of Dreiser's prose style. Everyone is aware that Dreiser's prose is full of roughness and ungainliness, and the critics who admire Dreiser tell us it does not matter. Of course it does not matter. No reader with a right sense of style would suppose it does matter, and he might even find it a virtue. But it has been taken for granted that the ungainliness of Dreiser's style is the only possible objection to be made to it, and that whoever finds any fault at all in it wants, instead, a prettified genteel style. For instance, Edwin Berry Burgum, in a leaflet on Dreiser put out by the Book Find Club, tells us that

Dreiser was one of those who used—or, as he says, utilized—"the diction of the Middle West, pretty much as it was spoken, rich in colloquialism and frank in the simplicity and directness of the pioneer tradition"—a diction substituted for "the literary English, formal and bookish, of New England provincialism that was closer to the aristocratic spirit of the mother country than to the tang of everyday life in the new West." This is mere fantasy. Quite apart from the fact that Hawthorne, Thoreau, and Emerson were all remarkably colloquial—wrote, that is, in their own speaking tones—and specifically American in quality and quite simple and direct in manner, Dreiser is far from writing in the diction of the Middle West. If we are to talk of bookishness, it is Dreiser who is bookish; he is precisely literary in the bad sense; at hundreds of points his diction is not only genteel but fancy; he is full of flowers of rhetoric and he shines with paste gems.

Charles Jackson, the novelist, telling us, in the same leaflet, that Dreiser's style does not matter, reminds us how much still comes to us when we have lost by translation the stylistic brilliance of Thomas Mann or the Russians or Balzac. He is in part right. And he is right too when he says that a certain kind of conscious, supervised artistry is not appropriate to the novel of large dimensions. Yet it is the fact that the great novelists have usually written great prose, and what comes through even a bad translation is exactly the power of mind that made the well-hung sentence of the original text. In literature style is so little the mere clothing of thought—need it be said at this late date?—that we may say that from the novelist's prose spring his characters, his ideas, and even his story itself.

To the extent that Dreiser's style is defensible, his thought is also defensible. That is, when he thinks like a novelist, he is worth following—when by means of his rough and ungainly but effective style he creates rough, ungainly, but effective characters and events. But when he thinks like, as we say, a philosopher, he is likely to be not only foolish but vulgar. He thinks as the modern crowd thinks when it decides to think: religion is nonsense, "religionists" are fakes, tradition is a fraud, what is man but matter and impulses, mysterious "chemisms"?—"What, cooking, eating, coition, job holding, growing, aging, losing, winning, in so changeful and passing a scene as this, important? Bunk! It is some form of titillating illusion with about as much import to the superior forces that bring it all about as the functions and gyrations of a fly. No more. And maybe less." Thus Dreiser at sixty. And yet there is for him always the vulgarly saving suspicion that maybe there is Something Behind It All. It is much to the point of his vulgarity that Dreiser's anti-Semitism was not merely a social prejudice but an idea, a way of dealing with things.

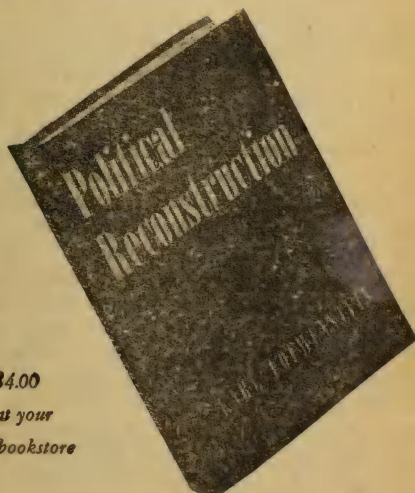
No one, I suppose, has ever represented Dreiser as a masterly intellect. It is even a commonplace to say that his ideas are inconsistent or inadequate. But once that admission has been made, his ideas are hustled out of sight while his reality and great brooding pity are spoken of. (His pity is to be questioned—pity is to be judged not by amount but by kind.) Why has no one ever said that it was "unfortunately a little too late" for Dreiser's awkward, dim speculation, a little too late for so much self-pity, for so much lust for "beauty" and "sex" and "living" and "life itself"? With

Can We Win the Peace?

"THE MAIN THESIS OF THIS BOOK IS UNANSWERABLE..."

"Internal sovereignty must be destroyed," says Dr. Karl Loewenstein in **POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION**, "if we are to have a breathing spell of one or two generations, let alone a stable and peaceful world order." In other words, the right of nations to choose their own form of government, enshrined in Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, must be repudiated. In the *New York Herald Tribune*, H. B. Parkes says that "the main thesis of this book is unanswerable. No world organization can succeed unless it is realized that the establishment of a dictatorship anywhere is a threat to free men everywhere."

To support this revolutionary thesis, Dr. Loewenstein calls upon a wide knowledge of international law and political science. After tracing the history of the doctrine of "internal self-determination," he discusses various forms of government and the effect they may have upon world peace. He then explains the actual machinery (provisional governments, national assemblies, and constitutions) by means of which peoples choose their governments. And in conclusion he proposes a constructive method by which the United Nations may guide the "choices" being made in Europe now, to prevent the rise of new dictatorships.



\$4.00
at your
bookstore

MACMILLAN

us it is always a little too late for mind, but never too late for honest stupidity; always a little too late for understanding, never too late for righteous, bewildered wrath; always too late for thought, never too late for naive moralizing. We seem to like to condemn our finest, but not our worst, qualities by pitting them against the exigency of time. It is perhaps not wholly accidental that the article on Literature in that compendium of liberal thought, the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, should be by Max Lerner, who gave us the phrase "It is later than you think," and that it should tell us that "literature faces . . . continually the need for rebarbarization."

What we will be patient of and find time for when we confront disasters is of course a matter of taste. But like every matter of taste, it is eventually a practical matter as well. It has its consequences and its issue. Their nature is suggested by Dreiser's posthumous novel—a work of some years back but revised and concluded recently—and by the reception given to it.

"The Bulwark" is a work not merely of piety but of pietism. It is a simple, didactic story recommending a simple Christian belief, the virtues of self-abnegation and self-control, of belief in and submission to the purposes of higher powers, those "superior forces that bring it all about," once, in Dreiser's opinion, so indifferent, now somehow benign. This is not the first occasion on which Dreiser has shown a tenderness toward religion. "Jennie Gerhardt" and the figure of the Reverend Duncan McMillan in "An American Tragedy" are in a way forecasts of the avowals of "The Bulwark." Yet they cannot prepare us for the blank pietism of the new novel, not after we have remembered how salient in Dreiser has been his long surly rage against the "religionists" and "moralists," the men who presume to think that life can be given any law and who dare to believe that faith or tradition can shape the savage and beautiful entity that Dreiser liked to call "life itself." For to Dreiser now nothing can be simpler than the control of life. For the safe conduct of the personal life we have only to follow the Inner Light according to the regimen of the Society of Friends, or, presumably, according to some other godly rule.

To find an analogue to "The Bulwark," we must go back to the moralizing novels of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Everything in the story is subordinated to the moment when the Quaker Solon Barnes sees that life has an obscure purpose and justification. Barnes's childhood and youth, his marriage of deep love, his business success in Philadelphia, the alienation of his children and the inadequacy and tragedy of their lives after they have rejected the Quaker faith, are all given in merest summary, with none of that often excessive circumstantiality that makes Dreiser's earlier novels so ineradicably memorable. All details of drama and development are rigorously suppressed to hasten the book toward the moment when Solon Barnes experiences faith and affirmation and his daughter turns from her life of free sexual experience to a chaste sadness for life itself.

I must not be taken to mean that the novel is wholly without power. After all, we cannot follow the life of a man up to the moment of his reconciliation and death without a sense of the majestic significance of the happening. But to take the book and its message in any other serious way than

as a fact in Dreiser's biography is, I am sure, impossible.

Dreiser's mood of "acceptance" in the last year of his life is not a thing to be submitted to the tests of intellectual validity. It consists of a feeling of cosmic understanding, an overarching sense of reconciliation to the world with its evil as well as its good. Any reader of nineteenth-century literature will be perfectly familiar with it and, very likely, perfectly sympathetic. It is no more to be quarreled with or reasoned with than love itself—indeed, it is a form of love, not so much love of the world as love of oneself in the world. It is often what is meant by peace. Perhaps it is either the cessation of desire or the perfect balance of desires. If it was Dreiser's own emotion in the end of his life, who would not be happy that he achieved it? I am not even sure that our civilization and our political action would not be the better if more of us knew and cultivated such emotions of grave felicity.

Yet, granting the personal validity of the emotion, the book of which it is the issue and the point is a failure. In the light of Dreiser's past ideas, it is even an offensive failure. On the whole, our liberal critics have been willing to accept it. Mr. Matthiessen accepts it and warns us of the attack that will be made upon it by "those who believe that any renewal of Christianity marks a new 'failure of nerve.'" Life does not look to me the way it looks to the contributors to the "Failure of Nerve" symposium in the *Partisan Review*, and I am not inclined to make such a simple diagnosis as Mr. Matthiessen predicts. The failure of the book does not derive from a failure of nerve but from a failure of heart and mind.

I measure the resolution of "The Bulwark" by "Candide," and know that in the light of the Lisbon earthquake or any more recent catastrophe or holocaust no mood of reconciliation or acceptance can be rationalized into a social doctrine. Or I measure it by works more sympathetic to the religious mood—Ivan Karamazov's "giving back his ticket," his admission to the "harmony" of the universe, suggests that "The Bulwark" is not morally adequate; we dare not, as Solon Barnes does, "accept" the suffering of others; and from "The Book of Job" I know that it does not include enough in its exploration of evil and is not stern enough.

When I say that the book is a failure of thought and feeling I naturally do not mean that Dreiser got old and weak in his mind and heart. The weakness was always there. And in a sense it is not Dreiser who failed but a whole movement of ideas in which we have all been involved. Our liberal, progressive culture found the time to tolerate the vulgar materialist denial, the cry of "Bunk"; and now, almost as a natural consequence, it has been given, and is willing to receive and find time for, this pietistic mood of reconciliation in all its thinness.

Dreiser, of course, was stronger than the culture that accepted him. He meant his ideas. But we, when it came to his ideas, talked about his great brooding pity and shrugged the ideas off. We are still doing it. Robert Elias, who is writing the biography of Dreiser, tells us (in the Book Find leaflet) that "it is part of the logic of [Dreiser's] life that he should have completed 'The Bulwark' at the same time that he joined the Communists." Just what kind of logic this is we learn from Mr. Elias's further statement: "When

Notice:

*Jerome Frank has written
a book for perplexed Americans*

POST-WAR adjustments are vast and difficult: there are too many questions and too few answers. The great potential tragedy of Our Time is that we may fall prey, in this crucial period, to the "scientific historians" who preach that there is no need for personal concern for the country, for we are the Slaves of Fate; that Conditions and Times always produce leadership in time, and circumstances always, in the end, light the way to progress. So (they say) we can sit on our hands and wait for Providence.

SHALL WE "LEAVE IT TO DESTINY?"

Jerome Frank, distinguished as a lawyer, public servant and writer, provides in **FATE AND FREEDOM** an antidote for those who would have us leave it all to destiny. Far more than an essay on Freedom, Mr. Frank's book is a frame for constructive individual thinking; a foundation for understanding the responsibilities of free men in a free democratic nation. Because of its clarity and honesty, it has been hailed by thoughtful reviewers as "a book of outstanding importance"; "stimulating, exhilarating mental exercise"; "important for people who really believe in freedom of the spirit of man"; a book that "displays a buoyant optimism and a confidence in man's capacity to determine his own fate."*

TWIN ENEMIES:

FATALISM AND HISTORICAL BUNK

In **FATE AND FREEDOM** you will find a

sharp warning against drifting into fatalism, a conception championed by historians who preach that "men are powerless to shape their future, that the fate of nations is wholly predestined, that human aims and purposes are mere delusions; that the good old American beliefs in purposeful striving, in inventiveness, in steadfast will, in the power of human beings to affect their destinies" are all wrong.

You will find, too, a sharp rebuke to those who prophesy the future on the basis of history—a premise described not only as bunk, but dangerous bunk, because "history is largely a collection of 'just so' stories" in which historians too freely interpret with logic and imagination all the things for which they have no facts.

THERE'S A FUTURE IN FREEDOM

Through sixteen intensely interesting chapters and seven fact-burdened appendices, Jerome Frank proves that an optimistic belief in freedom makes for a fuller, better life. "Fate worship," he says, "is to us slow poison. It is against the American grain. It counteracts those beliefs on which American civilization was founded and which alone can fully energize Americans today—ideas of self reliance, of the future as a provocative adventure full of risks and hazards to overcome and not as a journey with an assured destination underwritten by Providence." **FATE AND FREEDOM** is truly a book for today, a book for thinking Americans who recognize an individual responsibility to help get themselves and America back on the track.



"THIS IS A BRILLIANT BOOK—INDISPENSABLE
READING IN THESE TIMES" says Dr. John Haynes Holmes

Fate and Freedom

By **JEROME FRANK**

\$3.00 at all bookstores or sent promptly C.O.D. if you will send your name and address to F4, SIMON AND SCHUSTER, 1230 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

*from the reviews of Walton Hamilton in the *New Republic*; Walter P. Armstrong in the *American Bar Association Journal*; Morris Ernst; The *New York Herald Tribune*

he supported left-wing movements and finally, last year, joined the Communist Party, he did so, not because he had examined the details of the party line and found them satisfactory, but because he agreed with a general program that represented a means for establishing his cherished goal, greater equality among men." Dreiser was perhaps following the logic of his own life, but certainly he was also following the logic of the progressive criticism that accepted him so heedlessly and so happily—the progressive criticism that first establishes the ultimate social responsibility of the writer and then goes on to say that he is not really responsible for anything, even his ideas. Ideas are but "details," and for details we have no time. With a "cherished goal" before our eyes dare we stop for piddling distinctions and discriminations? And is this not the moment, spiritually and politically, when it is so very late and men are gasping in their inequalities, to learn to accept without quibble the ultimate wisdom of the "superior forces"?

The Subway from New Britain to the Bronx

Under the orchid, blooming as it bloomed
In the first black air: in the incessant
Lightning of the trains, tiled swarming tubes
Under the stone and Reason of the states;

Under the orchid flowering from the hot
Dreams of the car-cards, from the black desires
Coiled like converters in the bowels of trade
To break to sunlight in one blinding flame
Of Reason, under the shaking creepers of the isles;

Under the orchid, rank memorial,
From the armature about which crystallized
A life—its tanks, its customers, its Christ—
The rain-forest's tepid siftings leach
Its one solution: of lust, torment, punishment,
Of a man, a man.

Here under the orchid
Of florists, Geography, and flesh,
A little water and a little dirt
Are forever urban, temperate: a West
Dead in the staring Orient of earth.

The air-fed orchid, the unquestioning
Trades of the leaf, of longing, of the isles
Sigh for you, sparrow, the same yearning sigh
Their beasts gave once, in summer, to the bars
And peoples of the Bronx, their conquerors.

The Sacred Wood

The lines sway, straining from the canopy
To the wide webs of the harnessed life
That pours free, hesitates, and falls
A wordless airy second to the loud
And rafted levels of the leaf. The gargoyle—
Cup by pressed cup, gasp by gasp—
Scatters its blood upon the crackling ground

Of the forest's marches. Here a dweller laps
The smoking puddle, watches from its hole
Gray soldiers, the wood's stolid guardians,
Gape up to death; strip shroud-lines and its shroud
From the airy corpse—arms, garments, food,
But for the body find no use at all.
Nor for its knowledge, life, and wishes—scrawled
Drily, in brown blood, upon these leaves.
The corpse has found a cause for everything,
A reason for nothing, in the shadowy wood;
And the black roar of the branches blocks his veins
With its determiners: the voyage to the wood,
The end here, huddled in the lengthening
Black beating shadows of that clock, the wood—
The shadows sipping in the quivering light
The pool's icy splinters, the last print of blood—
Is this the carcass that the hunters bled
And flung here, an animal by animals
Gutted in darkness? But the wood is magical:
The moonlight stirs, a breath above his blood,
And whispers as it whispered, *There is life—*

The stripped corpse sprawls like Adam by the tree
That buries with its blown and bloody leaves
His chosen death.

Meanwhile the jay or squirrel—who serves God
Unwittingly, unwittingly, and is consumed
In that harsh service—chatters mockingly
At him who serves also, as scarecrows serve
Rocked raggedly among the flickering,
Half-eating and half-careless beings of the wood;
Meanwhile the hunted and the hunter gape
A tranced and ignorant instant, and resume
Their whirling flight among the whirling leaves.

RANDALL JARRELL

Preacher Manqué

VALUES FOR SURVIVAL: ESSAYS, ADDRESSES, AND
LETTERS ON POLITICS AND EDUCATION. By
Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

BOOK ONE—as Mr. Mumford calls it—of "Values for Survival" is labeled Essays on Politics. What is political writing anyway? Obviously it covers a wide field—from analysis to exhortation and even to revelation. Doubtless all these are inevitable: the most detached critic has some idea about what ought to be done, and the most inspired prophet must throw in a reason now and then. Nevertheless, American political writing at the moment is clearly in the line of Jeremiah rather than of Thucydides. This is very likely a hangover of a national past of relentless sermonizing. Certainly you get the feeling that Mr. Mumford, Herbert Agar, Max Lerner, for example, are preachers *manqués*, and the recent ordainment of Mr. van Paassen comes as a natural and orderly progression.

The fact is not irrelevant to the issues in Mr. Mumford's book. His central point is that liberalism has been corrupted by a failure of will; it has become abstract and passive; lulled by the cult of science, sodden with Pelagianism and emasculated by relativism, it is blind to evil, incapable of perceiving

millers

THE AIR-CONDITIONED NIGHTMARE by Henry Miller. This book is the record of a journey through the USA, one man's attempt to get beneath the thick layers of bunk with which Hollywood, The Radio and advertising copy politicians have smeared the country. \$3.50

isherwood

THE BERLIN STORIES by Christopher Isherwood. Two early novels by the author of "Prater Violet" re-issued complete in one volume. Fine writing that is also exciting entertainment. \$3.50

barnes

NIGHTWOOD by Djuna Barnes. An extraordinary novel which invades areas of experience few writers have dared explore. An introduction by T. S. Eliot points out its "quality of horror and doom very nearly related to that of Elizabethan tragedy." \$1.00

patchen

THE MEMOIRS OF A SHY PORNOGRAPHER by Kenneth Patchen. By all odds the most unusual novel of the year. A satire on our modern "civilization," the adventures of the "shy pornographer" will make you wince and laugh too. \$3.00

hiler

WHY ABSTRACT? by Hilaire Hiler, Henry Miller & William Saroyan. Some commonsense talk in plain language about problems of modern art by a painter who is also a color theorist and a noted raconteur—with comments on related subjects by two of his friends. \$2.50

williams

27 WAGONS FULL OF COTTON by Tennessee Williams. Eleven short plays, especially suitable for little theatres, by the author of "The Glass Menagerie." Williams has a gift for blending poetic insight with social consciousness. \$3.50

james

STORIES OF WRITERS & ARTISTS by Henry James. Here are eleven of James' most absorbing tales. In faultless fiction he dissects the creative artist caught in a materialist society. (\$3.50) Also available—in a dollar edition—James' novel *The Spoils of Poynton*.

fitzgerald

THE CRACK-UP by F. Scott Fitzgerald. No recent book has aroused more discussion about the plight of the serious writer in our "culture" than these letters, notes and unpublished essays. \$3.50

joyce

EXILES by James Joyce. Joyce's only work for the stage is in print again, with a long introduction by Francis Fergusson. (\$1.00) *The Exagmination of Joyce* (studies of *Finnegans Wake*) is in stock again too. (\$3.00) Also: Joyce's early autobiographical novel, *Stephen Hero*. \$3.50

& others

SEND FOR A COMPLETE LIST of New Directions books. It includes dollar reprints of such modern classics as Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, Waugh's *A Handful of Dust*, Kafka's *Amerika*, Forster's *The Longest Journey* and *A Room with a View* and Rimbaud's *Season in Hell*.

Also a complete listing of the forty-eight titles issued to date in The Poets of the Year Series.

NEW DIRECTIONS 500 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 18

NEW DIRECTIONS BOOKS

danger or of acting against it. The solution lies in conversion, "deep-seated, organic, religious in its essence." "When society is in danger, it is the individual who first must be saved."

Now this analysis bears a superficial resemblance to the analysis of Reinhold Niebuhr, but only a superficial one I should say, for it lacks altogether Niebuhr's concrete and complex sense of history. Mumford's key questions are: why has modern liberalism so often failed to perceive danger? and, when it has perceived, why has it failed to act? The answers to these questions do not lie exclusively or, to my mind, even primarily on the level of philosophy or religion; they lie rather in a set of more tangible factors which have been explored in various aspects by Freud, Marx, Pareto, and others (including Niebuhr) and which have to do with what Sorel used to call the cowardice of the bourgeoisie. Compare Mumford's essay entitled *The Corruption of Liberalism* with D. W. Brogan's small book "Is Innocence Enough?" and you will see the difference between the same phenomenon as explained by a somewhat hoarse evangelist and by a penetrating and informed historian.

The core of the book, the *Program for Survival*, displays what one may mildly call the limitations of evangelism. Mumford says, amid rhetoric, that if the thirteenth century would have put Roger Bacon in the jug for inventing the atomic bomb, the twentieth can at least suspend the process of invention. Confronted by the superhuman development of atomic power, "we must perfect an equally superhuman discipline to govern its use; and we must not attempt to exploit the power prematurely, before we have developed such

a discipline. What is more: the extent and rigidity of our political and moral controls must be directly proportional to the power and speed of the process of atomic disintegration." This is merely "the first act of prudence, the minimum precaution" in the Mumford program. After all, "curiosity once killed a cat . . . untrammelled curiosity might kill the human race."

If Mumford is serious in this program, he ought to face certain obvious objections of the kind the Federation of Atomic Scientists has brought to the recent attention of General Groves. Or maybe he isn't serious. But, of course, he is—in that innocent and outrageous way which has brought liberalism to its present low state. This kind of master-minding, set forth in that breathless and stuck-whistle prose with which readers of liberal magazines have been familiar for a quarter of a century, is evidently still exhilarating to some audience somewhere. But if liberalism is corrupt, and it probably is, it is not so much because it has lost a sense of evil as because it has lost a sense of actuality. In a sense understood by Dr. Niebuhr these losses are the sides of a coin, because the postulate of evil is no substitute for natural explanations in a serious theology; but Mr. Mumford's rhetoric sacrifices actuality for a theatrical notion of "evil" as a force loose in the world, embodied, not in the complexities of life, but in words, words, words.

I have no formula for salvation, but I strongly suspect that any formula which will save things worth saving will have to make room for reasonable and dispassionate analysis. This means a willingness to understand that the world is complicated and that, since words are all we have to describe it, we must use them with care. The systematic debauching of words has done as much to corrupt liberalism as anything else. When Mumford writes, "The isolationism of a Charles Beard or a Stuart Chase or a Quincy Howe is indeed almost as much a sign of barbarism as the doctrines of a Rosenberg or a Gottfried Feder," I can only wonder what barbarism means—and I write as one who opposed isolationism as early as Mr. Mumford did. When at the start of the book he beats his breast and demands toughness against Nazism, and later on beats his breast and asks forgiveness for dropping the atomic bomb, one must ask whether he thinks there is an essential difference between area bombing and atomic bombing; or does he mean that we should have spared Germany?

Clarity, responsibility, fact—you cannot escape them; and it is a fallacy to believe that they destroy the will to act. If someone rises to say that hysteria is necessary to shock people into realizing the apocalyptic character of the age, one must answer that those excited by Mumford have already lost a great deal of the tough-mindedness they will need against more sinister appeals in the future. Liberalism is discredited today because it is ignorant, sentimental, confused, and shrill—because it does not make sense in an intricate world. You cannot revive it by compounding confusion or by shouting louder than the others; you cannot cover up its inadequacies by dramatically substituting Manes for Pelagius. Mr. Mumford has been on the right side, it seems to me, on important issues—on the war, for example, and on Soviet Russia; he is a man of earnestness and good-will. But his way is the way of the intellectual debauchee.

*Two Important New Books for
an Understanding of Current Problems*

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RIVALRY IN THE FAR EAST

A Study of Diplomacy and Power Politics 1895-1914

BY EDWARD H. ZABRISKIE

A full, detailed account of this little-known chapter in our political history—the struggle during the recent past between Russia and America for the control of Manchuria. "A careful, well-balanced and well-documented study. . . There can be no sound approach to present-day Far Eastern problems without a proper knowledge of their historical background, and this is exactly what is supplied by Professor Zabriskie's book." Michael Karpovich, Harvard University

1 map, \$3.50

ITALIAN DEMOCRACY IN THE MAKING

Politics in the Giolittian Era 1900-1914

BY A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

Foreword by GAETANO SALVEMINI

An analysis of the growth in Italy of democratic forces which were later eclipsed by fascism, viewed chiefly through the career of Premier Giovanni Giolitti. Essential for an estimate of the future prospect of democracy in that country. "The book ought to do much to dispel the cloud which has hung over Italy, in American public opinion, during the last half century." Sidney S. Fay, Harvard University

\$2.50

Your Bookstore or

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS • PHILA. 4

Announcing

WORLD REPORT

[A Pre-Publication Announcement and Special Invitation to Readers of The Nation]



Momentous days lie ahead. The shooting part of World War II is ended.

But have we in the United States the will and the determination to follow through on the course to which the War committed us, now that War's unifying influence is gone?

How far will Soviet Russia go in her efforts to expand her political empire through use of the technique she tested out in Iran?

How long will the secret of the atomic bomb insure the good behavior of other nations? What happens when this period of grace runs out?

Which way will Latin America go—a realistic Latin America which has already seen how our internal dissension has slowed the flow of goods to her markets?

How long can democratic England hold out against the world tides of rival ideologies?

For those thinking people who see the real significance of America's new position in world affairs, for those thinking people who realize our responsibility and recognize our opportunity, for those who really want to know what is going on beyond our own boundaries, **WORLD REPORT** is to be published.

WORLD REPORT, a new weekly magazine—the only one of its kind—will be devoted exclusively to reporting, analyzing and forecasting the news of international affairs. **WORLD REPORT** is dedicated to a greater America through fuller understanding of world events, world problems, world opportunities.



Every weekly issue will "brief" you on the business, economic and political outlook for the world as a whole, and for important nations in particular.

Special studies—none of them over two pages in length—will give you crystal-clear insight into situations of major importance—whether they be the world plans of Russia, the struggle for foreign oil or rubber sources, trouble in Latin America or the Balkans, England's fight against her decline in power, or our opportunities for trade in Europe or the Far East.

Each issue will be liberally illustrated with pictures and maps which so often tell the story better than words. Unique pictograms will help you grasp the significance of major trends at a glance. **WORLD REPORT** will contain information of great value to those who intend to travel or do business in other countries.

WORLD REPORT will be published by the same organization which now publishes the authoritative, analytical news magazine, *The United States News*, covering domestic affairs.

The coupon below entitles you to a Charter Subscription to **WORLD REPORT** at the special Founders' Rate, \$4 for fifty-two issues, with the understanding that there will be no charge if the first few weekly issues do not please you. Returning this coupon promptly will ensure your receipt of Volume I, Number 1, as soon as it is off the press.



WORLD REPORT

WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

Here's Your Invitation
to Become a
Charter Subscriber!



WORLD REPORT . . . WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

I Accept Your Invitation to become a Charter Subscriber for **WORLD REPORT** at the special Founders' Rate of \$4 for fifty-two issues. If I am not pleased with the first weekly issues, there is to be no charge.

Name _____

Street & No. _____

City _____

Zone _____

State _____

FINISH TEARING AND MAIL

published by

THE UNITED STATES NEWS PUBLISHING CORPORATION, WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

"Values for Survival" is a kind of lost week-end for liberalism. If, as the prophets point out, it is later than we think, we do not have many more week-ends to lose.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

The Ends of Education

EDUCATION FOR MODERN MAN. By Sidney Hook.
The Dial Press. \$2.75.

IT IS not surprising that discussion of education should be so much in the air these days. The universities and colleges, for one thing, had a four-year involuntary pause in which to consider what they had been doing and what they proposed to do. Even before the war the enterprising leaders of St. Johns College and the ubiquitous Mr. Hutchins of the University of Chicago had enunciated a theory of liberal education in terms of a quite explicit theory of the nature of man—in terms largely Aristotle-cum-Aquinas. Mr. Hook approaches education, as might be expected, from a very different point of view, that represented most explicitly by John Dewey but in general to be defined as experimental, democratic, and secular. He feels, and quite properly, that discussions of liberal education have been of late too much in terms of a dogmatic metaphysics and an equal dogmatism as to required and elective curricula. He thinks that education should be reconsidered in terms of the discoverable nature of man, not as defined a priori, but as revealed by scientific inquiry and always with reference to the needs of the society in which we are actually living in the twentieth century. Par-

ticularly the social assumptions regarding liberal education need to be reexamined, as do the alleged finalities of the line between vocational and liberal education which many allegedly liberal educators take for granted.

Mr. Hook has written a sensible little book and a much-needed one in which he rescues the discussion of education from the rarefied and somewhat snobbish atmosphere in which it has in certain quarters been carried on and from the unrealistic isolation from society in which the whole enterprise of learning and teaching has been conceived.

Mr. Hook loves a good controversy, and so he cannot resist adding some sharp—and documented—thrusts against the theory and practice of St. Johns College. He sets his own theory over against those of Hutchins and Adler in the text itself. To my mind the book has a richness and fruitfulness that transcend polemics. As Mr. Hook says as early as page 27 of his book, "The task of the experimentalist is by no means exhausted in exposing the errors and illogic of metaphysical dogmatism in education. He must go on to discover what an education adequate for modern man is, and to test the validity of all practical proposals in respect to content and method—no matter what the source. . . ." What is the educational program "whose fruits in experience will be so rich that it may be accepted by all democrats independent of their metaphysical prepossessions"? Mr. Hook's program is not based, he says, on an "antecedent theory" of man but on measurable consequences. The ends of education in a democratic society are such, he reminds us, that men of varying faiths and presumptions can agree on them practically: those ends are the "development of independent critical thought," "sensitiveness of perception," "imaginative sympathy with the cultural, literary, and scientific traditions," "the making available of important bodies of knowledge," "an intelligent loyalty to our democratic ideals." He adds two that are not always found in such lists of requisites for a general education. One is the ability to stand alone. Another is "an equipment of young men and women with the general skills and techniques and the specialized knowledge which . . . will make it possible for them to do some productive work related to their capacities and interests." The last is important to his argument because Mr. Hook thereby communicates effectively his feeling that most recent discussions of liberal education have neglected to consider the actual vocations of men and women in our society. Most recent writing on these matters has been tinctured with a leisure-class notion of an élite, while it has denigrated the vocations and professions to mere routines disconnected from any meaning and significance in personal life.

Mr. Hook, by the same token, offers, instead of high rhetoric about timeless issues, a suggestion that all knowledge and tradition become meaningful to the student as they are focused upon the living issues of his actual world. The business of education is not simply to carry on a patrimony, or to inculcate a single "social truth"; it is to train students to approach with imagination and critical intelligence the problems of the culture in which they have their being and their future. It is natural, therefore, that Mr. Hook should place in the center of his content of education the social studies, "properly integrated around problems and issues." Everyone, whatever else he may be in society, is a citizen and



H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

**"CRUX ANSATA—An Indictment
of the Roman Catholic Church"**

An historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis. Cloth Binding \$1.75

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS" by L. H. Lehmann
A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist collaboration. Cloth Binding \$1.75

COMBINATION OFFER Both Cloth Bound Books \$3.00

New Pamphlet
"VATICAN POLICY

IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

48 pages of Documented Facts 25¢

Free to those who return this ad with their order for the above books

Order From:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. T-451

229 WEST 48TH STREET

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

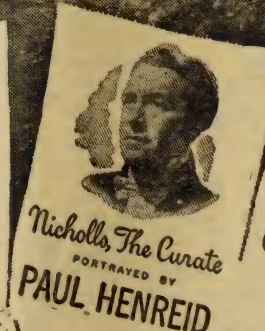
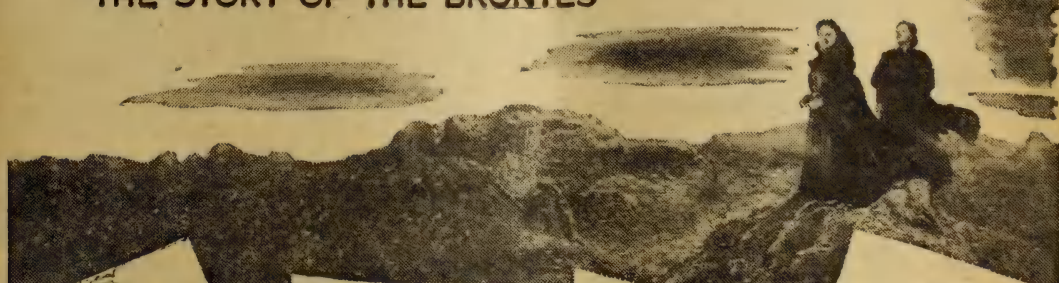
DIABLO • THE STORY OF LOUIS PASTEUR • THE LIFE OF EMILE ZOLA • JUAREZ • SERGEANT YORK
 GR. EFFLICH • MALE BULLET • YATKEE DOODL • HANBY (THE STORY OF GEORGE M. COHAN)
 THE ADVENTURES OF MARK TWAIN • PRIDE OF THE MARINES (THE STORY OF SERGEANT AL SCHMID)
 RHAPSODY IN BLUE (THE STORY OF GEORGE GERSHWIN)

and now

WARNER BROS.

*renowned for
 distinguished biographical films
 present another achievement*

THE STORY OF THE BRONTES



"DEVOTION"

ALSO WITH
 DAME MAY WHITTY • VICTOR FRANZEN
 DIRECTED BY CURTIS BERNHARDT • PRODUCED BY ROBERT BUCKNER

Screen Play by Keith Winter • Original Story by Theodore Reeves • Music by Eric Wolfgang Korngold

NOW PLAYING AT THE NEW YORK STRAND THEATRE, BROADWAY AND 47TH STREET

Guides to Parents No Less Than to Educators

MY COUNTRY SCHOOL DIARY

An Adventure in Creative Teaching
by Julia Weber

A book for all who are interested in the revival of sound country life in America. An absorbing, human account of how a one-room-school teacher gave vitality and creative power to her teaching and transformed her school for the benefit of the community. \$3.00

HIGH SCHOOLS FOR TOMORROW

by Dan Stiles

American high schools are the hot spot of educational criticism. Why? What can be done? A former high school teacher and travelogue lecturer in 1000 schools in 30 states here proposes a high school program that will better fit young people for adulthood and citizenship. He describes such successful programs in use today that testify to his predictions for tomorrow's high schools. \$2.50

THE NEW AMERICAN COLLEGE

The Four-Year Junior College

by John A. Sexson

Superintendent of Schools, Pasadena, California

and John W. Harbeson

Principal, Pasadena Junior College

This is the first full record of the growing movement to rearrange the timing of education between high school and college. Here fully described is the experience with the four-year junior college, grades 11 to 14 inclusive, organized and administered as a single institution, as developed in Pasadena over the last twenty years. \$3.50

Coming in May

INTEGRATING HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

The Six-Four-Four Plan at Work

by Leonard V. Koos

Professor of Education, University of Chicago

This book covers in a comprehensive way, embracing scores of local education systems, the same kind of review and appraisal which "The New American College" covers in respect to Pasadena, California. It compiles the opinions of administrators, instructors and students who have worked under the 6-4-4 plan and thus supplies a total evaluation of this movement. \$3.00

At your bookstore or on approval from

HARPER & BROTHERS

49 East 23rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

needs to make intelligent decisions. But Mr. Hook is no mere sociologist. He is understanding about the study of literature and language, though properly impatient with some of the stuffed-shirt reasons given for studying them. He is insistent on training in art and music, though again he is properly suspicious of courses in "appreciation" rather than in discrimination. He is suspicious of religious education in the conventional sense, for he thinks a sound education will itself be a discipline in natural piety. But more important than content is the training in the method of responsible intelligence. The pervasiveness of scientific method is identical with liberalism, "for both insist on a critical examination of our beliefs."

Since education is primarily designed to promote growth, Mr. Hook resents the separation of vocational from liberal training and thinks the two cannot be separated in a democratic society; all education, as he suggestively says, is an education toward vocation, every vocation broadly conceived is educative. Finally, the reader is recommended to Mr. Hook's excellent chapter on The Good Teacher, where he permits himself a little less dialectic and controversy, a little more enkindling eloquence, than generally marks the book. Himself a notably good teacher, his account of such a rarity is both exciting and true talk. As he describes him, the good teacher is not a preacher or orator or pundit; he is an instigator in his students of inquiry and vision. No wonder Mr. Hook thinks the teacher is a key man in a democratic society and "deserves an honored place in its councils."

IRWIN EDMAN

The Happy Warrior

SIEGFRIED'S JOURNEY, 1916-1920. By Siegfried Sassoon.
The Viking Press. \$3.

HOW pleasant, one is tempted to reflect on reading these memoirs, how pleasant to be born in the leisure class, with a sense of aristocratic tradition, including the medieval, in the blood and bone; to be a welcome guest, for as long as one liked, at great houses with names and ivy and lawns with ilex trees; to have friends, male, like Robbie Ross, who would sympathetically draw out of you every impulse you had toward creativeness; or friends, female, like Lady Ottoline Morrell, a little over-enthusiastic, perhaps, but given to "innumerable acts of generosity and affection." How pleasant to circulate freely, with just the proper amount of diffidence, among the respected writers and artists of one's time; to have the entrée to drawing-rooms where Bach was played for enjoyment; or to go, if one felt in a simple-minded mood, for a jolly canter with the Acting Master of the Southdown Hunt! How pleasant to know the right people, so that after the recovery from wounds the leave could be extended ever so little; so that the pacifism could be diagnosed as shell shock; so that the objector to war could be lectured, benevolently if sincerely, by no less a Dutch uncle than Winston Churchill himself!

These are advantages not to be sneered at: Mr. Sassoon comes closer to taking them for granted, with due appreciation, than to making light of them. It was during these four years, 1916-1920, that his reputation was made, founded on

acts of courage. He was brave enough to win the Military Cross for heroism in action; he was also brave enough to write, and have published—the publishers are also entitled to credit—the anti-war poems that have been, are now, and will for some time be, in all the anthologies. Rereading those poems, and others in the same volume, one feels that the denunciations of the war, half a dozen items or so, are Sassoon's best work, and that the anthologies are not unfair in representing him by these, as they are unfair in making Rupert Brooke the poet of "If I should die, think only this of me," and so on. Some of Sassoon's war poems, even, tended to degenerate into formula once the ironic method had been established; there came to be a bit of trick to it; but on the whole he shows here a tenseness, a humor, plenty grim, and a sense of reality that do not impinge elsewhere on his amiable Georgian melodies. Writing about these years, Mr. Sassoon is rather more candid about his innocence than his luck. He has kindly feelings, and kind words, for almost everyone—Bridges (though the Laureate did manage to make himself a little disagreeable), his devoted friend Owen, Masfield, Hardy, T. E. Lawrence, the Sitwells, and many others.

"Dilettante," like "amateur," is a word which has—as Kenneth Burke might say—pejorative semantic connotations. But the roots mean something else—delighting, loving—and what's the matter with that? Not very important, really—for Mr. Sassoon has lacked either the capacity or the will to live up to his advantages—this memoir of his most important years is nevertheless readable, pleasant, engaging, polite, agreeable. I hope it does not sound too pejorative, or sneering, to dismiss its author as a dilettante who has had moments when he was close to being an artist.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Answering Zion

THE ARAB ISLAND. By Freya Stark. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

CURRENT American ideas about the Arab world have been shaped largely by Zionist propaganda, which, regrettably if understandably, has become more and more charged with cultural chauvinism. We have been led to think of all Arabs as primitive, unlettered, diseased, dirty nomads, immune to any civilizing influence. Miss Stark, a distinguished and experienced authority on the Middle East, makes a conscious effort to correct this distorted picture. She reminds us that there is a very ancient urban Arab civilization and that all but a fraction of the Arabic-speaking peoples—there is no Arab race—are city-dwellers or settled farmers. The Bedouin never was the typical Arab, and he and his camels are fast becoming obsolete in an age of automobiles and aircraft.

In the last quarter century, Miss Stark declares, the unchanging East has been changing rapidly. One indication is the rise of a new, westernized middle class—"the young Effendis" to whom she dedicates her book—interested in public health, education, democratic government. This new element, she explains, is the product of the internal-combustion engine, American education as exemplified by the

A new book of illuminating essays by Dr. Alvin Johnson

PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF THE
NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

THE CLOCK OF HISTORY

THESE brilliant and influential essays cover a wide range of topics—politics, human rights, leadership, racialism, youth, the scholar's function, facts and factions in liberal education. To each, Dr. Johnson brings his notable gifts of versatility, imagination and deep wisdom.

At all bookstores • \$3.00

W. W. NORTON & CO.

"BOOKS THAT LIVE" • 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11



HARVARD

UNIVERSITY PRESS PRESENTS

HISTORICAL ANTHOLOGY of MUSIC

ARCHIBALD T. DAVISON and WILLI APEL

A library of music in itself. 200 representative, individually complete examples (with commentary) of Oriental, Medieval, and Renaissance music to 1600. Apr. \$7.50

JAPAN'S PROSPECT

Douglas G. Haring, Editor. Most comprehensive recent book on Japan. Presents the facts. April. \$4.00

PLATO'S THEORY OF MAN

John Wild. Complete, coherent interpretation, with its contemporary significance. \$5.00

THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF ARGENTINE FEDERALISM, 1820 - 1852

Miron Burgin. The economics of politics. Harvard Economic Studies, 78. April. \$4.00

COMMERCIAL POLICY IN THE CANADIAN ECONOMY

Orville John McDiarmid. Foreign trade policy: 180 years of its history and effects. \$4.50

THE FISCAL IMPACT OF FEDERALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

James A. Maxwell. Centralization vs. States' Rights. Harvard Economic Studies, 79. May. \$5.00

JONATHAN DRAWS THE LONG BOW

Richard M. Dorson. New England popular tales and legends: 17th Century to today. May. \$4.50

BOSTON AFTER BULFINCH

Walter H. Kilham. An informal account of its architecture, 1800-1900. 33 plates. April. \$3.50

THE ART OF THE RENAISSANCE IN NORTHERN EUROPE

Otto Benesch. Art in relation to contemporary cultural movements. 80 plates. \$7.50

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE 38 MASSACHUSETTS

missionary colleges, and British government. Within a comparatively short period she expects it to create a group of modern, closely linked states within "the Arab island."

As this summary may suggest, Miss Stark is not without bias herself. Not only is she a staunch defender of recent British policies in the Middle East, but during the war she was a junior executant of those policies. Here she tells the story of her experiences, skilfully weaving the "message" she wishes to deliver into an entertaining narrative written with much of the skill that has made her an outstanding author of travel books. In the remote outpost of Aden she helped to run a radio station; in medieval Yemen she countered Nazi agents with a movie projector which made her a welcome guest in the best harems; in Egypt and Iraq, where she went through the siege of the British embassy during the 1941 revolt, she organized "Brotherhoods of Freedom" to rally popular support to the cause of the Allies in general and the British in particular.

Only a small part of the book is devoted directly to Palestine; but it is this section that has aroused some critics, and that is responsible for an anxiously defensive jacket note by the publishers. Miss Stark staunchly defends the policy of the White Paper. "It must be wrong," she writes, "to make a country accept immigration by force. . . . In a notch of country surrounded by totally Arab lands that are growing every year in capacity, self-consciousness, and geographic importance, the choice is between a friendly compromise and eventual expulsion. British or American bayonets might force the issue for a time but not for very long; and it seems to me that the fact to remember about Palestine is that there are only two alternatives—agreement and force."

Some Zionists, at least, will not wholly contradict this statement; but, they ask, what has the British Colonial Office done to bring Jew and Arab together? Miss Stark admits that Britain has sought to build up Arab nationalism as a bulwark for British security. That policy might be defensible in terms of *Realpolitik* had not the British in executing it made the fatal error of leaning on the ruling classes, whose chief interest lies in maintaining the social status quo. The big landowners, who suck up so much of the wealth of the Middle East, fear the leavening effect of Jewish efficiency and democracy on the Arab masses, and they have stimulated anti-Zionism as a counter-irritant—a tactic made all the simpler by Jewish exclusivism. British officials, who find Arab grandees much more sympathetic than Jewish "natives" given to talking back, have been content to infuse small doses of social reform and have shrunk from meeting the basic problem of mass poverty. Miss Stark practically ignores this problem; yet until it is tackled there can be no real unity between Arab and Jew, or even between Arab and Arab.

KEITH HUTCHISON

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Buy All the Bonds You Can . . .

Keep All the Bonds You Buy

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

BRIEFER COMMENT

What the Artist Writes About

ROBERT GOLDWATER AND MARCO TREVES have compiled and edited a most valuable and unique book in "Artists on Art: from the XIV to the XX Century" (Pantheon Books, \$4.50). Almost the only fault I have to find with it is its shortness: the endeavor to cover so much ground within 500 pages often reduces the excerpts to mere fragments.

Mr. Goldwater's introduction points out how the nature of what artists have written about their métier has changed according to their social status, the problems of their art, and historical circumstances. While painting and sculpture were still considered crafts, the artist wrote handbooks of technical rules and formulas; when painting and sculpture came to be placed on a par with poetry, he wrote treatises on aesthetics. With the arrival of romanticism, the emphasis was shifted from principles to personality, and the artist expressed himself most pertinently in journals and letters.

After the middle of the nineteenth century, however, there came a certain pause. Of all the impressionists, only Pissarro, in his letters to his son, recorded his opinions on art. Impressionism, as Mr. Goldwater says, was controlled by painterly intentions from which few concepts could be elicited for anything more than shop talk. The immediate successors of the impressionists and some of their remoter followers broke their silence. Whistler, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Redon, Signac, and others had very much to say in writing. Then came the manifestoes of the twentieth century.

It will be noticed, however, that the present-day masters of the School of Paris—from Matisse, Bonnard, and Maillol through Picasso and Braque to Miró—have not written very much about art, not nearly so much as their German, Dutch, and Russian contemporaries. They tend to confine themselves to short statements and interviews, with perhaps a lecture now and then. It may be that these artists, who in their practice have boiled art down to its essential elements as no others have, realize best the impossibility of putting the point of their art into words. And as Mr. Goldwater suggests, the most painterly painters of the past—the Venetians, for example—as a rule wrote least about their art.

But this does not explain why so little in writing has come down from the Dutch masters. In all likelihood social circumstances were responsible. The Dutch painters had the status of tradesmen, if not of artisans, and tradesmen are notoriously reluctant, even when literate, to reveal their secrets.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

Rhetoric for Radicals

ONE CANNOT DOUBT that Saul D. Alinsky is a sincere, earnest man, but these qualities in him are so combined with rhetorical effusiveness and stormy obscurity that "Reveille for Radicals" (Chicago University Press, \$2.50) gave me the impression of wandering in a haunted forest on a tempestuous night. Mr. Alinsky is scornful of liberals, who are all cowards, and all for radicals, who are brave and pure men.



APPLETON-CENTURY

The No. 1 best seller today
... a classic tomorrow

ERICH MARIA REMARQUE'S



Arch of Triumph

\$3.00

TO WHOM PALESTINE?



by Frank Gervasi

"Full and basic information on the problem—much-needed data, clearly presented."—*Philadelphia Record*. \$2.50

IF YOU ASK ME



by Eleanor Roosevelt

Mrs. Roosevelt's illuminating answers to several hundred personal, political and social questions put to her by the American public. \$2.50

THE LOST MEN



by Benedict Thielen

A smashing novel of storm along the Florida keys—and of men against the elements... and themselves. \$2.75

Coming May 31st

THE GOOD FIGHT



The Autobiography of
MANUEL LUIS QUEZON

First President of the Philippine Commonwealth

Introduction by General Douglas MacArthur
46 illustrations, map. \$4.00

At all bookstores

APPLETON-CENTURY

35 West 32nd Street, N. Y. 1

do you know

the facts behind today's critical economic issues?

Get information you can't get elsewhere—be WELL INFORMED! Send \$1 for a FULL YEAR subscription to all Legislative, Labor, and Economic publications of

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

You may again buy **BOOKS** through *The Nation*

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

A radical is also a man with a clear, bold, and revolutionary program for the reconstruction of society, I found myself saying. What program does Mr. Alinsky propose? Chapter II completely puzzled me. Labor today has accepted the capitalist outlook, Mr. Alinsky begins, and he attacks William Green, Dubinsky, and Mr. Reuther in a fashion that made me believe he was about to talk about socialism. Then came a quotation from Laski and, after this, nothing except vague references and much about the necessity of going to the people. At this stage I seemed to remember that this sort of obscure hinting at socialism was a feature of another movement that talked much of its radicalism. Mr. Alinsky is perfectly clear on racial issues, however; so I was relieved.

But as I read on, my surely legitimate demand for a program was never satisfied. There is even a chapter entitled Program, which contains nothing but general statements such as "Jobs, higher wages, economic security, housing, and health are some of the important things in life . . . these issues must be met squarely, courageously, and militantly." Mr. Truman and Mr. Dewey would say as much and a little more. The section on conflict tactics is just as vague on long-term meanings. Strikes must be supported. Political pressure must be brought. Credit clubs must be established. And, again, we must be earnest. The by-laws of the People's Organization set up by Mr. Alinsky contain nothing more concrete than this: "To promote the welfare of all residents of the community regardless of race, color, or creed, so that they may all have the opportunity to find health, happiness, and security through the democratic way of life."

What, then, shall we say? Again, Mr. Alinsky is a sincere democrat. His love for people, indeed, overflows in the most adjectival manner. But I will say frankly, I fear that in the absence of a hard program his organization would be easily captured by demagogues, and worse. Doubtless he means to regenerate democracy, but the result might be something very different. To be candid, in some parts of the world fascism has made use of exactly this sort of "radical" talk.

RALPH BATES

A Brazilian Tragedy

GRACILIANO RAMOS is notable among contemporary Brazilian writers for a severity of style, an accuracy of social and moral observation, and an intensity of tragic sensibility which derive as much from a scrupulous fidelity to native experience as from the stylists—Proust, Joyce, and, more relevantly, Céline—whom his American publisher mentions as his models. These qualities, already evident in his books "Sao Bernardo," "Angústia," and "Vidas Secas," were reaffirmed last year in the first part of his personal memoirs, "Infância," one of the best intimate records yet achieved by a modern Brazilian writer. His talent, with its combination of irony and pathos, anguish and lyricism, may perhaps be compared with that of the poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade. There is no lack of social purpose or physical realism among the better of Ramos's fiction-writing contemporaries—Jorge Amado, Aníbal Machado, Raquel de Queiroz, Marques Rebelo, Monteiro Lobato, or the Steinbeckian José Lins do Rego, chronicler of the sugar workers of the northeastern states—but Ramos exceeds these in tragic sympathy, con-

trolled violence, and an independent method of achieving his effects. "Angústia," now translated as "Anguish" by L. C. Kaplan (Knopf, \$2.50), thus introduces one of the most considerable figures in Latin American and Brazilian fiction to American readers.

Whether its harsh record of the moral frustration and psychic disintegration of Luis da Silva, a struggling nobody caught in a small government clerkship and a corrupt journalistic world, finally to end in crime, break-up, and insanity as a result of the personal odds and social depravity set against him, will appeal to American readers is a question, but it should be noted that Ramos controls and usually masters the methods—subjective tenuity, irresponsible surrealist fantasies, mass accumulation of physical detail—which beset and vitiate the efforts of his more facile contemporaries. A deterrent to interest necessarily appears in this translation. Ramos is the kind of writer whose sincerity and authenticity exist in his original language, where alone the quality, intimacy, and exacerbation of so much subjective ordeal and reflection can be conveyed. Mr. Kaplan has been faithful and scrupulous (though he makes some errors: he confuses, for example, old and current money values when he defines the *reis* and the *milreis* in his glossary); and he is skilful in breaking sentences and constructions to suggest a corresponding English subjective style and to sustain the difficult and prolonged first-personal narrative with credibility. Where a story—as so often among Latin American novelists—slights plot and drama in favor of psychic or phantasmal states, the integrity of its material depends more than ordinarily on fidelity of tone and detail, atmospheric authority, color of speech and circumstance. Yet here "raw violence" and brutal conflict end in something more than the strained or evasive allegory of Amado, and give an ominous effect of human dereliction and obscure defeat. Of South American novels brought to American notice during the past five years, this is easily one of the most distinguished. It introduces a writer of stamina and profundity. It may send the reader and the publisher to others of Ramos's books, notably "Vidas Secas" and "Infância," and so to an acquaintance with one of the best efforts and results in Brazil's current literary ambitions.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

FICTION IN REVIEW

THE English magazine *Horizon* was established in December, 1939. Therefore although some of the stories reprinted by Cyril Connolly, the magazine's editor, in the volume "Horizon Stories" (Vanguard, \$2.50) may have been written before the war actually began, the volume as a whole is properly to be regarded as a product of the English war years. From this point of view its almost total avoidance of the war is startling. There are twenty stories in Mr. Connolly's collection, but only one—J. Maclaren-Ross's *I Had to Go Sick*, a superficially humorous, hiddenly bitter account of a soldier's entanglement in medical red tape—deals with life in the armed services. And only one other—Elizabeth Bowen's *In the Square*, a sketch of the reunion of two friends in the war-unsettled home of one of them—deals with civilian life in war time. Rollo Woolley's *The Pupil* does take off

A National Best-Seller!

"Surely one of the most beautiful of books. Gibbings writes like an angel with a magic pen... And what a lively, unspoiled land is this which Gibbings reveals to us... Lovely is the Lee is so full of good things it is quite impossible to quote."
—William McFee, *New York Sun* \$3.00

LOVELY IS THE LEE

Written and illustrated by
ROBERT GIBBINGS

"Of high quality throughout, and contains poems of real distinction... Well worth careful reading."
Book-of-the-Month Club News \$2.00

MY TALON IN YOUR HEART

by NANCY BRUFF



"Marchette Chute has Kittredge's learning with more charm, she has Chesterton's charm with more learning. She knows all the theories by which Chaucer has been interpreted but isn't enslaved by any of them and her subject himself seems to have been her model in modesty and good humor."
—Chicago Sun \$3.75


GEOFFREY CHAUCER OF ENGLAND

Written and decorated by
MARCHETTE CHUTE

Modern in approach, this young poet's work is beautifully skilled in the modulations of slant rhyme and the minor harmonies of language. \$2.00

AGAINST THE CIRCLE

by BREWSTER CHISELIN



"An almost perfect bedside book. Its best feature is the skill with which Adams has extracted his treasures... a sort of 'Compleat Angler' for use along mossy banks."
—Newsweek
"It is indeed a book to be treasured."
—Charles Lee, *Philadelphia Record* \$2.50

THE TREASURE CHEST

AN ANTHOLOGY OF CONTEMPORATIVE PROSE
Edited by
J. DONALD ADAMS

At All Bookstores
BUTTON NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

from an airfield, and Fred Urquhart's *Man About the House* does mention in passing that its unpleasant central character will soon have to register for the draft. But that is all. For the rest, it is as if the war had never been.

The story of Elizabeth Bowen's that Mr. Connolly reprints also appears in Miss Bowen's volume of stories she wrote during the war, "Ivy Gripped the Steps" (Knopf, \$2.50). In a very interesting preface Miss Bowen comments on her use, in the place of immediate war themes, of what she calls the "hallucinatory" materials of war-time life. "The hallucinations in the stories are not a peril," Miss Bowen writes. "Nor are the stories studies of mental peril. The hallucinations are an unconscious, instinctive, saving resort on the part of the characters. Life, mechanized by the controls of war time, and emotionally torn and impoverished by changes, had to complete itself in some other way. It is a fact that in Britain . . . people had strange, deep, intense dreams." This thread of dream runs through all Miss Bowen's stories, no doubt accounting for their fragmentariness, but binding them together and making them unmistakably relevant to the background of disruption against which they were conceived. However remote from the war reality the manifest content of much of Miss Bowen's volume may be, it deeply, intuitively connects with the general experience of its time. Something so subtle as her too acute alertness to sound—and there is scarcely a story in which the striking of a clock, the ringing of a telephone, or the shutting of a door doesn't announce itself with an exaggeration of meaningfulness—at once communicates the sensory over-alertness that characterizes a state of fear.

But there is no such import in the remoteness from war-time reality of the *Horizon* stories. It seems to me that the war is not present in them even as something to be turned away from by fantasy. The volume opens with a piece called *When I Was Thirteen*, another slice of the autobiography of the talented, disingenuous Denton Welch, and closes with the nice orderly ironies of Philip Toynbee's *Interment of a Literary Man*. In between we have been given a fashionably nasty bit of amoralism, *I live on My Wits*, by Alfred Perlés; an unfashionably moralistic tale of a fallen woman, *The Wages of Love*, by Rhys Davies; a story of sadistic childhood, *The Scissors*, translated from the Spanish of Arturo Barea; a neo-Nicolsonian divertissement called *The Third Secretary's Story*, by Tom Hopkinson; an unreadable evocation of the past, "Ivanhoe," by Logan Pearsall Smith; *Happy All Alone*, by Roland Lushington, which is an inspiration from "The Magic Mountain" tailored to the dimensions of a *Collier's* short-short; *The Suitcase Hunt*, by John Bryan, which could expand into one of those volumes of eccentric family reminiscence now so much in vogue; a chic anecdote, *Crossing the Atlantic*, by Diana Gardaer, about a man whose solo sail across the ocean is crashed by a newspaper girl (I had almost said "gal"). Even the single symbolic story in the volume, *The Long Sheet*, by William Sansom, exudes an air of pre-fabrication. Even the stories which deal with the uneasiness of faith—*The Saint*, by V. S. Pritchett; *Prothalamion*, by Edward Sheehy—are much too easy for our contemporary problems of faith. And even the expectable studies in psychopathology—the itself quite mad *Room Wanted*, by G. F. Green, or Antonia White's well-worked *The Moment of*

Are you interested in the TRUTH about these explosive subjects now in front-page headlines?

THE PROBLEM OF TRIESTE THE QUESTION OF THE NEW ITALO-YUGOSLAV BORDER THE TREASON OF DRAZHA MIKHAILOVICH

The general press and the radio are not giving you the truth on these important matters.

Send for a FREE 24-page issue of the Bulletin of the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans, edited by Louis Adamic.

THE UNITED COMMITTEE OF SOUTH-SLAVIC AMERICANS
465 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Musio by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Eric Maltson • Dances by with John Raitt — Iva Withers
JEAN DARLING • ERIC MALTSON • CHRISTINE JOHNSON • JEAN CASTO
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
Musio by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Eric Maltson • Dances by with John Raitt — Iva Withers
HAROLD KEEL • JOSEPH BULOFF • BETTY JANE WATSON • RUTH WESTON
ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A Gag-Happy-
Meaning-
ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40, Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
In JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone CImba 6-4636
Even. 8:35 Sharp, Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp

"THE FINEST EVENING OF THE SEASON"
—Morehouse, Sun

KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Musio by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd.
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HAGGARD SHORT.
ZIEGFELD THEA., 54th Street and Sixth Avenue, CI. 5-5200.
Evs. 8:30 Sharp, Mts. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp.
MAIL ORDERS PROMPTLY FILLED

The

New Statesman and Nation

England's Leading Weekly Review
may now be obtained through

THE *Nation*

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Yearly subscription \$6.50 including postage
SPECIMEN copy on request

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
61st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST.

8th Lox.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
OSPEHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYUO
Coney Island

Queens
Keltch's
FLUSHING
Keltch's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

RKO NOW

"VASTLY ENGROSSING"

—PM

SYDNEY GREENSTREET

GERALDINE FITZGERALD

PETER LORRE

'THREE STRANGERS'

Based on a Story by JOHN HUSTON

A Warner Brothers Picture

— AND —

'TARZAN AND THE
LEOPARD WOMAN' JOHNNY
WEISSMULLER

OWEN WISTERS

"THE VIRGINIAN"

In 1946 Technicolor

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE STARRING

BRIAN

DONLEVY

JOEL

MCCREA

SONNY

TUFTS

— WITH —

BARBARA BRITTON

— In Person —

Paramount Comedy Star

EDDIE BRACKEN

— PLUS —

Bob Eberly • The Acromaniacs

EXTRA!

JOHNNY LONG

And His Band

NOW PARAMOUNT TIMES SQUARE

India In Crisis

A FIRST HAND REPORT

A series of six lectures by

ALBERT MAYER

who has just returned from India where he served
for two years with the U. S. Engineers

BEGINNING MONDAY, APRIL 22, at 8:30 P.M.

The Series \$6 Single Admission \$1.50

NEW SCHOOL

66 West 12th Street • New York

Are We Winning the Peace?

Hear An Appraisal of

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

- SEN. HARLEY M. KILGORE • ORSON WELLES
- FREDA KIRCHWEY • DR. J. RAYMOND WALSH
- ANDREW ROTH • JOSH WHITE

TUESDAY, APRIL 23 CARNEGIE HALL

8:30 P.M.

57th Street and 7th Avenue

ADMISSION: Ranging from 60¢ to \$1.25—Tax Included

Tickets Available at:

N. Y. CITIZENS P. A. C., Room 1615, 205 East 42nd Street
THE BOOK FAIR, 133 West 44th Street

CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF UPPER WEST SIDE, 122 W. 71st St.

Auspices:

New York Citizens Political Action Committee

205 East 42nd Street, New York City • Tel. MU. 3-5580

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE Nation

Money-Saving Magazine

Combinations

with Harpers Magazine . . . You save \$2.50 . . . **\$6.50**

with Consumers Union . . . You save \$1.50 . . . **\$7.00**

with Harpers Magazine and Consumers Union . . . You save \$3.50 . . . **\$9.00**

with Free World . . . You save \$1.50 . . . **\$7.50**

with Saturday Review . . . You save \$1.50 . . . **\$8.50**

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION by itself

1 Year \$5 2 Years \$8 3 Years \$11

Servicemen's Rate \$3 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage—\$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

4-20-40

Truth, or Anna Kavan's touching *I Am Lazarus*—present a mental derangement beyond the range of fox holes or air raids.

I suppose the volume's low level of literary significance—as opposed to its high level of literacy and craft—is not unrelated to its refusal of contemporary awareness. Miss Bowen's volume, too, may be a literary disappointment; only two of her stories, *Sunday Afternoon* and the title story, bring off the flourish an admirer has come to look for in her work; but at least when we put down "*Ivy Grippled the Steps*," we know what it is in the author's troubled mood which has stirred us, whereas our chief, final, response to Mr. Connelly's collection is confusion as to what his writers thought or felt they were doing. "The leading literary magazine in Great Britain [*Horizon*] has survived the London blitz and philistinism in literature with equal gallantry," say the publishers of "*Horizon Stories*"; and one wonders just what philistinism means in such a context. For, curiously enough, if by philistinism we mean either an antagonism to change or progress or a smug antagonism to the revelation of art, I think this is the word that perhaps most closely describes the pervasive tone of the volume itself.

After all, there is a philistinism of the educated spirit, quite as there is of the mass, uneducated spirit. And none the less to be remarked for what it is because it may operate in the name of the effort to preserve traditional values in a time when traditional values are being threatened. And none the less to be battled against because it may itself be doing battle—so, too, does conservatism often do gallant battle. The discrimination between philistinism and the sound effort to preserve traditional values rests, of course, on the nature of the traditional values that are being preserved, and so far as I can see there is very little to choose between the values of "*Horizon Stories*" and the values against which it must be presumed to stand. Suppose that by avoiding the war these stories do avoid the note of chauvinism that might possibly result from a sympathetic identification with the general temper of the time? What have they introduced in its stead? Surely nothing that acrates chauvinism, that is a corrective to the excesses of national pride. Only a kind of nullity of both intellect and emotion, a blind retreat of the mind and spirit rather than a "saving resort."

There is a sentence in one of Miss Bowen's "non-war" stories about a man in uniform. "His uniform fitted and suited him just a degree too well, and gave him the air of being on excellent terms with war." This is the method by which Miss Bowen feels and expresses the "high-voltage current of the general" as it passes through the particular—so excellent a method that we do not miss her failure to carry her character into any kind of war activity or to specify another war fact about him. One could wish the writers of the *Horizon* stories had permitted themselves at least a similar part in their contemporary situation. For certainly their hearts speak no more poetically, their minds are no more fruitful, for their having so entirely refused the disruptions of war. Quite the contrary.

DIANA TRILLING

Next Week: Thorstein Veblen's "Inquiry Into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of Its Perpetuation" will be reviewed by Albert Guérard.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

TO BE outmoded but to have written well is, as Max Beerbohm once remarked, to be a classic; and Bernard Shaw is one of the few living men who meet that definition. Unlike most great writers, he has survived long enough to achieve within his own lifetime the three inevitable stages: the stage of the bright young man, the stage of the prophet who can say no wrong, and, finally, the stage of being honorably or classically outmoded. Most of the things that were said about him during the first two stages seem now rather silly. To dismiss him as a pyrotechnic trifler is hardly more absurd than to think, as his disciples once did, that he had set down at last any whole and ultimate truth about man or modern society. But what he had it in him to say he said effectively. He wrote well, and he is a classic.

Neither "Pygmalion," which was revived some weeks ago, nor "Candida," now sharing the week with Miss Cornell's "Antigone" at the Cort Theater, is among his best plays. "Candida" was written early, just after the failure of the first "unpleasant" pieces, and was a deliberate attempt to win a public. It is one of his most factitious comedies; in a sense it is probably not really very sincere. But this fact makes even more impressive the test which it passes. Judge it by comparison with some of his other work or judge it by comparison with the best work of his peers belonging to a remoter past, and one may find it lacking in one respect and another. But judge it on Broadway, compare it with those plays now fashionable rather than outmoded, and one immediately becomes aware, not of the things it isn't, but of the things it is. Even quantitatively there is so much more to it. It is, relatively, so substantial, so rich. The mind of the author is working vigorously, continuously. He is giving you more for your time and for your money. By any reasonable OPA price regulation the ceiling on such a play should be at least four or five times as high as that for the ordinary commodity, since it surely cost four times as much brains to produce.

The performance which Miss Cornell and her company is offering is good and satisfactory without being especially brilliant; it is certainly the play, not the performance, which carries the eve-

ning. Cedric Hardwicke makes a very amusing if rather broad caricature of the heroine's father; Marlon Brando makes the poet Marchbanks as believable and as tolerable as he can well be made; and the always delightful Mildred Natwick gets all there is to be got out of the nearly fool-proof role of Miss Prossy. As for Miss Cornell herself, she, it must be remembered, plays one of those characters who is talked about by the others a good deal more than she actually appears on the stage; but she plays her one big crucial scene at the end warmly and humanly, despite the rather staggering task of preventing Candida from becoming an insufferable prig.

It is, I hope, not necessary at this late date to point out the fact that the author's own sympathies are principally on the side of the clergyman husband, and that it is not the claims of romantic passion which are being defended. I was, however, glad to note that this production seemed to make clearer than other productions did one crucial fact: namely, that the "problem" is never seriously a problem to Candida herself or to the audience. Only the husband and the poet ever imagine that they are really rivals. Candida never takes the latter seriously enough as either a person or a point of view to feel for a moment that she is in the presence of a dilemma, and the audience ought to be constantly aware of this fact if the whole is to remain, as it should, a comedy, not a preposterous problem play.

A comedy, I am sure, is what Shaw wanted it to be; and it is also the only thing he could successfully have made it, since he is, of course, incapable of making any passion which rests upon a sensuous foundation real even when he wants it to be. Even as a comedy, "Candida" would be strengthened if Marchbanks, the poet, were a little more convincing. Shaw tries to give him his moments of eloquence, but they always ring false; for here as elsewhere when he hopes that he has achieved some believable expression of physical love, his images are like those of the famous blind poet who described nature—they convince one that he has heard what others say but not that he has ever seen or felt the thing for himself. To say this or anything else about his limitations is, however, to produce much the same effect as is produced by his own criticism of Shakespeare. What he says is often true; but it is concerned only with what Shakespeare isn't, not with what he is—and what he is keeps him a classic.

New Books of Lasting Value

• Please Order by Number •

(1) PROBLEMS OF MEN

By JOHN DEWEY

The new book by America's foremost philosopher. \$5

(2) THE CREATIVE MIND

By HENRI BERGSON

"Bergson at his crispest and most logical."
—The New Yorker. \$3.75

(3) PERPLEXITIES AND PARADOXES

By MIGUEL UNAMUNO

The last unpublished essays of "the most important literary figure of Spain." \$2.50

(4) THE CRIME OF IMPRISONMENT

By GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Illustrated by WILLIAM GROPPER
Shaw's famous essay on crime. 13

(5) A BIBLE FOR THE LIBERAL

Edited by D. D. RUNES

Foreword by LIN YUTANG

A modern code of ethics, extracted from biblical literature with a view to eliminating mythological and ritualistic overtones. The essence of Judaism and Christianity. \$3.50

(6) FROM THE BANKS OF THE VOLGA

The Life of Maxim Gorky

By ALEXANDER ROSKIN

The deeply moving story of the immortal novelist. 11

(7) TWENTIETH CENTURY ENGLISH

Edited by WM. S. KNICKERBOCKER

Thirty-six essays, by writers of repute, that clarify and interpret Basic English, Semantics, Literary Criticism and other timely issues. Contributors include H. L. Mencken, Archibald MacLeish, John Erskine, and other noted men of letters. \$5

(8) THIRTY-THREE SARDONICS

Edited by TIFFANY THAYER

Thirty-three sardonic tales that Thayer couldn't forget—nor will you! \$3.50

(9) NARCOTICS AND DRUG ADDICTION

By ERICH HESSE

A complete, up-to-date and authoritative handbook on the uses and abuses of the pleasure-inducing drugs found throughout the world. \$3.75

(10) DICTIONARY OF WORD ORIGINS

By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY, Ph.D.

An authoritative guide to the better use, understanding, history and background of the English language. "Mr. Shipley writes with both authority and interest."

—Christian Science Monitor. \$5

Send This Coupon to Your Bookseller or to
Philosophical Library, Publishers
Dept. N, 15 E. 40th St., New York 16, N. Y.
Please send the books whose numbers are
enclosed below:
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10)
for which I enclose \$.....
NAME.....
STREET.....
CITY..... STATE.....

Announcing three new books
on a Vital Present-day Problem...

HOUSING and CITY PLANNING

THE ART OF BUILDING CITIES

By Camillo Sitte, *Translated from the German by*
Lt. Charles T. Stewart, USNR, *Former Director, The Urban Land Institute*

The growing interest in slum clearance and general reconstruction of cities to provide better housing for better living makes the first appearance in English of this classic in its field especially welcome at this time. The author discusses the modern problems of city building according to basic artistic fundamentals. Thoroughly modern and constructive in its approach, practical in its viewpoint, architecturally sound. *Profusely illustrated.*

\$5.50

NEW CITY PATTERNS

By S. E. Sanders, *Director City Planning Research, FWA, PBA, Wash., D. C.,*
and A. J. Rabuck, *City Planning Research, PBA, Washington, D. C.*

Here is one of the most fascinating books ever written on the subject of urban design problems. Thoroughly practical and realistic, **NEW CITY PATTERNS** contains a profusion of illustrations ranging from the seamy side of blighted areas, through low-cost and medium housing projects, to the more ambitious developments expected in the near future. The book features able discussions of metropolitan planning commissions, and the exact methods to be followed to insure that each new development or improvement shall coincide with a carefully predetermined plan. 8½" x 11"

\$7.50

HOUSING AND CITIZENSHIP

By Major George Herbert Gray, F.A.I.A., A.I.A.,
Consultant in Architecture and City Planning

This important new book presents a sound, well-coordinated plan for low-cost housing in both urban and rural areas in the United States. Backed by his intimate acquaintance with low-cost housing here and abroad, and based on the thesis that healthy and responsible citizenship is dependent on adequate living accommodations for all the people, the author attacks the problem of rent, and discusses all the sociological implications of the "ill-housed third" of our population. 46 full-page plates. 8½" x 11"

\$6.50

• At your bookstore, or order direct. •

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

FRANZ RUPP, in the performance of Beethoven's First Piano Concerto that I mentioned recently, astonished me alternately with playing that was even more beautiful than any I had heard him do, and with playing flawed by excesses that I could not recall having heard before. In the first, a relaxed attitude showed itself in the relaxed positions and movements of his hands, in the beautiful sound which these produced, and in the fluidity of the phrasing; and an unforgettable example of all this was the ornamented restatement of the opening theme in the middle of the slow movement, in which there were the clarity of rhythmic articulation producing the clarity of subtly inflected contour that one hears in Toscanini's phrasing, and the precise chiseling of the fine gradations of beautiful sound that one hears in Horowitz's playing. But at other times there was the kind of playing that provided a shock at the piano's very first entrance, where I expected a simple, quiet delivery of the simple, quiet statement that Beethoven marked *p* in the score, and I heard instead a tense distention of sound that was loud, hard, and as percussive as the straining fingers looked. This may have been related to the exaggeration of the Beethoven vigor that manifested itself, for example, in the excessive bouncing buoyancy of the finale.

Reading a review of the performance afterwards, I recalled the article on music criticism about a year ago in which Virgil Thomson, after describing criticism of a musical occasion as "expert testimony" on "the nature of the execution and of the works executed," distinguished in it the areas of agreement and disagreement. "Qualified musicians do not disagree much about who sang off pitch or played false notes. And their purely musical analyses of works complement one another more often than they contradict." But "radical disagreement comes into published criticism . . . exactly where it comes into private conversation": with "tastes and predilections," mere likes and dislikes—"all . . . personal, private, and in my ethics punctiliously privileged," even when they produce "the purest fantasy," which is "where criticism takes its place in belles lettres with all the rest of imaginative literature." For, he

REINHOLD PUBLISHING CORP.

330 WEST 42ND STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

concluded, "in a democracy, once the facts of anything are ascertained and their classification agreed upon, any opinion about them is legitimate that can be expressed in clear language."

It was one of Thomson's pat schematizations of elements and operations as he wanted them to be; and as I read it I thought of the elements and operations of music criticism as they really are. Actually, much of the disagreement in criticism occurs precisely where Thomson says it does not occur, and where he would be right in saying it should not occur. Qualified musicians should not disagree on the nature of a work or of its execution—on the kind of facts about it that should be, as he contends they are, exactly ascertainable by expert judgment; but they do disagree on these facts. They may not disagree about who sang off pitch or played false notes; but Thomson and I have disagreed on the simple facts of a Toscanini performance of the *Missa Solemnis*—on whether, as he contended, "there was no continuity in dynamic gamut" but only a constant "unsubtle contrasting of force with weakness," or whether, as I contended (and as a recording of the performance confirmed), there was all the "continuity in dynamic gamut" that Beethoven asked for. And Jerome D. Bohm and I disagree on the simple facts of Rupp's performance in the Beethoven concerto—on whether, as Bohm wrote in the review that recalled Thompson's article to my mind, Rupp played "with almost unrelieved percussiveness," or whether, as I have written, his occasional percussive playing alternated with the beautiful playing I have described.

Actually, then, the privileged personal factors do not keep themselves scrupulously out of the process of expert determination of the facts of a piece of music or its performance; actually they inject themselves into that process and cause it to produce the pure fantasy of the lack of continuity in dynamic gamut in Toscanini's performance of the *Missa Solemnis*, or of the unrelieved percussiveness of Rupp's playing in the concerto. And the question arises whether in this actual situation Thomson would insist that the punctiliously privileged personal and private whatever-you-want-to-call-it that causes a qualified musician to hear only unrelieved percussiveness in Rupp's playing must continue to be punctiliously privileged; and that in a democracy even the fantasy that the playing was unrelievedly percussive

must be considered legitimate—not just in the critic's private conversation but in his published belles-lettres. I imagine Thomson would; and I would have to agree—despite misgivings concerned with the effect of the published fantasy on the public in New York and the concert committees elsewhere who depend on newspaper reviews in deciding whether to hear and to engage a pianist. These misgivings Thomson does not share, as he stated explicitly in a more recent article that I will come to later.

Rupp—to complete my report of the concert—played with part of the New York Philharmonic under the direction of a young conductor named Siegfried Landau. It was evident from the first measures of Mendelssohn's "Scotch" Symphony, which opened the concert, that there was the all-important connection between Landau's mind and the orchestra's playing in a progression that had admirable rhythmic continuity and organic coherence. What was also evident in the lack of precision and balance and the occasional excessive volume was insufficient rehearsal and opportunity to adjust the performances to the small hall. The excessive volume occurred in the concerto, where it may have been one reason for Rupp's excesses; and it engulfed much of the

singing of Ruth Wolpert, soprano, who—when at last she overcame whatever it was that inhibited her at first, and produced enough volume to be heard—turned out to have a very beautiful middle and lower range, but an upper range with a timbre that was not agreeable to the ear.

CONTRIBUTORS

LIONEL TRILLING is the author of "Matthew Arnold" and "E. M. Forster."

RANDALL JARRELL is acting literary editor of *The Nation*.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., is the author of "The Age of Jackson."

IRWIN EDMAN, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is the author of "Arts and the Man," "Philosopher's Holiday," and other books.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of several books of verse, including "The Summer Landscape" and "Out of the Jewel."

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL has recently returned from two years in Brazil, where he inaugurated the Chair of North American Literature at the National University of Brazil.



YOU CAN'T HAVE FREEDOM!

--- If a priesthood controls the State ---
 --- If an authoritarian Church controls education ---
 --- If ecclesiastical power controls the world ---

YOU CAN'T HAVE PEACE!

--- If a hierarchy constantly strives to instigate War ---

READ ---

THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC MAGAZINE

For the facts you need

TO PROTECT YOUR PEACE AND FREEDOM

Edited by former Catholic Priests
 Only \$1.00 per year (10 issues)
 Canada, \$1.25 Sample copy, 15¢

Order from
AGORA PUBLISHING COMPANY
 DEPT. 451
 329 West 45th Street
 New York 19, N. Y.



NEW FRENCH LITERATURE
in the Spring 1946 issue of

PARTISAN REVIEW

**A Complete Issue Devoted to New
French Fiction, Criticism,
and Poetry**

ALBERT CAMUS

The Myth of Lysiphus

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

Portrait of the Antisemite

ANDRÉ MALRAUX

The Prison (a story)

CLAUDE-EDMONDE MAGNY

French Literature Since 1940

PAUL VALÉRY

The Temptation of (Saint) Flaubert

JEAN PAULHAN

*Modern Painting and the Ill-Kept
Secret*

JEAN GENET

Funeral Rites (a story)

GEORGES BLIN

The Gash (a psycho-literary phantasy)

POEMS:

André Frenaud, Raymond Queneau,
René Char, Michel Leiris, Henri Mi-
chaux, Patrice De La Tour Du Pin

REVIEWS OF

FRENCH BOOKS:

William Barrett, Delmore Schwartz,
Clement Greenberg, F. W. Dupee,
Martin Greenberg

PARTISAN REVIEW

45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$2.00 for one
year or \$3.00 for two years of
PARTISAN REVIEW; add 40¢ for Canada
and other foreign countries. (Single
copy: 50¢; 60¢ in Canada.) Begin with
issue.....

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Clarence Streit Protests

Dear Sirs: Two things in *The Nation* of March 16 need rectification. One is your editorial headed Churchill's Union Now. The other is Reinhold Niebuhr's outrageous statement that "a great deal of enthusiasm for world government is explicitly anti-Russian—for instance, that of ex-Justice Owen J. Roberts and Clarence Streit."

Your editorial says that "Churchill's whole thesis for a fraternal association of the English-speaking powers was a bold call for a military alliance." One need only begin to read "Union Now" to see that it aims at the opposite of an alliance, and that the union it champions is not confined to the English-speaking peoples.

The book states: "An alliance is simply a looser, more primitive form of league, one that operates secretly through diplomatic tunnels rather than openly through regular assemblies. It is based on the same unit as a league—the state—and on the same principle, that the maintenance of the freedom of the state is the be-all and the end-all of political and economic policy. . . . It has all the faults of a league with most of them intensified and with some more of its own added."

On March 13 the *Washington Post* published a long letter from me opposing the Churchill proposal. I quote from it: "An alliance requires us to give the British government a blank check on its foreign and colonial policy; a union involves no blank checks. . . . An alliance—and obviously an agreement to share bases and standardize weapons—is limited to military and diplomatic affairs; it is therefore bound to be against another power and lead to counter-alliances. A union is not thus limited; it is made not merely to lessen the burden of defense but to free and develop trade and communications among its members and to advance the liberty of its citizens generally."

Experience has made me expect to find misrepresentation of "Union Now" in fascist and Communist organs, but I never expected to find it in *The Nation*.

I turn to Dr. Niebuhr's false statement that a great deal of my enthusiasm for world government is explicitly anti-Russian. None of it is. He too, evidently, has not read even Chapter I of "Union Now." I quote from pages 105-12 of

the abridged edition, which was published in 1940 at the height of the anti-Soviet wave caused by Russia's war on Finland:


It is no use blaming today's chaos or tomorrow's catastrophe on Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, the Japanese militarists. It is still less use to blame the Japanese, German, Italian, and Russian peoples. It has never been in their combined power to establish law and order and peace in the world. They are not the source of the danger our whole species now faces.

When the really powerful members of a community refuse to organize effective government in it, when each insists on remaining a law unto himself to the degree the democracies, and especially the United States, have done since the war, then anarchy is bound to result, and the first to feel the effects of the chaos are bound to be the weaker members of the community. . . .

The first of the great powers driven to desperate and violent measures have been those with the smallest margin. There is no doubt that their methods have since made matters worse and that there is no hope in following their lead. Their autocratic governments are adding to the world's ills but they are not the real cause of them. . . .

The rising power of autocracy increases the need for Union just as the spread of a contagious disease increases the need for quarantine and for organizing the healthy. But it is essential to remember that though the victims carry the disease they did not cause it, and that quarantine of the victims and organizations of the healthy are aimed not against the victims but against the epidemic, the purpose being to end it by restricting its spread and by curing its victims.

It is wrong, all wrong, to conceive of Union as aimed against the nations under autocracy. There is a world of difference between the motives behind Union and those behind either the present policy of each democracy of arming for itself or the proposals for alliance among the democracies. For such armaments and such alliance are meant to maintain the one thing Union does attack in the one place Union does attack it—the autocratic principle of absolute national sovereignty in the democracies. . . .



BOOKS FOUND FREE!

WHAT BOOKS DO YOU WANT?

We quote lowest market prices. No charges for
leading. Hard-to-Find and Out-of-Print. Books.
All books, OLD or NEW, mailed POST FREE.
SEARCHLIGHT BOOK REPORTS
22 East 17th Street, New York City

Union calls on each democracy to remove itself the absolutism governing its relations with the other democracies, and to leave it to the people of each dictatorship to decide for themselves whether they will maintain or overthrow the absolutism governing them not only externally but internally.

I have never varied from this view, nor been anti-Russian.

I regret that space keeps me from commenting on the rest of Dr. Niebuhr's article. I have long shared—for somewhat different reasons—his opposition to the attempt to secure immediately a universal world government. But I am no less opposed to his own position at the other extreme. I see hope for peace in neither, but only in the policy in between them that Union Now represents.

CLARENCE K. STREIT

Washington, D. C., March 18

Reinhold Niebuhr Insists

Dear Sirs: Mr. Streit's attitude toward Russia is perhaps best revealed in one of the closing words of his editorial entitled *World Government and Russia*, which appeared in the November 15, 1945, issue of *Federal Union World*. "The nuclear policy," he writes, "relies for friendly relations with Soviet Russia on the friendly helpfulness of the Union's policy toward it, and on the high respect the Kremlin realistic diplomacy has always shown for vastly superior power."

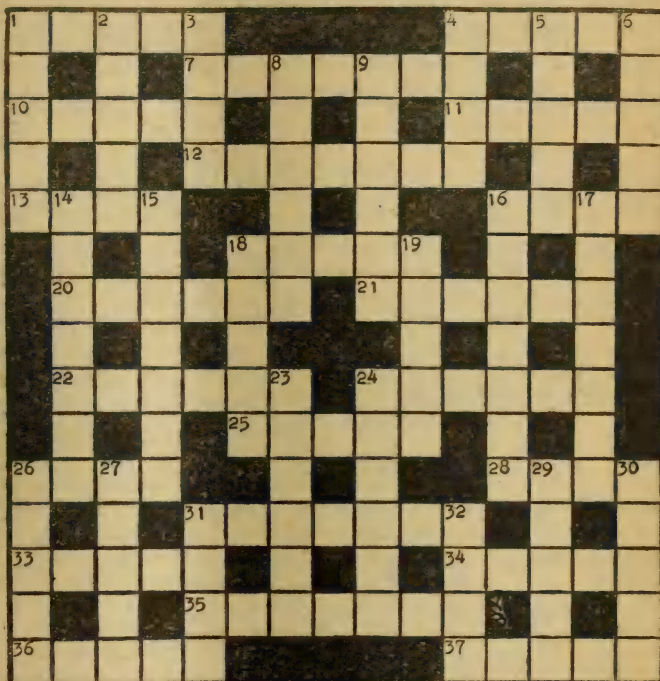
There can be no question that the whole Union Now movement relies upon the strategy of confronting Russia with vastly superior power, and hoping thereby to prevent war. Such a policy does not explicitly invite war with Russia, and therefore both Mr. Streit and Mr. Roberts feel that only malice could prompt the definition of it as "anti-Russian." Yet it is anti-Russian in the sense that it intends to build up a vast union of democratic states from which Russia would be excluded and that it intends to preserve the peace by impressing the Russians with the power of this union.

In the minority report at the Dublin conference Mr. Streit and Mr. Roberts called for a "nuclear union with nations where individual liberty exists, as a step toward the projected world government." This makes the exclusion of Russia from any possible union even more explicit.

From the published record Mr. Roberts and Mr. Streit should be absolved of any conscious desire to create conflict with Russia. They seem rather to believe that a new nuclear federation

Crossword Puzzle No. 157

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 "Keep moving" might be his motto
- 4 A marine shell
- 7 Beautiful Athenian courtesan with venomous head
- 10 Timely aid
- 11 The reports, so far, are reassuring (hidden)
- 12 Fish the English call burbot, and the Scots blenny
- 13 Border on
- 16 Great guns, perhaps
- 18 Work for a rise in the bakery business
- 20 Even worse than being pinned down
- 21 Nut, Margaret? Here's a kernel
- 22 A Sarah who considered whist the business of life, and literature one of the relaxations
- 24 A meddling busybody of a barber
- 25 The silk stuff shows a stain
- 26 Wheeled communication
- 28 Hector Munroe's nom-de-plume
- 31 Part of the soldier's iron ration?
- 33 Belinda's diminutive
- 34 Creeper-covered
- 35 They couldn't very well play strip-poker (or perhaps they have!)
- 36 Takes meat
- 37 An aperient for old sailors
- 6 Brünnhilde's gift to Siegfried in exchange for his famous ring
- 8 The country of the Italian river?
- 9 War cry
- 14 Even better than an orchestra seat?
- 15 Let this be Scotland's emblem
- 16 Big slam (anag.)
- 17 Wherein a record of the ship's progress is entered
- 18 They have flat bottoms
- 19 Edgar Allan Poe's sleuth
- 23 Endear (anag.)
- 24 Alf's in the last round!
- 26 He carried the world on his shoulders
- 27 Easy to make this weapon clean
- 29 Prospero's messenger
- 30 River of India, not of Indiana, U. S.
- 31 A mobile fort
- 32 Salut d'amour

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 156

ACROSS:—1 HORSE; 4 EAR; 6 ALLAY; 9 MINUTES; 10 SCROOGE; 11 RULING; 13 VERIFIED; 15 SALUTED; 16 BOTTOM; 17 WERT; 19 RESTFUL; 21 TAFT; 23 GAL-LON; 25 CITROEN; 27 RESPONSE; 28 EDUCES; 31 WHIFFET; 32 GRAINER; 33 LETHE; 34 ELY; 35 LUCRE.

DOWN:—1 HUMOR; 2 RINGLET; 3 EXTENSOR; 4 ELISA; 5 RUSSET; 6 AFRAID; 7 LEONINE; 8 YIELD; 12 GAMBLIN; 13 VULTURE; 14 REFUGER; 16 BAT; 18 TON; 20 LANDRAIL; 22 FASCIST; 24 LACONIC; 25 COFFEE; 26 TSETSE; 27 ROWEL; 28 SERVE; 30 UGLY.

DOWN

- 1 Sicilian secret society
- 2 Not quite what is its own reward
- 3 "Many a time and oft
In the Rialto you have ----- me"
- 4 This horse is sometimes backed
- 5 A model girl, apparently

MEETING

**"INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN
JEWISH AND ARABIC CULTURES"**

A lecture by Dr. ILSE LICHTENSTADTER
Specialist on Islamic Culture

TUESDAY, APRIL 23rd — 5:30 P.M.

Parish House of the
Church of the Heavenly Rest
11 East 90th Street ■ Admission \$2.00
One of a series of Tuesday lectures given by
**THE IRANIAN INSTITUTE AND SCHOOL FOR
ASIATIC STUDIES**

EXCHANGE

EXCHANGE

Good Advertising COPY

or

Expert STYLING Counsel
for

PRIVATE OFFICE
from 40th to 57th Streets, New York City
Reply Box 1591 c/o The Nation

COUNTRY BOARD WANTED

COUPLE with 3 year child desires board
for month of July. Prefer private farm
within 150 miles New York. Box 1592, c/o
The Nation.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

GOOD 8-room house; two baths; steam
heat; 3 acre lawn; splendid trees; tenant
house with bath. All for \$6,000. Imme-
diate. Phone evenings collect Berkshire
Farm Agency, Chatham, N. Y. for ap-
pointment.

FOR LEASE

55,000 SQUARE FEET. Two brick and
stone, sprinklered buildings, 4 stories and
basement (formerly textile mills); elevator
in each building; about 14 acres land, at
Stuyvesant Falls (9 miles from Hudson,
N. Y.)—with perpetual use of 400 h.p.
included in rental. Desirable for chemicals,
textiles, bakery, etc. L. N. Rosenbaum &
Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis.
Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel.
WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors,
psychologists, schools, firms, industries.
Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Mari-
tal, educational, vocational, psychological
problems. Fee \$3.00.

LANGUAGES

STUDY EASILY and quickly all lan-
guages by phonograph records. Also ren-
tals. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17.
MU. 3-1093.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR MAGAZINES simply
by asking me for them! Any number in
one order; pay after I bill at publishers'
lowest prices, club rates, etc. Catalog NA
free. Institutional accounts expedited. John
Crehore, Box 2329-N, Washington 13,
D. C.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum
3 cartons. Price \$1.35 per carton, postpaid.
Send check or money order. Ace Mail
Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

FOR SALE

ANTIQUE JEWELRY

Old Pieces Matched—Skillful Repairing
Old Pieces Bought

Also Rose-cut and Old Mine Diamonds

ANSELMA FRIEL

117 NASSAU ST. CO. 7-5822
NEW YORK CITY

PAINTINGS

PORTRAITS, oil and water color—from
life or foto. ZENK. Studio, 213 Fourth
Ave., N. Y. C.

WANTED

PROFESSOR wishes to exchange 2-bed-
room furnished home in Berkeley, Cal-
ifornia, for furnished apartment in Princeton,
N. J., for one year. Box 1593, c/o The
Nation.

SITUATION WANTED

YOUNG MAN desires to devote himself
to socially useful life-work. Interested in po-
sition requiring fine character with initiative,
ingenuity, energy, understanding of people.
Willing to prove worth. Ardent liberal in
convictions and actions. College graduate.
Willing and eager to study towards higher
degrees in conjunction with work. Excellent
school records. Experience in newspaper field;
also business, selling. Army service: England,
France, Germany. (Reading, writing, speak-
ing knowledge of French, German.) Com-
plete details upon request. Excellent refer-
ences (including present employer). Can
terminate present work by end July. Will-
ing to settle anywhere. Box 1594, c/o The
Nation.

CLASSIFIED

ADVERTISING RATES

62c a line (six words)

Minimum 3 lines

\$6.16 an inch

Attractive discounts for
multiple insertions.

THE Nation

20 Vesey St., N. Y. 7, N. Y.

BARclay 7-1066

of all so-called democratic nations would
create a power so preponderant that it
would prevent conflict. Whether this is
a plausible hope is another matter.
Stalin has already answered this propo-
sition. He has declared that if we regard
ourselves as stronger than Russia, Russia
will prove us to be mistaken. Thus it is
hardly logical to speak of a nuclear fed-
eration excluding Russia as "a step to-
ward the projected world government."
It is more likely to be a step to a third
world war. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

New York, March 20

Summer Plans

Dear Sirs: The University of Southern
California and the Pacific Coast Council
on Intercultural Education will hold a
summer workshop on intercultural edu-
cation from June 24 to August 2.

The members of the staff include Dr.
Stewart G. Cole, director of the Pacific
Coast Council and of the workshop; Dr.
Tanner G. Duckrey, distinguished Negro
leader; and Professor Jane Hood of the
University of Southern California. Resource
leaders will represent special interests in
anthropology, group work, psychology,
minority-group leadership, and school cur-
riculum.

A number of fellowships and scholar-
ships are available. Application should
be made to Mrs. Hood, School of Edu-
cation, University of Southern Cali-
fornia, Los Angeles 7, not later than
May 15 in order to secure living
quarters. Openings for membership in
the workshop are limited in number.

STEWART G. COLE

Los Angeles, March 20

Dear Sirs: Peace—Freedom—Jobs: Our
Goals and Our Responsibilities is the
theme of a conference planned for men
and women interested in international
affairs, race relations, and economic
problems to be held June 24 through
July 5 by the Summer Institute for So-
cial Progress at Wellesley, Mass.

Ordway Tead, chairman of the
Board of Higher Education of the City
of New York, heads the program com-
mittee. Francis K. Ballaine of Adelphi
College and the New York School of
Social Work will be leader of the fac-
ulty, which includes speakers and discus-
sion leaders prominent in a number of
civic organizations.

For terms and program plans write
me at 14 West Elm Avenue, Wollaston
70, Massachusetts.

DOROTHY P. HILL, Director

Wollaston, Mass., March 21

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 27, 1946

NUMBER 17

The Shape of Things

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES LAST WEEK gave the United States a swift kick down the road to catastrophe. While the public watched apathetically and its spokesmen murmured ineffectual protest, the gentlemen of the House acted to make impossible any further attempt at holding down the cost of living. They killed price control and killed it deliberately; one has only to read Tris Coffin's report elsewhere in this issue, or the *Congressional Record* itself, to establish that beyond all doubt. Speaker after speaker urged, in so many words, that the country go whooping off on an immediate spiral of inflation which, they explained, would soon "level off" nicely. We respectfully submit that a synonym for "level off" is collapse, and that at the end of a brief waltz down the garden path of unchecked profits lies the worst depression we have ever known. If inflation is the only means to full production, then we are better off with scarcity. But it is not the only means. Let these industrialists and merchants remember that they won the promise of post-war tax rebates to cover precisely this period of reconversion. Let them listen to their own contentions that increasing production will make present price levels adequate in a matter of months. By refusing to accept the most decisive challenge our private-enterprise system has ever faced, they—and not the critics of capitalism—are condemning private enterprise.

★

THAT OUR ALLEGED REPRESENTATIVES IN Congress would wilfully choose this disastrous course is monstrous enough, but not half so shocking as the way in which they have knuckled under to the high-priced, high-pressure N. A. M. lobbying campaign and let their constituents go whistle. Every sampling of public opinion to date has shown the American people overwhelmingly in favor of continued price control. The strength of that opinion must be brought to bear fast. As this is written there is still a desperate chance that the Senate may come to its senses and repair the damage; but it is only a fighting chance. There is one thing and one thing only that can stave off the "joyride to disaster": a swift uprising on the part of the victims—an indignant and forceful reaction from labor groups, veteran groups, consumer groups, and all the millions of individuals whose

voices Congressmen so seldom hear. It is impossible to exaggerate the peril confronting us. We are in a moment of crisis, and such a moment is not a time for apathy. It is a time for outspoken anger and immediate action.

★

THE ELEVENTH-HOUR ACTION ON FAMINE taken by the government of the United States, in consultation with the governments of the United Kingdom and Canada, may go far to meet the most desperate needs of the 150,000,000 persons who, according to Mr. Hoover, are completely dependent on overseas supplies of food. Secretary Anderson's program setting aside 25 per cent of the wheat normally going into domestic consumption and in other ways making available additional supplies of wheat, corn, and oatmeal for shipment abroad ends the period of terrible fumbling and hesitation. Much credit must go to UNRRA Director LaGuardia for introducing a new note of realism into American food policy. The program to be successful requires the utmost in voluntary cooperation from all citizens. Mr. Truman's proposal for two days a week on a European diet is a good one, and the national health will probably benefit. Restaurants should do their share by keeping off the menu, say on Tuesdays and Fridays, items containing flour, meat, or fats in any quantity. Housewives could plan their week's meals on a similar schedule. We are still convinced, however, that these voluntary methods are no substitute for rationing but rather emergency measures to meet the immediate crisis. All reports based on a knowledge of world food requirements and world food supplies prove that it will be years before large sections of the world's population have enough to eat. That means it will be our continuing responsibility as a great food producer to ship to the areas of most acute want a surplus beyond carefully calculated needs. If this export of food is to be at a maximum and if the sacrifice of home consumers is to be fairly divided, then rationing is called for. The President should take the first steps now to set up an effective system. Meanwhile, it would do no harm for citizens to inform their Congressmen that, in this year of grace 1946, world-mindedness is in style.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	493
Marshall Starts Again	496
Extending the Draft	497

ARTICLES

Spain's Via Dolorosa <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	498
Murder by Amendment <i>by Tris Coffin</i>	500
Justice on a Drumhead <i>by Maurice Rosenblatt</i>	501
Germany: Political Battleground <i>by Fritz Sternberg</i>	504
U. N. from Pillar to Post <i>by Frederick Gutheim</i>	506
The Farmer's Job <i>by James Hearst</i>	508
The People's Front <i>by Del Vayo</i>	509

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Unemployed Intelligence <i>by Albert Guérard</i>	510
Housing Headaches <i>by Charles Abrams</i>	511
Briefer Comment	512
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	514
Films <i>by James Ages</i>	516
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	517

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR 518

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 158 <i>by Jack Barrett</i>	519
--	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor *Literary Editor*
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Randall Jarrell*
European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editors:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editors:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vosey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

EUROPE'S MENACING FAMINE MAY BECOME an important factor in the battle for the political control of the continent. Already a contrast exists between the secure if meager standard of living in the Russian zone of Germany and the threat of starvation in the western zones. American editors in Germany are correctly deducing that such a contrast, sharpening over the months, will produce political results which neither propaganda nor the strong-arm methods employed in the recent Communist-Socialist merger in the Russian zone could accomplish. We believe that the interests of the world would not be served by a Soviet-dominated Europe any more than they would be served by a reactionary "Western bloc." And for that reason we feel that the crucial question to be faced without delay is: How can democracy in Western Europe be rebuilt on a secure economic base? Or to put it another way: What are the means of establishing an economic order that will sustain a free society? Central in this question is the problem of Germany. And it is apparent that the problem of Germany can no longer be stated in the simple terms of denazification or deindustrialization. It is not that we should cease to be concerned over a possible revival of Nazism: it is rather that that danger can be most effectively met by rebuilding Western democracy. But it is equally clear that to attempt to reconstitute the pre-war status in Germany is to invite disaster. A secure German economy will call for large measures of socialist planning. Such measures must be initiated by the occupying powers—as the British seem to have done in connection with the Ruhr mines in their zone—but they must have continuing support from the democratic political forces of the left. The strengthening of these forces should be a major concern of Military Government. The editors call particular attention to the discussion of these crucial problems contained in Fritz Sternberg's article, "Germany: Europe's Political Battleground" on another page of this issue.

✱

FIRMLY REBUKING GROMYKO'S UNSEEMLY suggestion that the Security Council should meet last Friday, the new chairman, Hafez Afifi Pasha, declared a four-day recess, thus protecting all possible religious susceptibilities and stretching to the outer limits a fine, sunny Easter week-end. The delegates dispersed, mostly to the countryside, but it is to be hoped that they permitted themselves a little pious brainwork. There was plenty to think about in the two issues the adjournment left suspended. First in order of precedence was the question raised by Secretary General Lie as to the authority of the Council to keep the Iran dispute on the agenda after both parties had declared it settled and requested that it be dropped. Mr. Lie's memorandum was important both because it established his intention to intervene actively in Council affairs and because it proposed a legal precedent of far-reaching effects. Even

before adjournment, however, the committee of experts to which the matter was referred reported negatively on Lie's suggestion, dividing exactly as the Council had divided on the Iran issue itself; and it was clear that the Council would follow the same course when it re-assembled this Tuesday. That the Council showed no interest in anything but the immediate political effect of Mr. Lie's opinion is another unhappy sign that national affinities and hates are stronger than law or reason or ordinary common sense.

✱

THE OTHER ISSUE CARTED OFF BY THE delegates for the week-end was what to do about Franco. Dr. Lange's demand that the Council apply diplomatic sanctions to Spain would certainly have been vetoed by Britain had it gone to a vote. The cold and disingenuous answer of Sir Alexander Cadogan gave no hint of retreat from the position adopted by the Foreign Office in 1936. In this situation the Australian demand for an investigation seemed a welcome way out; it prevented an immediate veto and made possible further exposure of the facts and further marshaling of world opinion. But it is a dangerous expedient just the same, chiefly because it allows latitude for endless maneuvers behind the international scenes. On the other side, however, is Franco's increasing complacency as he watches British-American efforts to avoid taking action against him. If only he decides to sit tight and await events, some good may come of an investigation. Australia's Foreign Minister, Dr. Evatt, now in London, should chair the five-man committee of inquiry, and it should include, without question, a representative of Poland. It should take evidence in Europe; and if it hears Franco's side it must hear the Republicans as well. Above all it must be given power to subpoena documents in possession of the Allied governments, especially those still carefully concealed in the files of the Department of State.

✱

TO THE OPENLY EXPRESSED ANNOYANCE OF War Department officials, the public has got wind of a startling report made to the House Military Affairs Committee by a subcommittee that has been investigating the army's ancient court-martial system. The chagrin of the Department is easily understood in the light of the subcommittee's introductory observations. Basically, it points out, our military law is "virtually a transcript of the Roman articles of war," slightly modernized by Sweden's King Gustavus Adolphus in 1621, further modified in 1920, but still badly in need of revision. Elsewhere in this issue Maurice Rosenblatt lays bare the discriminatory nature of the court-martial system, which dooms enlisted men to drastic punishment for the mildest cases of disobedience but subjects officers merely to reprimand for any other crime except murder, rape, black market profiteering and cheating at cards, which is conduct un-

becoming an officer. Astonishingly Mr. Rosenblatt's recommendations, with the exception of extending habeas corpus to the armed forces, are all included in the subcommittee's excellent report—even to creating a civilian-controlled Judge Advocate General's office; independent of the chain of command, and providing for a quota of enlisted men to sit co-equally with officers in court-martial cases. Unfortunately these proposals are still merely the confidential recommendations of a subcommittee whose report leaked out to the *New York Times*. They will have rough going in the full committee, whose chairman, Representative May, has never yet been known to antagonize the War Department.

✱

THE COAL STRIKE HAS BECOME THE PRIMARY obstacle to all-out production of the consumer goods for which the country has waited so long and so impatiently. Unless John L. Lewis and the operators reach an agreement within the next week, which appears unlikely, scores of industrial plants throughout the country will be forced to close or curtail their operations. The steel industry in the Pittsburgh area has already been cut back to less than half of capacity, and some curtailment in railway operations is in prospect. Automobile assembly lines are being closed down by the lack of steel. The chief obstacle to an early settlement grows out of Lewis's apparent determination to win more substantial concessions than have been won by any of the C. I. O. unions. Since this would involve a breaking of the recently established price-wage line, it is a matter of grave public concern. Lewis's demand for a company-supported health and welfare fund to be controlled by the union likewise raises issues of long-range significance. Since both Lewis and the operators have shown themselves to be tough bargainers in the past, with relatively little concern for the public interest, immediate and aggressive government intervention is clearly called for.

✱

COMPLETELY UNAFRAID OF THE CHARRED remains of Adolf Hitler, President-elect Juan D. Perón and the Argentine government are still engaged in the war against Nazism which they have been waging week in and week out now for nearly a month. Charging ahead of his troops in the Battle of Buenos Aires, Perón last week called Hitler "a brown beast" and placed his country squarely "at the side of those who defended the principles of justice, liberty, and honor" against this newly discovered menace and his "servile quislings." At the same time Foreign Minister Juan Isaac Cooke deprecated the American State Department's Blue Book on Argentina in a mild reply that wound up with a tribute to "the great President Roosevelt." It wasn't true that Argentina coddled Hitler agents throughout the war, Cooke said, or that it was "favorable to totalitarian powers." And besides, even if it were true, "these facts

were purged by later juridical acts," such as signing the Act of Chapultepec—not to mention violating it—and joining the United Nations. In an isolated burst of contrition Cooke admitted that his country's neutrality until V-Day Minus One "can be considered a mistake from an Argentine point of view." The reply to the Blue Book, coupled with Perón's gallant charge on Hitler, can be taken as a token of Argentina's earnest desire to come to terms with the United States—or it can be accepted simply as the policy of a shrewd demagogue who finds himself in a perfect position to play both sides against the middle. Under the jaundiced eye of a hostile United States he has come to power in Argentina; with the blessing of the American government, should it allow itself to be swayed by such moonshine, he might easily extend that power throughout South America. That's how the "brown beast" got along.

✱

THE DEATH OF LORD KEYNES AT THE FAR too early age of 62 is a sad loss not only for his native land but for the world. In one sense, perhaps, his work was done: his contribution to economic theory has been as fertilizing an influence for our time as Adam Smith's was for the industrial revolution. His "The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money," published only ten years ago has already become a classic. Its basic ideas have been accepted by almost all the younger British and American economists and have been influential even in the dwindling ranks that still defend *laissez faire*. They are the foundations on which post-war planning in many countries is being built. But Keynes was not only a theorist, he was also a practical economic statesman with a wide experience gained as advisor to the British Treasury in two wars. His mature wisdom, which found its finest expression in his great speech defending the Anglo-American Financial Agreement last December, would have been invaluable in meeting the complex problems of trade and employment with which the world must grapple in the years ahead. From that point of view he has died just when his great gifts were most needed. We hope to publish soon an appreciation of him as a man and an economist by one of his British colleagues.

Marshall Starts Again

FOR the second time within five months General Marshall has taken up the task of trying to avoid all-out civil war in China. The promising achievements of his first trip have largely been lost in a renewed outbreak of charges, counter-charges, repudiation of solemn agreements, and actual civil strife between the rival political parties. Public attention has been centered chiefly on the situation in Manchuria, where a shooting war has been under way since the day of Marshall's departure for the United States. But the most ominous news has come from Chungking, where several of the

most important clauses in the political and military agreements arrived at earlier in the year have been repudiated by the Kuomintang. All efforts to reach a new understanding have failed.

Obviously, this new Chinese crisis has not arisen merely because General Marshall was forced to leave the country for a brief trip to Washington. His personal influence on the leaders of all political groups is immense, and his absence has been sorely felt, particularly in the operation of the truce teams which were supposed to stop the actual fighting; but at the same time it must be recognized that the political basis of the unity agreements has been severely shaken by three significant developments which he could not have prevented. These are (1) growing tension in Soviet-American relations, (2) a consequent strengthening of the right wing within the Kuomintang, and (3) Russia's withdrawal from Manchuria. Under right-wing pressure the central executive committee of the Kuomintang has been seeking a change in the proposed constitution that would make the Cabinet responsible to the Chief Executive rather than to the legislature. A sharp dispute has also arisen over the apportionment of seats on the State Council and Cabinet. The inability of the truce teams to check the civil strife in Manchuria may be attributed in part to the Communists' dissatisfaction with the course of events in Chungking and a desire to increase their bargaining power, in part to the government's delay in notifying its commanders of the cease-fire order, and in part to the bitterness of the local guerrilla units over the Kuomintang's use of former Japanese puppet troops. The troops which have been holding out in Changchun, for example, were only a few months ago engaged in "extermination campaigns," under Japanese auspices, against the partisan units which are on the offensive. The leaders of these former puppet forces are for the most part minor war lords who accept Chungking authority only when it is convenient for them to do so. Their failure to cooperate with the truce teams is understandable.

Despite the many difficulties which confront him, most observers, foreign and Chinese alike, expect General Marshall to succeed. The difficulties are certainly no greater than they were five months ago, and necessity for averting war is just as compelling. With 30,000,000 Chinese facing starvation, civil war at this time is unthinkable although it will not be avoided for that reason alone. Official and unofficial pronouncements from all the chief political groups indicate that none of them want war. Only the extreme right wing of the Kuomintang—which faces a serious loss of prestige and authority—appears to oppose a settlement, and its chance of enlisting mass support for a nationalist crusade was lost when the Soviets began to evacuate Manchuria. Such right wing groups as the C. C. clique and General Ho Ying-chin remain powerful within the Kuomintang, but

without the promises of American financial and military aid such as those they received from General Hurley they dare not force a showdown with the Communists and other opposition groups. China is desperately in need of American assistance, and if General Marshall continues to insist on a unified democratic government as condition for such aid, there is reason to believe that differences, acute though they may be, can still be resolved.

Extending the Draft

BETWEEN the "blind and congenital stupidity" of the military, to borrow the indelicately apt phrasing of Senator Johnson of Colorado, and the political cravenness of the present House of Representatives, the army's man-power policies have been ground to a meaningless pulp. Ever since the war ended, the generals have been putting out doctored figures on their requirements, contradicting themselves every hour on the hour, and in general attempting to outsmart Congress rather than to lay a reasoned case before the people. The gentlemen of the Lower House, for their part, have sidestepped the dilemma of either extending the unpopular draft or taking responsibility for the possible failure of the United States to live up to its military commitments. Their solution was to "extend" the draft until the middle of next February, subject to an immediate five-month draft holiday. On October 15, two weeks before the elections, the President would be authorized to decide whether or not to draft during the remaining four months of the extension. It remains for the Senate now to repudiate this shabby political move and come up with a responsible policy.

Aside from political considerations, the question of continuing the draft is admittedly complex. If it were a matter of permanent peace-time conscription, we would be opposed without qualification. The public-welfare arguments advanced in favor of a peace-time draft—its allegedly beneficent effects on the health, morale, and social outlook of the country's young men—are completely spurious, as anyone who has ever spent a month in an army camp can testify. Armies have only one purpose and that purpose is strictly military. They may be a necessary evil in a highly imperfect world, but there is no point in pretending that they have anything to do with making decent citizens, raising the national I. Q., or in any way promoting the better life.

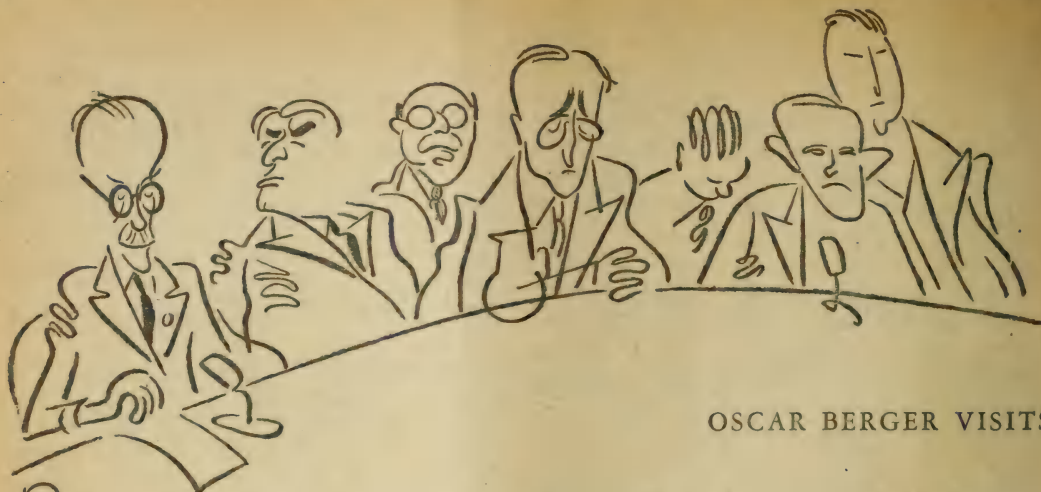
Unfortunately, however, purely military considerations are still with us, and the issue at the moment is not one of peace-time conscription. The issue is whether or not we will finish the war. In undertaking a struggle against fascism we committed ourselves to more than the forcing of an Axis surrender. Occupation of the enemy

countries will continue to be vitally essential for years to come if we are to make the victory stick, and that will take manpower.

It does not necessarily follow that the needed forces can only be secured by extending the draft, or even that a conscripted army is suited for occupation duties. On the contrary, the extremely bad showing that our forces have made since the fighting stopped indicates clearly that men who are willing to make any sacrifice to beat the enemy in the field are bitterly resentful at having to police him as well. The high esprit of the armed forces vanished when the fighting was done, and the miracle armies that overran Europe degenerated overnight to sullen collections of stranded G. I.'s. Thousands of them plunged into black-marketing, and other thousands became an easy prey to subtle German propaganda. The task of policing in a political war calls for a psychological approach that no one has a right to expect from men drafted indiscriminately and for a totally different function. It is clearly a job for a volunteer corps, small in size, mobile and well equipped, and trained for the purpose.

This is where the military imagination bogged down completely. Throughout the war it trained picked volunteers for airborne duties, submarine warfare, and other specialized branches of service, but it failed utterly to train a picked force for the occupation. As a result it now camps on the doorstep of Congress, brass hat in hand, begging for replacements.

Regardless of past mistakes, we agree that those replacements must be provided, especially to relieve men who have long since been entitled to their discharge. But we hope the Senate, unlike the House, will get at the heart of the matter and concern itself with policy rather than politics. Specifically, we would like to see it take three steps: (1) call on General Eisenhower for a clear and definitive statement of the army's manpower requirements in each of the theaters of occupation, an estimate not to be subject to contradictions the following week from General MacArthur, General Hershey, or Colonel McCormick; (2) vote to extend the draft for a fixed period, with exemptions for men under twenty and for fathers, but with no holiday and no tricky election deadline; (3) direct the War Department to get down to cases in its lagging campaign to raise an enlisted army. Thanks less to the efforts of the army's recruiting personnel than to unemployment among veterans, lack of housing, and a general inability to face civilian life, nearly 600,000 men have enlisted since last October. With a determined recruiting effort, with pay increases for enlisted men, and, above all, with a genuine will to eliminate the unnecessary stupidities of the caste system, a volunteer army can unquestionably be built up, with every advantage over a conscripted force—technical, moral, and political.



OSCAR BERGER VISITS

Berger
Humboldt College

Spain's Via Dolorosa

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 21

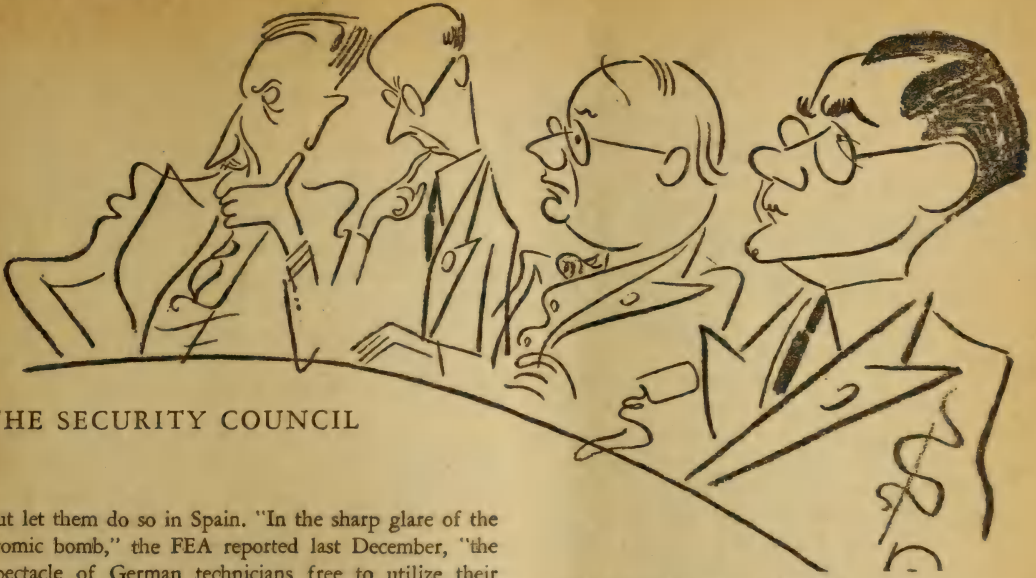
IN HIS address here last night before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Trygve Lie, secretary general of the United Nations, said that the debates which have taken place before the Security Council mark "a very great step away from the old secret diplomacy." But public quarreling is not necessarily a means of public enlightenment. The current debate over Spain indicates that what the powers say in public is little indication of what they are doing in private. It is only by accident and indirection that one can obtain a glimpse of what is actually happening as regards Spain. As secret a game of diplomacy as any played in the eighteenth century is going on among Washington, London, the Vatican, and Madrid. Its purpose is to replace the Franco dictatorship as quietly as possible with a regime less offensive to world democratic opinion but as friendly to the church and Anglo-American big-business interests and as dependable a member of the new anti-Soviet Holy Alliance. Mr. Stettinius's statements in New York and State Department releases here are intended not to inform public opinion of these developments but to disarm and deceive while they can be brought to fruition. And the Australian compromise proposal for an investigation of the case against Franco, if supported by Britain and America, will be utilized not to discover the facts but further to delay action on them.

There was a certain flavor of humbug in the boast made by Colonel Hodgson to the Security Council last

Thursday. "The Australian viewpoint, sir," he said, "has been consistent right through. We have demanded investigation and evidence and proved facts before we reached decisions." But Spain is hardly the same kind of terra incognita as Azerbaijan, and even as far away as Australia public opinion does not need an investigation to make up its mind on Franco. The questions to be answered have all been answered, and are recorded not only in black and white but in blood. Was Franco a "non-belligerent" ally of the Axis? Is his a fascist regime? Are German industries and agents strongly entrenched in Spain? Has German strategy in the past used Spain and other "neutral" bases to prepare new weapons and new wars? Is Franco hindering the victorious Allies in their efforts to root out such influences in Spain? The answer to all these questions is yes, and they add up inescapably to the fact that Franco Spain is a menace to world peace and security both as a center of fascist infection and as a secret laboratory for new German war preparations.

The Hodgson compromise is well intentioned and may be better than a defeat on the Polish motion, but it may easily be used to obfuscate the issue. The very wording and sequence of the three questions raised in the Hodgson amendment invite arid debate. The first, "Is the Spanish situation one essentially within the jurisdiction of Spain?" is ideally phrased for exercise in diplomatic metaphysics. The second, "Is the situation in Spain one which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute?" will breed irrelevancies; the question is not whether Franco is going to invade France or seize Gibraltar next summer.

What we have to take steps against now is a menace that may not take shape for another decade or two. What we have to consider is whether we wish to stamp out fascism in Germany and Italy but let it breed unhampered in Spain; whether we wish to prevent the Germans from preparing new weapons for a new war in the Reich



THE SECURITY COUNCIL

but let them do so in Spain. "In the sharp glare of the atomic bomb," the FEA reported last December, "the spectacle of German technicians free to utilize their material resources and industrial facilities as they will outside Germany cannot be viewed without the gravest concern by the Allies." This is not the perspective of the questions framed by Colonel Hodgson.

The proposed inquiry as outlined by the Hodgson proposal has two other weaknesses. In suggesting that the Franco regime present evidence of its own, Colonel Hodgson offered the fascist dictator a springboard from which he can attack France, the Soviet Union, and his Republican enemies. For Franco can claim, and is already claiming, that it is their activities which threaten peace and security. The other weakness is a subtler one. The resolution asks for "further written statements and documentary evidence from members of the United Nations," but the two best-informed of the United Nations are the two which are least desirous of indicting Franco. The State Department and the British Foreign Office possess much information on German activities in Spain which they do not wish to disclose for fear of further inflaming public opinion against Franco. The State Department has some 8,000 documents on Axis activities in Spain which were obtained in Germany and have never been published. British and American intelligence agents have reported a great deal on the German network in Spain; rich files of correspondence attest Franco's unwillingness to cooperate with us in eliminating these dangerous influences. There are a handful of men in the American and British embassies in Madrid who could tell a story of heart-breaking difficulties.

Facts are not lacking here. What is lacking is the will to act on them. And the will is lacking because the State Department and the Foreign Office are not thinking in United Nations terms but in terms of a hostile world split into a Soviet and an Anglo-American bloc. They

would rather have some kind of reactionary regime in Spain other than Franco's, but they prefer Franco to a republic in which the leftist parties might be a power. The same fear of communism and lack of confidence in democracy which led the Foreign Office to support Mussolini before the war is now leading it and the State Department to support Franco. There is a new Axis which runs from both London and Washington to Rome, and the church has a favored position under Franco. "No external ceremonies or manifestations will be permitted," says the charter he proclaimed last July, "except those of the Catholic religion." The church would like a regime under which this type of "religious freedom" would be "preserved." Obviously it would not be preserved under a republic.

This is the background of twisted thinking and Metternichian maneuver against which the American, the Dutch, and the British delegates said their pieces before the Security Council last week. All three were against Franco, but Dr. van Kleffens wanted no action by the U. N. because this would strengthen Franco at home. Mr. Stettinius was against action because this would so weaken Franco as to encourage "the resumption of the horrors of civil conflict." Sir Alexander Cadogan, who provided a vivid picture of the Foreign Office mind at work, rested comfortably on the basic proposition that "the nature of a regime in a given country is indisputably a matter of domestic jurisdiction"—unless, of course, it threatens to develop into a leftist regime, as in Greece. Only direct action by labor the world over to stop shipments to Franco and the strongest possible kind of public pressure in the United States and Britain can defeat these synthetic anti-fascists and their efforts to maintain tyranny, in one guise or another, in Spain.

Murder by Amendment

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting Company

Washington, April 19

UNLESS some miracle is worked in the Senate, the destructive waves of inflation will roll over the United States in midsummer. The present price-control act expires with a faint gasp on June 30. The bill passed by a sleepy House of Representatives last Thursday morning has only a flicker of life left in it.

For twelve hours on Wednesday the House lashed itself into a frenzy of rage. When the chamber was darkened near midnight, the OPA had been torn to shreds.

During most of the afternoon a group of men were busy pulling Congressmen off the floor into the hallway leading to the Senate and lecturing them on this old devil OPA. The Representatives stomped back into the hall with determined looks on their faces.

This was the last push of one of the most carefully planned lobbies in Congressional history. Tons of mail damning the OPA have piled up in the two House office buildings. It represented the anger of unhappy distributors, wholesalers, and retailers, stoked by the National Association of Manufacturers.

Every business man with a complaint against the OPA was enthusiastically urged to write, call, and visit his Congressman. Witnesses came before committees to tell stories that had a weary similarity: OPA was holding back production, OPA was building up a black market, OPA was persecuting business men. Each complainant begged, "Just give me more profit on my items."

The other voices—those that wanted the OPA—were weak and restrained. President Truman at his Wednesday press conference did not even bring up the subject. A reporter asked him if he had anything to say about the crippling Wolcott amendments. The President replied mildly that he would not vote for them if he were still in the Senate.

Labor and consumer groups were ineffective. They scattered their shots too much—at housing, minimum wages, atomic energy, Franco, John L. Lewis.

The only really energetic group, two thousand women from all sections of the country organized by Mrs. Leon Henderson, wife of the former price administrator, were shoved around by Capitol policemen and discouraged by doorkeepers. Only a few managed to see their Congressmen and present petitions. They ended up talking to themselves.

The strange session of the House opened at ten o'clock Wednesday morning. Shortly before noon Representative John Rankin slouched up to the speaking stand and shouted, "The OPA is totalitarianism in its worst

form." He was greeted with happy shouts of applause. Rankin moved to kill the bill outright—send it back to the committee with the enacting clause ripped off. He was joined by only thirty-three others, the extreme right-wing fringe of the House.

The chief anti-OPA strategist, Jesse Wolcott, Republican, sat back calmly awaiting his turn. The strategy did not call for outright murder. The voters might not understand.

Wolcott opened the attack with his two amendments—to extend the OPA to March 31 only, and to guarantee every manufacturer, distributor, and retailer a cost-plus profit on every item handled. Other amendments rushed in to the clerk's desk—yanking out meat subsidies, fixing a formula for ending price controls, repealing the regulation which forces manufacturers to make low-priced clothing.

The strategy was to let the loud voices of the extreme OPA critics fire the fury of the others. Jessie Sumner, Representative from Illinois, screamed, "OPA is the chief reason we don't have production. OPA is encouraging inflation." Others shouted, "OPA is a sham and a fraud. The only people who want OPA are the bureaucrats."

A few voices of protest tried to be heard above the clamor. Representative Baldwin, New York Republican, said, "I think there is a great deal of confusion here today. If we want inflation . . . go along the road we have followed today." Brent Spence, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, called out, "Inflation is guaranteed. Price control is a corpse."

The test vote came early in the afternoon, on the Wolcott amendments. Almost all the Republicans moved toward the center aisle to surge past the tellers. Democrats pulled themselves out of their chairs to join the parade. The amendments passed by large votes.

The Senate is not in any friendlier mood toward the OPA. The cotton-bloc Senators are lined up against it. They had a holiday in the Senate on Monday afternoon. Senator Eastland of Mississippi led off with a speech that John Rankin would have envied. After accusing the OPA of causing the cotton-goods shortage by not allowing an increase in the price of cotton, he angrily jumped on the records of individual OPA employees. He wound up with the statement, "The only thing I know today is to abolish the agency."

Chester Bowles spent two days—Monday and Tuesday—before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee trying to read a statement that would ordinarily

have taken forty-five minutes. He was heckled and interrupted at every turn by Senators Taft, Capehart, Millikin, Buck, and Bankhead. The heckling was so obvious that Senator Barkley said, "I move that Mr. Bowles be allowed to read one paragraph."

Bowles testified that rising prices would mean a rising cost of living leading to "a paralysis of strikes to raise wages." He said that we were now in the same stage of conversion to peace that we were in 1942 in conversion to war. He guaranteed that a flood of consumer goods would pour out of the pipe line next year.

Capehart, the former juke-box manufacturer, broke in to ask, "Why not satisfy the demands of manufacturers and increase prices 10 per cent?"

Taft added sarcastically, "How can you hold prices when wages go up?"

Bowles answered, "All through the thirties wages were increased, costs went down, and profits were larger."

The Ohio Senator was not satisfied. He said, "Lots of people are going out of business these days."

Bowles replied mildly, "But there are fewer bankruptcies now than ever before."

Taft snapped back, "Bankruptcy has gone out of style. They just quit. You did not answer my question."

The Economic Stabilization Director sighed, "Obviously, I'm never going to satisfy you."

Taft came back again and again to his thesis that since wages had been increased, prices should go up. Arguing against the food subsidies, he said, "You have just allowed wage increases. Why not use them to pay an increase in food prices?"

Bowles explained, "You don't buy groceries on wage rates. You buy them on earnings, and earnings have gone down since V-J Day."

The irritated Senator replied, "I don't need a subsidy to pay my food bill."

Bowles had his final word, "Not everyone is in your class, Senator."

Senator Barkley, who has been attending most of the hearings and who will have to carry the main load in the Senate fight in place of ailing Senator Wagner, is not sanguine about the OPA's chances. He has privately advised Administration leaders that the Republican-Southern Democrat coalition is strong enough to chew up price controls in the Senate.

The only hope is for some miracle. Why don't the people who need the OPA start a grass fire of their own that will burn its way to Capitol Hill?

Justice on a Drumhead

BY MAURICE ROSENBLATT

Former editor of the City Reporter; during the war a special agent of the Criminal Investigation Department of the army

A COLONEL sits stiffly before the American flag. To his right and left, tapering in rank, are half a dozen junior officers, immobility and coldness masking their faces. This is a general court martial. The trial judge advocate, whose sole duty in the army is to prosecute, sits on one side acting both as prosecutor and adviser to the court. Opposite is the defense counsel, who has been hastily called from his duties as supply officer. The defendant—call him Sergeant Smith—is marched in under guard. He is bewildered by the rank and isn't sure whether he should salute or sit down. He has seen his attorney only once before, for a few minutes.

Charges are read, and the defense counsel waives the right to challenge any member of the court. A witness identifies Smith and is handed a typewritten sheet from which he reads his testimony. A judge asks if Smith was sober when the witness saw him in the jeep. Two other witnesses read statements. The judge advocate says that Smith is clearly guilty.

While the court deliberates he stands outside under guard. Things happened so fast he missed the moment when he was going to tell the court all about the jeep: that he'd just been released from the hospital and

wanted to pick up ice for a party at the casual camp. He was going to tell about getting no mail for three months while his division pushed the enemy back several hundred miles; about being wounded. Carrying an automatic rifle made him a special target, though these people wouldn't understand that. All he wants is to get back to his outfit and not let his family know he was court-martialed. He goes over the unuttered story.

Meanwhile the court reaches its decision. The junior officer votes first so that he will not be swayed by the judgment of his senior. It is a scrupulous provision, one of those punctilios of army law which could have meaning if the substance of the whole procedure were fair. Finally Smith faces the judges. He has been found guilty of unlawfully using government property. Before fixing sentence the court examines his record; it is clean, but the president of the court has privately reminded the others that the commanding general is tired of vehicle thefts, and that these fellows back from the front must realize they are still in the army.

So Smith hears that he is to be broken to private, forfeit all pay and allowances, including months of combat pay which never caught up with him, be confined at hard

labor for two years, and be dishonorably discharged. The whole trial took scarcely longer than a traffic case in night court.

Eight months after V-J Day more than 33,500 American soldiers are still confined in army prisons and rehabilitation centers. How did they get there?

Upon entering the army the soldier surrenders his constitutional rights and becomes subject to a code set forth in the army's "Manual for Courts Martial." This defines three types of court. The summary court tries minor violations and may fine or restrict an enlisted man. The special court, a board of three officers, decides cases of a more serious nature; these are presented by the trial judge advocate, and the defendant is entitled to counsel. The highest tribunal, the general court martial, has power to try officers as well as enlisted men. It can administer fines, sentence to hard labor and dishonorable discharge, and even impose the death penalty. The defendant may choose his own counsel, but few soldiers know that they may retain a civilian lawyer if they desire, and guardhouses provide no facilities for inmates to make arrangements for their defense. In practice the defense counsel is usually inexperienced and sometimes without legal training.

On paper army justice is severe but fair. Actually it is frequently unfair and even brutal, less a system of justice than an arbitrary disciplinary code. Instead of preserving order and curbing crime it serves too frequently as an instrument of oppression by which officers fortify low-caliber leadership. Army justice has become the club which polices the caste system, punishing petty misconduct while ignoring the grossest malefaction. It creates bitterness, disillusionment, and helpless resentment among citizen-soldiers.

An ex-G. I. can talk about army justice for hours, drawing on an inexhaustible stock of stories. Most of the cases cited here came to my notice during the three years I was attached to the army's Department of Criminal Investigation. Army men who worked in the Judge Advocate or Provost Marshal section can match these with examples far more grim and lurid.

The first complaint against army justice is that it operates on a double standard. Theoretically both officers and men are subject to the Articles of War listed in the Manual; in practice army justice is administered only by officers and applied almost exclusively to enlisted men. In 1940 the army conducted 16,391 courts martial; 17 of the men tried were officers. Only commissioned officers may serve on the court. Consequently the soldier is not tried by his equals but by representatives of a superior class whose status is maintained by disciplining the ranks. And a large proportion of trials arise from conflicts between officers and men.

An officer may violate an Article of War flagrantly

and publicly, and not be punished. During the war a married lieutenant stationed at an East Coast town dated an eighteen-year-old girl. As he was taking her home he dragged her into an alley and tried to rape her. During the struggle the girl's arm was broken. The lieutenant had her arm set at the army hospital, and the case was reported to military authorities. When questioned, the lieutenant admitted his part in the affair but laughed it all off, saying the girl was notoriously loose. The captain conducting the inquiry, a good friend of the lieutenant's, dropped the matter with the comment that lots of people broke their arms in winter falling on ice.

A contrast to the case of the laughing lieutenant is offered by that of the two enlisted men who picked up a WAC hitch-hiker in New Guinea. The woman spent several hours with the soldiers and later reported to the M. P.'s that her watch had been stolen. Some two hours after reporting the theft, she casually remarked that she had also been "raped." The two soldiers readily admitted having had relations with the woman but said she had been completely agreeable. At the trial no medical testimony was introduced to show physical evidence of rape. The court had only the word of the woman. But the two soldiers were sentenced to more than ten years' hard labor. The character of the woman was not discussed at the trial, although she was awaiting return to the States because of mental incompetence.

An accused officer is rarely confined to a guardhouse before his trial. He can collect his evidence and muster his witnesses. If he is found guilty, the double standard still operates—"the higher the rank the milder the penalty." A reprimand to an officer is regarded as equivalent to a prison sentence for an enlisted man. Even traffic violations were treated differently during the war. At a camp where non-coms caught speeding were reduced to private and compelled to dig graves, officers were fined and reprimanded.

Combat soldiers who had engaged the enemy and survived by their own wits and initiative clashed with the garrison mentality behind the lines. At the front the use of vehicles, equipment, and food was dictated by necessity, and small heed was paid to vouchers or requisitions. When combat soldiers returned to a rear base, they wanted to blow off steam and have a good time—which generally involved liquor and a vehicle. Often when they were apprehended they were still suffering from combat fatigue, but the courts martial were likely to ignore that fact and to convict these men along with barracks thieves and deserters.

An over-conscientious soldier can get into considerable trouble inasmuch as the preservation of authority is of greater concern to the court than the merits of the case. A private at Fort Custer, Michigan, while on "k. p." was directed by the mess sergeant to take meat which had been thrown into the garbage and place it in the refriger-

ator. The private refused, because the meat was too dirty. Two days later he was court-martialed for refusing to obey a lawful order. The only factor which the court considered was that the sergeant had issued an order which the private had failed to obey. He was sentenced to three months' hard labor.

There is no habeas corpus in the army. The Articles of War direct that no one may be unduly detained without being properly charged and tried, but the soldier, jailed before trial, has no way of enforcing his rights. Public opinion, the watchdog of civilian justice, plays virtually no part in the army's system.

A Pennsylvania soldier, the father of eight, went home on furlough and overstayed his leave a week to be with his sick wife. On his way back to camp he was picked up in New Jersey. His records failed to arrive, and his trial was therefore put off. He told his story to six chaplains and inspectors without results. After he had been kept in confinement three months the allotment to his family was cut off on the ground that he was not earning his pay while in the guardhouse. That night he swallowed a disinfectant poison but was rushed to a hospital, where a stomach pump saved his life. A few lines in his home-town paper about the attempted suicide worked wonders. He was brought to trial immediately and received a full acquittal, followed in a few weeks by an honorable discharge.

Who was to blame? Nobody wanted to take the responsibility for releasing the soldier under a system set up to confine, try, and convict. The safeguards of Anglo-Saxon justice were missing.

Guardhouse censorship makes it impossible for a prisoner to tell the outside world about mistreatment or violations of regulations by prison officers. In many though not all army prisons, at home and abroad, a sadistic streak developed in the jailors. Men have been beaten and tortured, and fatalities have resulted from guardhouse brutality. The most notorious camp, at Lichfield, England, is currently having its crimson history of flogging and murder spread before the public in the testimony given at the trial of nine guards and two officers accused of cruelty. Yet the Lichfield commandant, Colonel Killian, was recommended for promotion by the War Department. Public protest led, instead, to his being charged with responsibility for "the cruel treatment" of prisoners—treatment which is alleged to have included beatings with rifle butts and rawhide.

Apologists for the army's court-martial record point out that there are practically no instances of an innocent man being convicted or framed. That is true, but one must remember that army regulations are so voluminous and contradictory that every officer and man in the service could be proved a transgressor if the authorities desired to press a charge. Too much depends upon the caprice of superior officers. Stealing a jeep might rate

only a six months' sentence at one camp; at another it might bring three years and a dishonorable discharge.

At present the House Military Affairs Committee and an army commission are investigating the court-martial system. Nothing will be accomplished, however, if they recommend only superficial reforms instead of basic changes. Any effort to revamp military justice runs head on against the congealed caste system, the officers' code, the inflexibility of the military mind, and the sacred traditions of the service. But the fact remains that now is the time to obtain the needed changes, while the army is courting public favor for appropriations and recruits. Veterans and taxpayers can demand certain reforms:

1. The protection of habeas corpus must be extended to the army.

2. Military courts should include enlisted men as well as officers among the judges, in the trials of both officers and enlisted men.

3. The legal section of the army, the Judge Advocate General's Department, should not be under the control of commanders of troops but should be made directly answerable to the Secretary of War, a civilian. This would end the present practice of using the legal powers of the army as an administrative weapon, to enforce personal policies. A civilian board of review should examine all court-martial sentences, and periodically inspect guardhouses and rehabilitation centers.

4. The Judge Advocate section, which today functions as a prosecutor's office, should provide also for defense. Access to civilian attorneys, now provided for in theory, should be facilitated.

5. The Courts Martial Manual should be revised; penalties for specific offenses should be standardized and a distinction made between breaches of army discipline and criminal offenses. Also, a policy should be worked out regarding psychiatric evidence and medical treatment of sexual abnormals.

6. Officers in the Judge Advocate and Provost Marshal sections who have shown bias, cruelty, or negligence should be prosecuted.

7. Court-martial proceedings are not secret. If the press made a point of reporting courts martial like civil courts, the spotlight of publicity would do more than anything else to remedy current abuses.

Above all, the thousands of American soldiers still confined in army guardhouses and federal penitentiaries are entitled to a prompt review of their cases. A distinction should be made between those who committed actual crimes and those who overstepped one of the innumerable taboos and happened to be caught.

Remember, the man in uniform can do nothing about all this. It is up to veterans and civilians to right the wrongs of the past and set up a court-martial system which will be the cornerstone of a democratic army.

Germany: Political Battleground

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

German economist now living in this country; author of "The Coming Crisis," to be published shortly

ON APRIL 14, 1,200 delegates of the Social Democratic and Communist parties of Germany met in Berlin's Palace Theater in the Russian sector and decided to merge the two parties. At this meeting, according to a report in the *New York Times* of April 15, Otto Grotewohl, chairman of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party, hailed the accomplishment of fusion and predicted that the unification of the two parties would be extended to the zones occupied by the Western powers.

Though the merger in Berlin was effected under Russian pressure, the ground for it had been prepared much earlier. Even before the war many German workers realized that the bitter dissensions in their own ranks had facilitated the Nazi victory. After the collapse of the Nazi regime, it was very natural for them to resolve not to repeat the old mistakes but to form one united German workers' party. In many German towns, within and outside the Russian zone, socialist-unity parties came into being.

The Red Army, representing Russian policy, was not at first for a united party; in the beginning it sanctioned four parties in the Russian zone—the Democratic, the Christian Democratic, the Social Democratic, and the Communist. The Russians assumed that the German workers would hail the Red Army as liberators and that in consequence the German Communist Party would grow to such proportions that it would be all-powerful.

These hopes were not fulfilled. On the contrary, the behavior of the Red Army, in Germany as in Austria and Hungary, diminished any Communist leanings among the population, and the removal of a large amount of machinery from German factories increased the antipathy to the conquerors. All elections at which no pressure was exerted, even in the Russian zone, showed that the Communists were not dominant; in many the Social Democrats were far ahead.

When the Russians could not delude themselves any longer about this trend, they "recommended" the merger of the Social Democrats and the Communists into one party. Their reasons were obvious. In their zone as in the others, general elections will be held in the course of the year. Without a merger of the two workers' parties the Communists would certainly remain in the minority. A united party, however, might obtain a majority of the votes cast—especially since the German middle classes have been so largely destroyed. This united party would

be in reality the Communist Party under another name; the Russians would use it as an instrument of their policies in their zone, and it would attempt to extend its influence westward.

RUSSIA USES TERROR

After "recommending" the merger the Russians had some difficulty in completing it since there are in Berlin, besides the Russian, an American, a British, and a French sector. The Social Democratic Executive Committee in Berlin favored a united party, but at a stormy meeting of party officers an overwhelming majority voted against the merger and demanded that members be given a chance to record their position in a secret ballot. In this vote the Soviet-sponsored proposal to dissolve the Social Democratic Party and merge it with an expanded Communist movement was rejected seven to one. On April 7 three Social Democratic leaders who had capitulated to Soviet pressure were expelled by the enraged membership.

This unmistakable repudiation of their scheme did not, however, deter the Russians from calling the meeting which on April 14 voted for the merger. It was the forerunner of a Social Democratic-Communist Party Congress for the entire Russian zone. And because outside of Berlin the Social Democrats in the Russian zone are subject to undiluted Russian pressure a preponderant majority of them will probably agree to a united party.

The character of the pressure being exerted was described in the *London Tribune* on March 1:

A detailed report on eastern Germany appeared last Tuesday in the *Manchester Guardian*. Most of the facts in this report agreed exactly with the evidence available from independent sources. This report claims that the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen have been put back into service to house the growing number of democrats arrested by the Russians for political dissent. One of the men named is Dr. Hermann Brill—a leading Thuringian Social Democrat who was arrested for underground work in 1938 and found in Buchenwald when the Americans arrived. Now, according to the *Guardian*, he finds himself again under arrest for opposing party fusion on Russian terms.

The *New York Times* furnished confirmation in a dispatch from Berlin by Kathleen McLaughlin, dated March 20:

Contrary to the pledges of political freedom given in the Potsdam agreement Soviet Military Government

authorities have reactivated the Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen concentration camps and are detaining in them dissenters from the merger of Communist and Social Democratic parties. Testimony to this effect is extensive in an Allied document. . . . Sworn statements of German civilians who have been detained assert that their only offense was active opposition to the proposed merger. Although no mistreatment is alleged such as made the names of the camps infamous throughout the world, some of the individuals who were inmates there during the war for anti-Nazi activities are again behind the same walls for anti-Communist speeches and sentiment, according to these statements.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL CHANGES

While the Russians are using terrorism to obtain a united party, they are also making a strong appeal to the Social Democratic workers by taking measures to change the structure of society. They will, of course, have to overcome much anti-Russian feeling, but the contrast between their positive acts and the absence of any constructive changes in the British and American zones is bound to make an impression on German labor.

The Russians have liquidated the Junkers. By breaking up their feudal estates, they have deprived these reactionary German groups of their economic base and have done it regardless of the immediate effect on agricultural production. In industry they have instituted a state-planned production based on need, and though they have removed much machinery and even whole factories to Russia, output in their zone, according to all reports, is greater than in the American, British, or French zone, and there is hardly any unemployment.

On paper the Russians have not socialized production; in reality they have gone rather far in that direction. In one of a series of articles about the Russian zone the London *Economist* said:

Nominally the eastern German industries have not yet been nationalized. East of the Elbe denazification has hit big business more thoroughly than in the west. In consequence, nearly all the big industrial concerns in the Russian zone are now under public control. . . . Throughout the Russian zone the *Betriebsräte* (works councils) play a dominant part in industry. They have the last say on all matters where employment and denazification are involved. Large factories are mostly managed by boards of four directors. . . . Usually the technical director belonging to the old management is left in his position. The three other directors are in charge of commercial, financial, and personnel affairs. The directors work in close contact with the works councils, and probably also under pressure from them. The whole scheme shows a fair amount of resemblance to the "factory democracy" of the early years of the Russian Revolution.

From the base of a social revolution in their zone and with a united workers' party as their instrument, the

Russians will attempt to build up political influence in western Germany. If the Western allies permit economic activity in their zones to remain at its present low level, and if there is again mass unemployment, the Russian-supported united party will acquire great and decisive strength.

MORE CALORIES

As has been recognized lately by the British and Americans, it is extremely important that things should not look worse in their zone than in the Russian, especially in the matter of food. At the moment the population in the Russian zone is getting more calories, partly because a larger percentage of it is engaged in agriculture. The dangers inherent in this situation have been clearly recognized by persons on the spot. The United Press reported from Berlin: "A group of American editors and publishers touring Germany under army auspices warned the American people today that they must assume the responsibility of feeding the Germans if democracy is to compete with communism in Germany." Edward T. Leech, editor of the *Pittsburgh Press*, wrote: "We had better either give the Germans enough food or go out. We cannot democratize the Germans on 1,200 calories a day when communism has been taught on 1,600 calories in the Russian zone." Paul Bellamy, editor of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*: "We have to feed the Germans or throw Central Europe into the hands of Communists." Gardner Cowles, Jr., publisher of the *Des Moines Register-Tribune*: "If we do not feed the Germans adequately it is inevitable that a great deal of chaos will result and there will be a tendency to swing Germany toward the Soviets, which I consider unfortunate. I think it would be much cheaper to feed the Germans adequately now than to face the consequences of an inadequate diet in the future."

Not only the supply of food but the whole economy and especially the position of the German worker in society should be at least as good in the west as in the east. Yet nowhere in the entire Western zone does production amount to more than 10 per cent of peace-time production and a considerable part of the output is used by the occupation armies. If this continues, German workers will say that they prefer a Russian regime, in which they will have some influence on working conditions, to a political democracy with a non-functioning economy and many millions of unemployed.

What can be done to counter this trend toward Russia? So far the British and Americans have been content to support the efforts of those Social Democrats who want to preserve their party's independence. That will not be sufficient *unless at the same time they change their entire economic policy in the western half of Germany*. First, the main objectives of the Potsdam plan must be revised. Its proposed, and to a large extent accomplished, de-industrialization of Germany means unem-

ployment for millions for years; it means stagnation not only for Germany but also for other parts of Western Europe; it means destroying the foundation of all the European Socialist parties, because those parties are founded on employed workers.

SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION IN THE WEST

In England these facts are gradually becoming clear. The Labor Party, now in the saddle, has always had close connections with the German trade unions and Social Democrats. And the most industrially developed areas are in the British zone. The British are therefore against a strict interpretation of the Potsdam agreement and in favor of a not inconsiderable reconstruction of German industry—reconstruction, moreover, *not on the old monopolistic-capitalistic basis, but on a socialized basis*. The *London Economist*, which takes a more moderate position in regard to socialization of industry in England, calls for "far-reaching socialist experiments" in the British zone, saying, "Instead of being driven reluctantly into them, let the British administration openly and deliberately evolve a plan for public ownership of the essential industries and services in North-west Germany."

To this British proposal, as to every other advocating the reconstruction of German industries, the objection is

made that rebuilding German industry means rebuilding the German war potential. The answer to this is that the danger of new aggressive action on Germany's part will not depend on the capacity of its industries but *on what forces, what classes, control them*. If the old monopolistic-capitalistic forces remain in power, then naturally the danger exists that industrial reconstruction will further the development of the old neo-fascist, aggressive aims. The reconstruction of the German economy cannot be separated from a change in the structure of German society.

The Western powers cannot long avoid a decision about the future of the German economy, the socialization of German industries. If the level of German production continues dismally low, then mass unemployment will be unavoidable, and the superiority of the Russian planned economy will be plain to German labor. This will mean handing over all Germany to the Russians. But if German industry, beginning in the British zone, is reconstructed on a socialistic basis, then the German workers will be fully employed and have a decisive voice in management and in their working conditions. If at the same time the workers enjoy personal and political liberty they will have no temptation to join a Soviet-sponsored party but will keep their own Social Democratic Party strong and independent.

U. N. from Pillar to Post

BY FREDERICK GUTHEIM

Expert on town planning and editor of Frank Lloyd Wright's book "On Architecture"

THE difficulties U. N. experienced in choosing temporary headquarters, ended last week by the decision to use the New York City building in Flushing Meadow Park as a meeting place for the Assembly and the Sperry Gyroscope plant at Lake Success on Long Island for the councils and secretariat, were nothing compared to those it will encounter in the final choice and development of permanent headquarters.

At the root of its difficulties has been the organization's inability, or unwillingness, to concentrate on its actual needs. This was revealed last fall by the instructions to the site-selection committee. It was even more apparent in the committee's report on the Westchester-Fairfield site. Indeed, the search of Dr. Gavrilovic's committee for the Inspiring View left little doubt that considerations of greater importance were not kept in mind. Nor have the subsequent efforts of the organization to find an interim solution of its headquarters problem indicated much recognition of the present and future needs of the United Nations. The recently concluded

negotiations for the Sperry Company's plant at Lake Success, again ignoring the local community and making inadequate provisions for future growth, shows that little has been learned from previous experience in Westchester and the Bronx.

What does U. N. require for its permanent headquarters? This is the question the organization must answer before applying to the planning professions for help. Architects, engineers, and landscape architects cannot get to work until a decision on fundamental needs has been reached. To the layman outside the mysterious circles of U. N. administration some of the essentials seem clear. U. N. will need more than a place for the Assembly to meet, a place for the councils to meet, and working space for the secretariat. (I am not referring here to the relatively simple matter of whether the organization requires its own powerful radio station or its own international airport.) It will probably have to accommodate a very large number of international organizations, perhaps as many as a hundred, now in exist-

ence or shortly to be created. It may have to take in the International Bank and the Monetary Fund, the International Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; even UNRRA. It may need accommodations for organizations concerned with the refugee question, with an international postal system, a monetary system, a uniform system of weights and measures. Perhaps the International Labor Office, now temporarily located in Montreal, may move to U. N. headquarters. In short, the site must be ample for a city of nearly half a million people, a world capital, developing step by step with the evolution of the United Nations.

The Westchester-Fairfield site has been criticized as too large. But it is not large enough to meet a realistic estimate of U. N.'s requirements. Perhaps it is not too late for the organization to reconsider its choice and to debate the advantages of a larger site in Putnam County whose acquisition would be less difficult and whose potentialities for expansion would be greater. Controversy over the Westchester-Fairfield site has at least made it clear that a future city rather than a "small college campus"—in Senator Vandenberg's revealing comment—is planned. Any idea that U. N. can be satisfactorily housed in existing buildings—on Long Island, in Flushing, the Bronx, or elsewhere—is greatly mistaken. Only a tract of land separate from any existing city and a fresh architectural setting will meet requirements.

When Dr. Gavrilovic's committee announced its selection of the permanent headquarters site it broke open a beehive of irate property-owners whose angry buzzing has not yet been silenced. The decision will not be final until the committee's report has been confirmed by the Assembly in October, and during the next six months many things can happen. The reason for the committee's error in judgment may have been the fact that no American was represented on it. Indeed, by some strange omission, no American delegate has been concerned in any responsible way with U. N.'s site problems. The organization has availed itself liberally of American engineers and city-planners, but at the level of policy there has been no visible American participation. Disinterested motives were behind this national policy—as well as the desire of the federal government to steer clear of local politics—but as events have turned out it seems as if the United States government should offer U. N. its assistance.

At San Francisco the government assumed the primary responsibility for conference arrangements, and the delegates were received by the city with warmth and enthusiasm. In London, despite the blitzed houses and hotels, the British government was able to take good care of the delegates and to supply Central Hall for the Assembly and Church House for the Council and secre-

tariat. But in New York U. N. has been harried from pillar to post, and left strictly to the tender mercies of the city of New York. If the matter is not dealt with more energetically, the Assembly delegates, when they reach New York next fall, may ask whether some other city would not provide more advantageous headquarters. The official participation of the United States government in the selection and development of a headquarters site should be assured by the immediate appointment of a qualified liaison committee.

Above all things U. N. must put the planning horse before the architectural cart. Before Dr. Gavrilovic's committee is reconstituted as a site-development board, before representative architects of the world are assembled and instructed, before the experts can usefully go to work, some hard-boiled thinking must be done by all of us. Much more intensive discussion must be carried on throughout the world, based on facts U. N. has not yet made public. The organization is developing rapidly, but it cannot outrun popular criticism that springs from lack of understanding. If necessary, a group of frankly temporary buildings, to be constructed and occupied within a year, should be used as a stop-gap solution until the fundamentals are thought through.

Once the final decision on location has been made, U. N. will face the infinitely more complex problems of site development. It requires little imagination to foresee the reproaches that will be heaped on it for taking some small share of the nation's limited supply of building materials, the tempests stirred up in aesthetic circles by its architectural plans, or the protests of local politicians when some change in transportation facilities is proposed. This period of site development will educate the world, and in particular the people of the United States, about the U. N. by concentrating attention on its physical requirements.

Development of the headquarters site offers U. N. an opportunity to show that the ideal of world government can be realized. This demonstration cannot be made unless the best planning and architectural talent in the world is recruited and its successful collaboration assured. It cannot be accomplished through expensive and time-consuming architectural competitions such as have been proposed for U. N.'s principal buildings or by dependence on the preposterous idea that somewhere in the world a single creative genius will be found who can immediately and single-handed solve U. N.'s building problems. Only a system of professional teamwork and rotation can develop the collaboration among planners and architects that will give us the conception of a new city, the capital of the world.

The frustrated and disillusioned peoples of the world are not waiting eagerly for U. N. to produce architectural monuments. They are waiting for it to create a world government.

The Farmer's Job

BY JAMES HEARST

Iowa farmer and writer

MY NEIGHBOR, who is a farmer and a very good one, says that city folk seem to think there are two kinds of people in the world—farmers and other people. He professes to be greatly puzzled by this distinction. But he suspects the line is drawn because non-farm people have really no understanding of the nature of farmers or of farming.

The Iowa farmer is sensitive about this lack of understanding. Usually quiet and self-effacing, except with high-pressure salesmen or hogs in the garden, he would like to have his work understood and appreciated—not as a romantic way of life certainly but in terms of its own value. It doesn't take a war to tell him what he is worth to a nation; he knows very well who furnishes the food and fiber for the world and at what cost. He may never have reasoned it out, but he has a stubborn self-respect. The farmer has been the butt of many jokes, the stooge for many a quick turn; he is insulted daily on the radio by hill-billy bands and psalm-singing medicine men. He seldom answers back because he is somewhat inarticulate, as men often are who work by themselves. In his heart he knows that these things are insignificant compared to the forces with which he lives. Yet when he is sorely tried by hecklers, he takes sardonic amusement in the knowledge that if he chose to quit work those vague clouds on the horizon would suddenly materialize into the ruthless legions of famine and starvation.

This loyalty to his vocation is what made possible the farmer's remarkable achievements during the war. In spite of a third less help, worn-out machinery, a losing struggle to obtain seeds and fertilizer, the farmer produced more crops and livestock than ever before. It wasn't easy. You folks who work in offices from nine to five, who have the day off whenever a holiday comes along, who go home on Saturdays at noon, you won't know what I'm talking about. A lot of the boys around here are humping around complaining about lame shoulders or a crick in the back. Some of them say that doctoring doesn't seem to do much good; they think they'll feel better when the warm weather comes. Don't feel sorry for them. Just remember that they didn't get those sore muscles from mowing the yard. You don't turn out three-billion-bushel corn crops or raise a hundred million head of hogs by sitting at a desk and adding up figures.

For a farmer it isn't so much that his job is important as that his job is his life. A farmer wants to make things grow. He wants to put seed in the earth and, come hell

or high water, make a crop of it. This desire to grow things burns in his guts not in his head. He tries to keep his head clear for administrative matters. A farmer can no more help wearing himself out trying to raise bigger crops, fatter hogs, or better milk cows than corn can help growing hot in the bins when planting time comes. He is part of nature, too, and we may as well admit it.

He sees a betrayal of human values in the "scarcity" programs so indulgently extolled by the National Association of Manufacturers. Once in the early 1930's the locked doors of factories forced the farmer to follow this same pattern. It was the only way out for him at the time, but he has no desire to repeat it.

Consequently strikes make him uneasy. He knows that there is no percentage for anybody in closed factories and idle men. But his attitude toward the cause of strikes has changed profoundly. He is no longer moved by the pleas of big business for "free enterprise" and "free competition." The farmer is a hard man to catch with the same trick a second time. After the First World War, while he was aimlessly scratching himself, he backed into the buzz-saw of free enterprise and lost



Drawn by Bernard Golden

several fingers. He won't do that again, no matter what his itch. He has discovered the obvious—that industry hasn't been subject to free enterprise since the days of Henry Clay. What the leaders of industry really mean by free enterprise is freedom for them to exploit the people who do the actual work of the world. The farmer is slowly growing deaf to their exhortations. He is equally skeptical of their arguments about the advantages of competition. He has only to price the various makes of tractors or refrigerators to find out that "it ain't so."

His challenge, these days, to industry is this: Come out from behind the protection of your corporate structure and fight like men. If you want free enterprise, then you give up all the government privileges and guaranties you have and meet us on our own ground. We will put on a production race with you 365 days in the year. You take what your goods will bring; we will take what ours bring—even on world markets. But for God's sake, let's get going. If you want to discredit representative government and the capitalistic system, just keep on with your stupid acts and statements against the general welfare.

The People's Front

Paris, April 16

TO SEE Herriot and Billoux in the space of twenty-four hours is to travel in one day through the entire period that separates the Third Republic from the Fourth. François Billoux, Minister of Reconstruction and City Planning, is one of the ablest of the Communist Ministers. The Communist Party is eagerly endeavoring to show the French public that it has something more than passionate militants, that it has prepared itself to face every responsibility in these days of trial for France. As almost everywhere else in Europe, the party in France has become "ministerial," and it feels very sure of its own ability to govern. That feeling was forcefully expressed by Jacques Duclos in his election speech at Clermont-Ferrand last Sunday: "In this country," he said, "the people have tried all the parties and all the programs except ours. We say that we are ready to be tried by the people of France." To be able to speak like that, it was necessary for the Communists to have proved that they have competent administrators.

They can point with pride to Billoux. At San Francisco last year the newspapermen were already whispering to one another: "If you want to talk with the French, see Billoux." Only whispering, because it was rather embarrassing for some of the representatives of the big papers to admit out loud that the best man of the delegation was a Communist. But though Billoux felt perfectly at ease at this, his first international conference, it is in his office on the rue de Lille, talking with him about the hard job of pushing ahead France's reconstruction program, that one can measure his capacity.

On a map of France Billoux showed me the general picture of destruction. I had seen a part of it with my own eyes on a trip to the south, but only after a detailed inspection of the map is it possible to realize how terribly France was punished and how lucky Paris has been to escape with only a few scratches. Billoux is happy to point out that despite the wide devastation the most remarkable monuments of France have been spared. At Caen, l'Abbaye aux Hommes and l'Abbaye aux Dames have not been touched. At Rouen the cathedrals of St. Ouen and St. Maclou are standing, as beautiful as ever; the Palais de Justice, though gravely damaged, will be saved. The cathedral of Amiens, the churches of Vernon, Grand Andelys, and Gisors, the Hotel de Ville of Compiègne—all these jewels of French architecture are there intact among the ruins. The task of the experts working under Billoux is to rebuild these old cities of France in such a way as to create a harmony between the past and the future; to provide new, modern lodgings for the population without surrounding, say, the church of Gisors, one of the purest examples of Renaissance architecture, with a half-dozen ugly brick houses.

Billoux is rebuilding France according to a careful plan, without hurting private interests where they should be taken into account, but with an iron hand to prevent racketeers

and war profiteers from making the *grand coup* of their lives and speculating at the expense of the millions of persons who are without homes. He has begun with the most devastated region, Normandy, and with Alsace and the region of the Somme, which are next hardest hit. And every time he can escape, he goes to the country to spread the new slogan of France, "Produce and Build."

Production and reconstruction were also the slogans which dominated the first real congress of the Confédération du Travail held since the liberation. I attended as a delegate of the U. G. T., the Spanish trade-union federation. Thus I was able to follow not only the public debate but a most interesting inside struggle between two factions. The minority holds to the traditional line and does not want the C. G. T. to be too greatly influenced by political parties lest, with Socialist-Communist predominance in the Cabinet, the trade-union movement become dependent on the government. The majority group favors political action and labor participation in the direction of the state. A continuous controversy has been going on in the French left as to whether the left ought not to have seized the opportunity offered by the liberation to accomplish the social revolution. In the C. G. T. congress several voices were raised in support of such a tactic, but they were submerged by the majority chorus "Produce and Build." The majority representatives were still more outspoken in the talks I had with them. They simply despise the old syndicalist theory of direct action, which they find reactionary and out of date.

To understand the European process of today it is indispensable to keep in mind the changes in the meaning of the word "revolution." For those who won at the congress, the creation of *comités d'entreprises* and the nationalization measures already constitute revolutionary steps. They see the battle for production as a form of struggle against capitalism. In the debate the majority stressed the fact that the transfer of the state apparatus from one class to another, which constitutes the fundamental aspect of revolution, has not been accomplished or even begun in France. For the transfer to take place, the masses must become aware of the need for it and the intermediate classes must be won over. That is why, they argue, compromises are obligatory today. That was the tone of the speakers for the majority at the C. G. T. congress, whose political position is very close to that of the Communists.

The congress itself ended with a compromise, reelecting as general secretaries with equal powers Léon Jouhaux, who keeps his prestige and who delivered an excellent report, and Benoit Frachon, a younger man with all the élan of the Communist Party. This was a congress to which we shall have to refer more than once in the coming months, for if there is one indisputable fact about France today, it is the decisive political influence of labor.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Unemployable Intelligence

AN INQUIRY INTO "THE NATURE OF PEACE" AND THE TERMS OF ITS PERPETUATION. By Thorstein Veblen. The Viking Press. \$3.

EVENTS of historical magnitude should be viewed in historical perspective. The blunders and the pitiful cleverness of individual men count for surprisingly little: if there was a Hitler, it was because there was an unnamed Hitlerism at least as old as Frederick II. When we open a book on current affairs, our first question should not be, "How recent?" but "How deep?" An eyewitness like G. Ward Price is negligible; here is an inquiry nearly thirty years old, and its testimony is valid in the problems of today.

Veblen did not prophesy: there are too many unpredictable ways for men to go wrong. Yet he was not a wholly disinterested observer. He was a fighter in his chosen field. Social truths are human truths; they depend upon our intelligence and upon our will. If Veblen arraigned, with his ponderous and pungent irony, the "dynastic state," "invidious patriotism," "the kept classes," and "the price system," it was because he had made his choice. He stood deliberately for the common man, the underprivileged, or, in his own words, the underfed and the underbred. If the chief end of mankind is to produce gentlemen, "to praise God and disturb the peace," and indulge in conspicuous waste, then Veblen was wrong. If Veblen was right, the gentlemen must go.

This book was finished in January, 1917, when the Czar still ruled(?) Russia and when we were still too proud to fight. Yet it could have been written today. Here and there an assertion might be challenged. In a close examination of "peace without honor," that is, peace through submission, Veblen says, "The Armenian people have continued to hold their hill country apparently without serious or enduring reduction of their numbers"; he could not foresee the efficiency of Kemalist Turkey. He asserts—with a question mark, to be sure—that "the patriotism of the Chinese appears to be nearly a negligible quantity." As I am not a Veblen-cultist, I take objection to his statement that in America "something less than 10 per cent of the inhabitants own something more than 90 per cent of the country's wealth." This would not be true even if by "wealth" we meant, as in common parlance, luxury. There is in America a Communist sector—federal and state institutions, public domain, and public works—which alone represents more than 10 per cent of our wealth. There is a "voluntary Communist sector"—churches, foundations, endowed schools, and hospitals—which is by no means negligible. There is a strictly individualist sector—homes, farms, small shops, personal belongings—minor, but very real. Even in the capitalistic sector the stock may be controlled, but it is not owned outright, by the very few. And as a rule those few have managerial duties; they are not out-and-out "gentlemen of leisure." Veblen rightly considers a protective tariff "a combination in restraint of trade," "sabo-

rage," "graft." But a restrictive immigration policy is inspired by the same spirit. I wonder if Veblen would apply to our quota system the same harsh terms?

On the other hand, there are in the book marvelous examples of foresight, that is to say, of insight. He constantly denounces Japan in the same breath as Germany, although Japan was then one of the virtuous allies, destined to figure as one of the Big Five at the peace conference. He offers terms of peace to be imposed upon Germany—after what amounts to unconditional surrender and an admission of guilt—far more drastic, and far more intelligent, than those of Versailles: the gentlemen punished the German masses, and dealt leniently with their fellow-gentlemen. He understood the debt question before it had officially arisen: he speaks of "the patent, though often tacit, avowal that the Entente belligerents are spending their substance and pledging their credit for the common cause." He pleaded, not for an alliance of victors, but for a Pacific League of Neutral Nations—an ambiguous term but perfectly clear in the context: by "neutral" he meant non-aggressive but willing to use force.

An apparent objection to his thesis is that he places the whole burden of guilt on the "dynastic state" as such. Japan remained the perfect dynastic state, but Germany did not restore the Hohenzollern. Yet I believe he is justified. Nationalism and dynasty are historical manifestations of the same spirit. The monarchy, as Charles Maurras rightly said, is "integral nationalism." It was the kings who made France. When the kings grew feeble, the people became the collective sovereign but retained the monarchical psychology. A national, military, imperial democracy is but the prolonged shadow of a Louis XIV. Marcel Sembat put it clearly just before the First World War: "*Faites un roi, sinon faites la paix*": a king, or peace. Carlyle would have recognized in Hitler—as Churchill once did recognize in Mussolini—a king in the fullest sense of the term. A nationalist republic is therefore an unstable hybrid. It will either revert to monarchy or abandon the cult of "invidious prestige" which profits only the "kept classes."

Another unstable hybrid is the aggressive industrial community. Normally, industrial development requires a degree of general intelligence which should preclude barbaric aggressiveness, and a country which is not industrial is helpless in modern warfare. Ultimately power will be in the hands of the peaceful. But there is the possibility of an industrial development so sudden that it has no time to destroy the dynastic (national) prejudices. So in Germany and Japan fossil minds wielded the tremendous weapons of the machine age. Veblen was vaguely afraid that something of the kind might come to pass in the Russian Empire. And perhaps it has.

The chief problem which the book raised in my mind was: "What is a country going to do with its Veblens?" Let them clamor, or mumble, in the wilderness? The practical men ignored Veblen thirty years ago and are ignoring him today. I do not suggest that he should have been made Secre-

tary of State or Secretary of Commerce; he could not manage his own life, could hardly manage his classroom. But men who have the first vision of a bridge, railroad, or canal might be unable to drive a rivet or to boss a section gang. Even those who draw the blueprints might be inefficient laborers or foremen. Civilization means the subordination of practical activity to organized thinking, as Plato and Saint-Simon said long ago. Veblen, the lonely thinker, was the best "realist" of us all. We could have saved millions of lives and billions of dollars if we had heeded him. But we are still blinded by the two irrational forces against which he fought—prestige and greed, the gentleman and the profiteer. In this scientific age we still have meetings of the Big Three, tussling for power, prestige, and privilege in the best tradition of Frederick II, Bismarck, and Hitler.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Housing Headaches

BREAKING THE BUILDING BLOCKADE. By Robert Lasch. University of Chicago Press. \$3.

IT WILL soon be open season for veterans' marches on Washington, and it looks as if housing, not bonuses, would be the bannerhead. Everybody with a stake in veteran support is buying a drum to beat out a housing tune, and even the American Legion has had to climb on the housing band-wagon to avoid being run over by it.

But marching for a bonus is one thing—the demand can be met by a simple act of Congress. The road to housing is a longer, more tedious journey down a difficult path thickly overgrown with waste, ineptitude, and monopoly. The veteran had better learn his objective and get a good guidebook before he starts his travels.

"Breaking the Building Blockade" is such a guidebook. Most of what it says has already been said in weighty and sober tracts on the subject, but an accomplished journalist has now put together the facts so the layman may understand and lament them. He will learn that housing shortages are neither Armageddon nor an act of God, that the reason for the house famine is that a lame building industry fumbles with nineteenth-century techniques in a twentieth-century environment, that our lower-income families remain slum bound because the cost of a home has been jacked up so high that even the average family can no longer afford one, that high land costs in the central sections of cities enforce new patterns of concentration and incipient blight, that interest rates on homes are still too high.

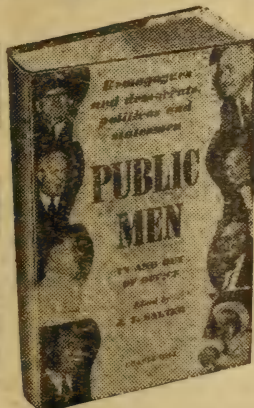
After setting forth the facts the author proceeds to battle with the obstacles. He concludes that building costs must be cut first, but that even then public subsidy will be needed. Houses, custom built today, must be produced in quantity and sold in carload lots. The government can help by buying large quantities of materials from the factories and reselling them at low cost to builders—as Sweden does and England plans to do.

Leadership, says Mr. Lasch, must come from the government, for it will not come from private enterprise. Such leadership must start with real enforcement of the anti-trust laws; here the building-trades unions are singled out for special dishonorable mention. The author joins those who

★ TRUMAN • NYE • RAYBURN ★

★ BRICKER • HAGUE • BALL • WINANT • WALLACE

Know the men that lead the nation!



Public Men

IN AND OUT OF OFFICE

Edited by J. T. SALTER

UNINHIBITED biographies of 27 "big name" public men—demagogues and democrats, politicians and statesmen—who are congratulated, condoned or condemned in this important book.

Illustrated, \$4.00

★ DEWEY • STASSEN • CONNALLY ★

All These People

THE NATION'S HUMAN RESOURCES IN THE SOUTH

By RUPERT B. VANCE

HOW will the nation's population maintain itself in the future? How successfully is the South adapting itself to the industrial order? And what are its unrealized human resources? These are some of the questions explored in this up-to-date, long-range view of population trends. The impact of the sociological problems of the South on the nation as a whole makes this book essential reading. Illustrated, \$5.00

At your bookstore

★ THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS ★
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

★ FISH • BARKLEY • PEPPER • BILBO • CREW

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation*

☐ with *Harpers Magazine* . . \$6.50
You Save \$2.50

☐ with *Consumers Union* . . \$7.00
You Save \$1.50

☐ with *Harpers Magazine*
and *Consumers Union* . \$9.00
You Save \$3.50

☐ with *Free World* . . . \$7.50
You Save \$1.50

☐ with *Saturday Review* . . \$8.50
You Save \$1.50

All club combinations listed are for **one** year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION *by itself*

☐ One Year \$5 ☐ Two Years \$8 ☐ Three Years \$11

☐ Servicemen's Rate \$3 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra



SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy, but you will make a considerable saving in money over the newsstand price.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

4-27-40

think the goal in housing should be sought through indictment, overlooking the fact that labor disorders, like other kinks in the building structure, come primarily from chaos at the industry's entrepreneurial base, which must be reformed before any changes of real importance can be effected.

The author makes out a good case for subsidized housing and favors the production of 1,500,000 units a year for the next five years. He demands more alert local planning agencies, a master plan, and revision of building codes and of the property-tax system. For the rest he approves the policies now embodied in the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill—urban redevelopment, yield insurance, lower interest rates on homes, and better housing research.

The book is a clear exposition of the housing problem. It is logical, sincere, and effective in its argument. There will be disagreement with its findings and conclusions, as there must be about any book on what is today America's No. 1 headache. One must criticize its failure to recognize that the pent-up demand for the housing of 60,000,000 people in the next ten years presents us with the choice of rebuilding America's cities or of stratifying the existing obsolete patterns for generations ahead. The author, however, seems not to have made up his mind whether private or public enterprise should have the main share of the job. His doubt may be due to a confusion over the meaning of private and public enterprise in housing, for private housing has tended to become increasingly public through government underwriting of risk and the steady elimination of any private stake. Public-housing operations, in fact, are more private than many of the "private" operations. It is no longer easy to zone private and public housing into compartments; the "middle way, the way of mixed public and private enterprise," to which the author refers, has become more mixed up than mixed. If this point had been clarified in his able presentation, his remedies might have been more direct and constructive.

CHARLES ABRAMS

BRIEFER COMMENT

Labor: Early American

THE STORY of American labor in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—that is, before the emergence of the working class as an articulate political force—has not up to this time engaged the full attention of historians. Dr. Richard B. Morris's massive work, "Government and Labor in Early America" (Columbia, \$6.75), thus throws significant new light upon the status and activities of workmen in the first two centuries after settlement. The book is based on a careful and exhaustive study of contemporary materials—newspapers, travelers' accounts, letterbooks, diaries, military order books, business papers—and in particular on the relatively unexploited resources of the inferior-court records of the American colonies. After sketching the background in mercantilist thought, Dr. Morris proceeds to a comprehensive account of the conditions of free and bound labor—terms of employment, evidences of concerted action among workers, and government regulation of wages and labor relations. His occasional attempts to draw parallels between, say,

colonial price-fixing and the OPA probably add little to our understanding of either, but they do not detract seriously from a book distinguished by its lucid and fully documented exploration of an important but hitherto obscure section of our history.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

A Narrow Fortune

NED WARD WAS A HACK JOURNALIST who wrote in the earliest part of the eighteenth century. He is mentioned once in Pope's "Dunciad," and his name has been kept alive by innumerable historians of manners who have cited his works as evidence concerning the low life of the period. Howard William Troyer's "Ned Ward of Grub Street" (Harvard, \$3.50) is the first full-length book ever devoted to him and will probably be the last—partly because it is painstaking and competent, partly because its subject hardly deserves fuller treatment. If Ward were living today he would probably be a gossip columnist. His best-known work, "The Spy," is a serial account in prose and verse of the author's wanderings through the more unsavory parts of the metropolis, but he was a voluminous writer of descriptions and "characters." Though his playful, hectoring style seldom if ever rises to anything near the level of literature, he nevertheless frequently builds upon a solid substratum of observation. Of himself he said, "The condition of an Author, is much like that of a Strumpet—a Narrow Fortune hath forc'd us to do that for our Subsistence, which we are much asham'd of." Mr. Troyer's book, which includes a lengthy biography of the subject's writings, will be very useful to scholars who for one reason or another need to find their way about in Ward's work.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

A Fairly Official War

"BATTLE REPORT, THE ATLANTIC WAR," by Captain Walter Karig (Rinehart, \$3.50), has all the merits and demerits that, considering its provenance, one might expect it to have. It is the second volume of a series initiated by Secretary Knox, who was not without experience in journalism, and it has been prepared from official sources. Its information is exact and abundant; its over-all view of the war is authoritative. The objective brevity with which the navy makes its citations has been enlivened by a freer narrative style and a racy colloquialism of language. There are plentiful dashes of humor. The book concentrates on description of action rather than on strategic exposition, but for those whose interest is in the future of naval and military power it is none the less an important book.

The non-service reader is bound to have mixed reactions to "Battle Report." At times it is choked with detail, much of which seems to have been included merely to satisfy naval tradition. The constant identification of officers, the generous attention paid to the action of minor units frequently destroy any continuity; and the intention of the book, to describe action within a valid framework of strategic and tactical reference, is sometimes frustrated by the sheer profusion of reports that are in themselves excellent.

RALPH BATES

Carey McWilliams

"Not alone the Indian, but other 'foreign' groups—the Mexican peon, the Chinese, the Negro, the native-born Japanese, the migrant laborer—each in turn has his trials and problems examined . . . in Carey McWilliams' book on Southern California Country . . . Far and away the most detailed, authoritative and shrewdly reasoned analysis of the whys and wherefores of Los Angeles and environs now in print or likely to appear for some time."—N. Y. Herald Tribune.

\$3.75

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA COUNTRY

DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of The Nation's
Special Class Room Rate—

25¢

Monthly per Student

for orders of ten or more copies to be sent to one address — Desk copy is supplied free.

ADDRESS YOUR ORDER TO

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.

FICTION IN REVIEW

A WONDERFUL contemporary subject which, so far as I know, has never been explored with either true seriousness or true humor in our fiction is American revolutionary politics. This is not to say that there have not been novels in which the radical movement has played a part. But it has been a hero's part, written quite out of scale to reality. The portraits have been so idealized that where the truth has appeared at all, it has been entirely by accident, clearly without the author's knowledge or approval. As a catalyst of important emotions, or as the arena of major moral conflicts, or even as the source of high comedy, the American revolutionary movement seems to have been consciously avoided by our writers—and one can understand why. After all, anyone who has been sufficiently close to the American Communist Party or our Communist dissident groups to know both their tragic and comic possibilities has probably been too closely involved to want to use them as fictional themes. Then, too, in dealing with radical politics, there is always the danger that one's revelations will be appreciated by the wrong people, or for the wrong reasons.

Now Eleanor Clark has dared somewhat to break through this prevalent inhibition. "The Bitter Box" (Doubleday, \$2.50) is a serious, funny, and truthful picture of Communist doings in this country, and therefore a work of courage; but one could wish that it had carried its daring to the point of actually naming its parties, newspapers, and magazines, instead of clouding them in anonymity or pseudonymity. Miss Clark's novel is also—I should say at once—a work of unquestionable moral-political taste. If the "class enemy"—or does this concept perhaps no longer obtain among the people who first taught us our scrupling?—can take any comfort from Miss Clark's frank admission that the party doesn't always honor its financial obligations, or that every switch in tactics finds a couple of thousand comrades thrown back on their heels, or even that a not too thoughtful generosity in the direction of the proletariat is often matched by a not too thoughtful sexual generosity, then the Communists have only themselves to blame. Miss Clark has some good fun at the party's expense, but she never stretches the truth to make a joke. There is no malice in her comic revelations. And she manages, without a touch of piousness, to convey her own sorrow that the radical situation is as she reports it.

But if the best sections of "The Bitter Box" are its sections of Communist satire, the book as a whole cannot be fairly described as a satire. For satire is the most open avenue available to the naturalistic novelist, and Miss Clark's story, like Mr. Temple, the little bank clerk who is its central character, has the largest part of its life under wraps. Despite its precision of naturalistic detail—and what an eye Miss Clark has for the split seams and minds of the comrades!—"The Bitter Box" is predominantly abstract and mysterious, shadowy with the suggestion not only of unnamed political forces but also of unnamed literary purposes. One has the sense, throughout, of standing with its author at a significant remove from its material—the remove of a semi-symbolistic method.

For instance, there is the abstractness of Miss Clark's little hero. Mr. Temple is one of those adding-machine people, automatons of efficiency and fear, who are so frequently isolated as the typical product of our civilization. "The Bitter Box" opens on a fine spring day with Mr. Temple walking out of his bank cage, a trapped man. Moved by a series of highly fortuitous, if not improbable, influences, the bank clerk becomes a revolutionary. He steals for the party, he is ready to kill for the party, he is betrayed by the party, he has his eyes opened by the party. The novel ends on a bleak winter day when, having learned something of both the "Cordial and Corrosive" in "the bitter box" of life, Mr. Temple is free to be trapped by normal circumstance—to be out of a job, to be hungry, cold, and ill-clad, to be confusedly in love. The biography is a touching one; Miss Clark projects her central figure from the heart. But his motivations are so haphazard, his history is developed with so little regard for the logic of character, that it is as if he had been designed to accompany a story rather than to have a story grow out of him. He is not a created person but a poetic device, like meter. Novelistically speaking, he fails to explode for us—and consequently the whole book carries its charge, even its satiric charge, largely unexploded.

The basic conception of "The Bitter Box" strongly reminds me of Henry James's revolutionary novel, "The Princess Casamassima." In both books there is a small hero who lives on the outside of the world of adventure and love and big hopes; in both, this world of possibility is entered by way of the radical movement; and in both, the life of promise is no sooner apprehended by the hero than it is materially denied him. Miss Clark's novel, like James's, is a tragedy of growth. But what particularly strikes me in comparing the two books—and the comparison is made neither to be pressed nor to be invidious: Miss Clark's story is deeply grave, for all its humor, and deeply passionate, for all its refusal to announce its passions—is the limitlessness of meaning that can be achieved by the naturalistic novel, as opposed to the limitation put upon meaning by the abstract or semi-abstract novel. As I understand the purpose of symbolic fiction, or the purpose of any assimilation into fiction of the genius of poetry, it is to add another dimension to naturalistic story-telling. But actually it seems to me that abstraction often achieves the contrary effect—that instead of opening out the novel's boundaries of reference it restricts them, that instead of adding new meanings to the novel it robs it of many of its old ones. Comparing the method of "The Bitter Box" with the method of "The Princess Casamassima" is for me like comparing the blank whiteness on a canvas of Mondrian's to the white of a tablecloth painted by Chardin. There is still so much white in tablecloths that has never been painted that Mondrian's dead-white spaces seem an unnecessary retreat rather than an advance from Chardin. And similarly, in Miss Clark's abstraction of Mr. Temple surely more has been taken away from Henry James's Hyacinth than has been added to him. There is still so much to be written out of the traditional powers of observation and insight which Miss Clark has at her command but which she has evidently ceased either to trust or to respect.

DIANA TRILLING

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by John Raitt • Donors by Agnes de Mille with John Raitt • Iva Withers
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Jean Castle
44th St. W. of Broadway, Evns. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

MAJESTIC THEATRE

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by John Raitt • Donors by Agnes de Mille with John Raitt • Iva Withers
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
44th St. W. of Broadway, Evns. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

ST. JAMES THEATRE

"A Gag-Happy-
Meaning-
ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4255
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS!"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 46th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4836.
Evns. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

"GREAT STUFF!"—KRONENBERGER, PM

KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Music by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2d.
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HABSARD SHORT.
54th Street and Sixth Avenue. CH. 5-5290.
ZIEGFELD THEA., Evns. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp
MAIL ORDERS PROMPTLY FILLED

You may again buy

BOOKS

through The Nation

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
88th ST.
58th ST.

Lux
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
ALDEN
Jamaica
Kath's
FLUSHING
Kath's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

RKO NOW

"Beautiful, Inspiring, Entrancing"

N. Y. Herald-Tribune

BING

INGRID

CROSBY BERGMAN

— in —

LEO McCAREY'S

'The Bells of St. Mary's'

— with —

HENRY
TRAVERS

WILLIAM
CARPAIN

An RKO RADIO Release

EXTRA SHOWS ALL DAY LONG
LATE SHOWS EVERY NIGHT!

OWEN WISTERS

"THE VIRGINIAN"

In 1946 Technicolor

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE STARRING

BRIAN

DONLEVY

JOEL
McCREA

SONNY
TUFTS

with

BARBARA BRITTON

NOW PARAMOUNT

TIMES
SQUARE

— IN PERSON —
Paramount Comedy Star

EDDIE
BRACKEN

plus

BOB EBBELLY

plus

THE ACROMANIACS

EXTRA!

Johnny LONG

AND HIS BAND

The New Statesman and Nation

England's Leading Weekly Review

may now be obtained through

THE
Nation

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Yearly subscription \$6.50 including postage

SPECIMEN copy on request

What do these words mean to you?

RUSSIA
TORY
FASCIST
LABOR
COMMUNIST
STRIKE
CAPITALIST
DEMOCRACY

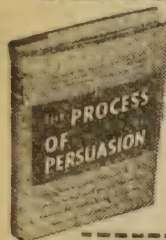
AS you read each of these words you felt a very definite reaction. Not consciously. You responded automatically. Why? Because you have certain conditioned reflexes that acted that way whether you were conscious of them or not.

Professional propagandists know this. Those who want to stir up fear and hate and prejudice know this. From all sides you are bombarded with words that mean what they want them to mean, persuaded to think as they want you to think.

You and every intelligent person must understand these forces of persuasion. Sometimes they may be merely selling a tube of toothpaste. Sometimes they may be trying to shatter a dream of world peace.

THE PROCESS OF PERSUASION analyzes these devices to sway public opinion. By understanding them you can fight those which need fighting. By understanding them you yourself can extend your influence, whether you are a teacher, a lawyer, a speaker, a salesman, an advertiser.

THE PROCESS OF PERSUASION



by Dr. Clyde Miller
Founder of the Institute
for Propaganda Analysis

USE THIS COUPON
We guarantee
your satisfaction...
or your money back

Tear out, sign, and mail to your bookseller or
CROWN PUBLISHERS, 419 4th Ave., N.Y. 16, N.Y.

Please send me on approval a copy of THE PROCESS OF PERSUASION. I will pay the postman \$2.00, plus postage charges. If I am not satisfied, I will return the book within 10 days, and you will return my \$2.00.

☐ To save postage, check here, and enclose \$2.00 with coupon. Same refund privilege, of course.

Name.....
Address.....
City..... State..... No.....

Films

JAMES
AGEE

AFTER the late Wendell Willkie returned from his trip around the world, I felt that his sincerity was entirely to be respected. Before the trip I am sure he was as sincere as he knew how to be, but the meaningfulness of the sincerity seemed measurable in the kind of Jackie Cooper pout he used for the more "human" moments in his speeches. I respect the sincerity of "From This Day Forward" just about as much, neither denying nor decrying it, but believing it has a lot to learn. "From This Day Forward" is a story about young married love up against the worst that a bad economic system can do and send an audience home comfortable. Its message seems to be that in the long run ardor and courage—neither of which is seriously embarrassed by any difficulties—will hold their fort, and better.

Movies so seldom even try to be honest or sympathetic about such problems of working-class life as n-mpl-ym-nt, sh-lt-r, and b-b-s that the least one can do is to honor the attempt with further honesty. In this intention I must regret two kinds of miscarriage of sincerity which between them use up most of the film. One kind is most fully represented by Joan Fontaine as the wife. Quite aside from her efforts to be at once a serious actress and a fan-magazine star, she has, for all her good intentions, about the understanding of her role that an heiress might have who was advised by her analyst to take up social work in order to work off her guilt about her income. The other kind is best embodied in bits by a resentful intellectual who slaps some books off a counter, and by the clerk at an orange-drink stand who sharply communicates the meanness and snobbery with which members of the same class can treat each other. Both bits, like an ugly scene in court, are neat and authentic beyond the picture's ability to communicate more pleasant aspects of underprivileged city life; yet all three, I feel, are false in their own way. They supplant the unrealism of most movies with a slick kind of pseudo-realism, rather special to New York, which has been most clearly developed in the less good mannerisms of the Group Theater and in the more serious New Yorker stories. "From This Day Forward" is an unusually serious and respectable film, but

very little in it is free from one or the other of these kinds of falseness.

"Deadline at Dawn," a melodrama about an ingenious sailor's effort to clear himself of murder, is Harold Clurman's direction of a script by Clifford Odets. Some of Clurman's direction is pure stage—some of which comes through very well; some of Odets's writing is pure ham. At its worst the picture is guilty of worse pseudo-realism and pseudo-poetry about the lost little people of a big city than the poorest things in "From This Day Forward." But on the whole I think it is a likable movie. Odets apparently cannot either separate his weakness and strength or greatly change their proportions, but even in this rather pretentiously unpretentious little job the strength is there; he is obviously one of the very few genuine dramatic poets alive. And his good bits, to say nothing of his bad, are handled competently by Susan Hayward, disarmingly by Bill Williams, and beautifully by Paul Lukas.

"The Green Years" has been described in the ads as "wonderful" by practically everybody within Louis B. Mayer's purchasing power except his horses; so I hesitate to ask you to take my word for it: the picture is awful. I know: it is made with all the loving care that an Idaho housewife puts into a first novel that is going to win the Grand Prize at Biarritz; Shakespeare can never have been a thousandth as high-minded. I know: it deals with large, grave, stylish matters of religious faith, etc., in a manner to make me want to turn the handiest penitential novena into a five-alarm call for the vice squad. I know: it is stuffed to the scalp and well beyond with "characters," all of Dickensian proportions if only A. J. Cronin were Dickens and if only Dickens were writing soap opera. I know too, to my misery, that this must have been regarded, around the Metro lot, as a great and disinterested dedication to art, and it is no pleasure to sneer at those who so regarded it. But until a worse example comes along, this one will serve very nicely as an apotheosis of all that has gone most deadly wrong with movies since the people with the money learned to believe that the medium could aspire to what is printed on slick paper, and could read it right side up, even without illustrations.

(Note: In my review of "Open City" Einstein should have read Eisenstein, and "shammed operatic fury of design" should have read "slammed," etc. The

misspelling of "illustrations," here, is intentional.)

"Devotion" is a story about the Brontë sisters, about whom I know little. By what little I know, I gather that they might have served as basis for a very good movie. Whether it would be more or less faithful to fact than this one, I care only this much: that here faithfulness to essential truth—that is, truth of mood and psychology—might have exceeded even the best dramatic imagination. So far as I know, this film is reasonably faithful to non-essential truth; it is also about as vapid, considering the subject matter, as you—or rather, they—could possibly imagine. The drunken brother Branwell carries some hint of the force the truth might have had. Charlotte, almost purely fictional in characterization, is the only roundly realized human being in the show. I know nothing about the authenticity of Odette Myrtil, in her small role as the wife of the Brussels schoolmaster, but in relation to the rest of this film she is like a court dagger dismembering a tomato surprise.

Destruction sickens, but less than I do, as I move on to Walt Disney's "Make Mine Music." I try to realize that it is a perfectly harmless, innocent, proficient, appropriate attempt to set several pieces of popular music, but that helps my sense of proportion little if at all. I know that much of the best in Disney's films comes of his ruralness, and I respect it. But toward some aspects of rural taste the best I can muster is a polite but nauseated smile. Of such, this picture is a reasonably definitive anthology. There is an infinitely insulting animation of a hill-billy ballad which I cannot doubt that many hill-billies will love, a fact which grieves me all the more because I have hill-billy blood myself. There is a friendly number about adolescent lovers of corrupted jazz which forces me to suspect that, next to a really thorough chain reaction, the best hope of the human race lies in segregation of the sexes up to the age of perhaps ninety. There are "pretty" numbers which in their aptness toward the rural aesthetic instinct which Tolstoy venerated make such classics as "A Reading from Homer," "Hope," "The Country Doctor," "A Little Bit o' Heaven," "The End of the Trail," and tinted photographs of Aunt Eula and the Grand Canyon look as contemptibly inaccessible, to the pure in heart, as Van Gogh prior to his Department Store period. I realize that Disney and his associates must have aimed for this

kind of charm with a good deal of honest affection, and I am in part taken in by it, not only as a record and achievement but also through my own less honest affection for the tacky; but to use an over-used word, my affection for the tacky is highly ambivalent. So absorbingly so, that I almost neglected to mention that there is also enough genuine charm and imagination and humor in the film to make up perhaps one good average Disney short.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ONE of Victor's outstanding April releases is the great *Abscheu-licher! wo eilst du hin?* from Beethoven's "Fidelio," performed by Toscanini with Bampton and the N. B. C. Symphony (11-9110; \$1). Bampton's singing—better than what she did at the broadcast, but somewhat shrill in the upper range—is heard in an orchestral context that is characteristic in its organic coherence and dramatic power. The lack of standardization in recording practice that I have spoken of before is evident in this record: the power which the performance has on the first side is vastly reduced by recording which seems to move the orchestra and singer some distance back and deprive the orchestra of distinctness, of body, and therefore of impact. And even on the first side there is a hole where certain important sounds of the first horn should be, just before the words *Komm Hoffnung, lass den letzten Stern*.

Toscanini's other April recording with the N. B. C. Symphony (Set 1038; \$4.85) makes one weep—over his waste of his own time and gifts in performing Grofé's "Grand Canyon Suite" in a broadcast concert; over his further waste of what was involved in recording it; and over the waste on rubbish of the marvelously beautiful recording that, in effect, was achieved by previous trial and error with Toscanini's performances of Beethoven.

It is good to have a recording of Prokofiev's magnificent "Scythian Suite" (Set 1040; \$3.85); but it isn't good to have one in which the music is blurred throughout by the reverberation which Victor's engineers kept from blurring the Defauw-Chicago Symphony recordings of "Céphale et Procris" and "The Birds."

Whereas the "Scythian Suite" is the

work of a young man bursting with imagination, energy, and ideas, Prokofiev's recent Piano Sonata No. 7, like the recent Symphony No. 5, sounds like the work of a man whose long experience enables him to start the apparatus of his technique working and to keep it going when he hasn't a real idea in his head. It has a "modern" first movement that makes no sense to me, a sugary second movement that makes no sense in connection with the first, and a concluding explosion of motor energy in rapid *ostinato* figuration that builds up to a terrific conclusion. The work is the occasion for breath-taking playing by Horowitz that is marvelously reproduced (Set 1042; \$2.85).

I no longer remember how the music of Stravinsky's "Song of the Nightingale" impressed me when I heard it with its stage action at the Metropolitan almost twenty years ago; but by itself it is, I find, a bore. Goossens's performance with the Cincinnati Symphony (Set 1041; \$3.85) seems excellent; and its recorded sound is very good with a wide-range Brush pickup, but less bright and clear with a limited-range Astatic Tru-Tran, which also increases the distortion of the sound on side 2 of my copy. Lack of standardization in recording

The Babylonian TALMUD



Edited and Translated from the original Hebrew by

LEO AUERBACH

\$3.00

Betrothals • Leavings for the Poor
Levirate Marriage • Criminal Law
Festivals • Penalties
Wisdom of the Sages

"This TALMUD . . . is certainly worthwhile to anyone who desires to taste of the sea of Talmudic knowledge, without having recourse to the original sources." —Rabbi Samuel J. K. Mirsky, Prof. Yeshiva College, N. Y.

NOW for the first time there is available in English a large representative cross-section of The Original TALMUD.

LIMITED EDITION. ORDER NOW!

Philosophical Library, Inc., Dept. N,
15 E. 40th St., N. Y. 16, N. Y.

Please send me copies of THE
BABYLONIAN TALMUD, at \$3.00 each.

Enclosed are \$

Name

Address

practice is evident again on the sixth side, where the same orchestra's performance of Chabrier's "Marche joyeuse" is clouded to the point of unintelligibility by reverberation.

To turn for the moment to the Columbia releases that have arrived thus far—they include a Handel Concerto in D major, with some lovely and grand music that is made huge by Ormandy's arrangement, his performance with the Philadelphia Orchestra, and the sonorous recording (12280-D; \$1); Rachmaninov's Piano Concerto No. 2, so badly recorded that it is impossible to evaluate anything in the performance by Gyorgy Sandor with the New York Philharmonic under Rodzinski except the mannered and sentimentalized piano phrases that can be heard occasionally when the orchestra is quiet (Set 605; \$4.85); and Rachmaninov's "Isle of the Dead," well-performed by Mitropoulos with the Minneapolis Symphony, and well-recorded (Set 599; \$3.85) (Koussevitzky's faster pace is, I think, preferable; and the more beautiful sound of the Boston Symphony is also more beautifully blended and sumptuous on the Victor records).

SEND FOOD DIRECTLY TO AN ANTI-FASCIST

Write for the name and address of a sick and needy anti-fascist: Spanish, French, Jewish, Polish, German, Norwegian, etc. Full shipping instructions will be sent you. Or contribute for food parcels.

600 additional names have just come in from the Spanish U.G.T. in France. They need help now.
INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE
Room 518, 303 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.



LANGUAGE IS POWER

... Forge ahead, win special assignments, promotion, better job in global peace time opportunities through ability to speak a foreign language.
MASTER A NEW LANGUAGE quickly, easily, correctly by LINGUAPHONE

The world-famous Linguaphone Conversational Method brings voices of native teachers INTO YOUR OWN HOME. You learn the new language by LISTENING. It's amazingly simple! Thousands have succeeded. • 29 LANGUAGES
Send for Free book, Call for Free demonstration
LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
81 RCA Bldg., New York 20 • Circle 7-0830

"A SELECTED TITLE"

Autobiography of a Curmudgeon

By HAROLD L. ICKES Orig. \$3.00... Now \$1.19
SEND FOR LIST OF TITLES

KEYNOTE PUBLICATIONS—Dept. N
40 East 42nd Street New York 17, N. Y.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Tortuous Animadversion

Dear Sirs: Mr. Greenberg's tortuous animadversion on the subject of Edward Weston's retrospective exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art is, I fear, another shameless demonstration of the art critic talking—and talking obliquely—through his beret.

Mr. Greenberg sits as an oracle, audacious enough to tell photography what it ought to be. And what is that? "Let photography be 'literary.'" I quote his final sentence.

Now let us examine Mr. Greenberg's devious route to this conclusion. He points out that "modern photography, eschewing the blurred or retouched effects by which it used to imitate painting, has decided to be completely true to itself." But then he complains because photographers, using the medium as it should be used, in its crystalline clarity of detail, are selecting the wrong subject matter! Since when is the artist to be told what is or is not proper subject matter for him?

Specifically, Mr. Greenberg does not like Edward Weston's photographs because, as he puts it, Weston "has followed modern painting too loyally in its reserve toward subject matter," and because "he has succumbed to a combination of the sharp focus, infallible exposure, and unselective atmosphere of California." The first reason is meaningless, and I leave the reader to figure out how the atmosphere of California can be unselective.

Mr. Greenberg complains also that Weston concentrates too much of his interest on his medium. This is a ridiculous statement in view of the well-known simplicity of Weston's direct photographic approach to his subject matter. Mr. Greenberg fails to discern that what appears to him as concentration on the medium is in fact intense concentration on subject matter, which is exactly what makes Weston's work explicitly clear and luminous. It is precisely this concentration which produces the aesthetic pleasure to be derived from his photographs. Weston has seen powerfully into the form and texture of his subjects and has succeeded in showing them forth in his prints. In them we see peppers, cabbages, shells, sand dunes, and so on in a way we have never seen them before.

Is it not presumptuous to tell an

artist what he is to concern himself with? And to say that photography should be literary is as ridiculous a statement as any art critic has made in the last century. Doesn't Mr. Greenberg know that photography went through its literary period in the 1850's, and doesn't he know that it was photography's most disgraceful period? In his decree that photography should be "literary" I assume, of course, that he means Marxian literature, since he doubtless would be in a frightful tizzy were some photographer to take him literally and choose non-Marxian literature as his aesthetic gospel.

In simple point of fact photography should be photography, painting, painting, literature, literature—all these facets of the one organic whole, art.

BRUCE DOWNES, Eastern Editor,
Popular Photography

New York, March 15

Superb Criticism

Dear Sirs: I am moved to send a few words of praise for Mr. Greenberg's superb piece of criticism headed The Camera's Glass Eye (*The Nation* for March 9).

I once had occasion, now pretty clearly inadvised, to take sharp issue with Mr. Greenberg's criticism via a similar letter to *The Nation*. Ever since I wrote that letter I have had to admit to myself after reading his pieces of criticism that it must have been some gastro-intestinal upset bothering me that morning. And I've never bothered to check back over my old *Nations*—to check up on Mr. Greenberg, that is—for fear of proving myself wrong.

At any rate, this is to say that the camera piece is, to my mind, a real piece of criticism, well thought out, and proving to me once again that Mr. Greenberg is one of the few men in this country gifted to write art criticism.

GEORGE COLE

Minersville, Cal., March 16

In Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: Mr. Downes's and my differences amount in the end to the fact that he enjoys looking at Edward Weston's photographs much more than I do.

When an artist gets bad results from the subject matter he handles right now, it is permissible to suggest that he

change his subject matter, or his way of treating it. One certainly had a "right" to tell the painter David, at the time, to stop illustrating incidents from Plutarch and do more work from nature as he saw it around him. In this case the justification for one's "right" to tell the artist what to do lies in David's portraits, which are so much superior to his historical paintings.

Simplicity or transparency of approach does not exclude overemphasis upon approach. It may be that Weston concentrates so much upon seeing his cabbages and sand dunes clearly that he forgets to feel them. More feeling for them would perhaps have prevented them from disappearing, as they do, into mere objects of "clear and luminous" vision.

As for "Marxian literature"—I think Mr. Downes has only the slightest notion of what he means by that. I hesitate to offend his intelligence by saying what most people would think he means. Aside from that, he has no basis whatsoever for assuming that I wish to prescribe any particular sort of subject matter to any art. True, I may be a Socialist, but a work of art has its own ends, which it includes in itself and which have nothing to do with the fate of society.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

New York, April 1

Citizenship Camp

Dear Sirs: A recruiting campaign has just been launched for two hundred young men and women of varying races, creeds, and social and economic background, who are outstanding in their community's civic and social affairs, to participate in the "Encampment for Citizenship"—a practical workshop on citizenship sponsored by the American Ethical Union as part of its seventieth-anniversary program.

Opening on July 1 at the fourteen-acre Fieldston School in Riverdale, New York, for a six-week period, the "Encampment for Citizenship" is a five-

"FOR A LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL"

NORMAN THOMAS PAUL HAGEN
U. S. A. Germany

DR. JACQUES ROBIN, France

JENS BOYESEN, Norway

AARON LEVENSTEIN, Chairman

Musical Program:

PHILIPPA DUKE SCHUYLER, Pianist
Wednesday, May 1 Henry Hudson Hotel
6:30 P.M. 353 West 57th Street

Dinner Reservations at \$3.50 per plate from

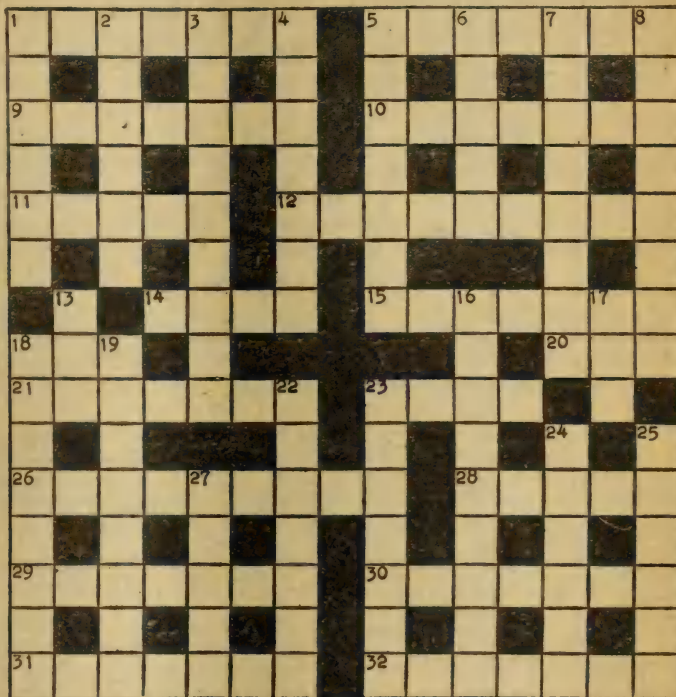
SOCIALIST PARTY

303 4th Avenue, N. Y. C.

GR. 5-6582

Crossword Puzzle No. 158

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Vera and pal in conference
- 5 Cattle puncher
- 9 Spear formerly hurled by infantry and cavalry
- 10 Actor's word for dramatic criticisms
- 11 He has the mind of a child of eight, if that
- 12 She would have to climb to sit beside her husband
- 14 Androclus befriended one, and one in turn befriended Androclus
- 15 Obviously not tough guys
- 18 See 18 Down
- 20 "The lads and lassies in their best Were dressed from top to ---"
- 21 Unlike violinists, they fit the strings to their bows
- 23 Shaw's retort when told Sugar and Sumac were the only "su" beginnings in English having the "shu" sound
- 26 The ant it is before the bullock in countering poisonous ptomaine
- 28 The one who sees you off seems to hesitate
- 29 Lighten
- 30 Frenchman who enabled the blind to read
- 31 Parents (anag.)
- 32 Revolting upheavals

DOWN

- 1 Am a Jap (anag.)
- 2 "But love is blind, and ----- cannot see The pretty follies they themselves commit"
- 3 Lovers' go-between, and a lover himself
- 4 Dutchman who discovered X-rays

- 5 Can stamps be taken for sweetmeats? They can
- 6 He has wit both tough and flexible
- 7 Cat cried (anag.)
- 8 Deal out in doses
- 13 Go wrong
- 16 Shouts a warning with oaths on the golf course?
- 17 Age that upsets one
- 18 With 18 Across, a character in Sheridan's *Rivals* noted for her blundering use of words
- 19 Runs away (with a sinking feeling, sailor?)
- 22 A sweet age
- 23 The Western American nightshade (4 and 3)
- 24 No lava in this earthly paradise, you will see if you look it up
- 25 Our gridiron cities which we think so modern were known to them 2,200 years ago!
- 27 Well, there it is!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 157

ACROSS:—1 MOVER; 4 CONCH; 7 ASPASIA; 10 FIRST; 11 RARER; 12 BELPOUT; 13 ABUT; 16 GALE; 18 KNEAD; 20 NAILBID; 21 NUTMEG; 22 BATTLE; 24 FIGARO; 25 SATIN; 26 ANLE; 28 SART; 31 TINTACK; 33 LINDA; 34 IVILD; 35 NUDISTS; 36 STEAK; 37 SALTS.

DOWN:—1 MAFIA; 2 VIRTU; 3 RATE; 4 CART; 5 NORMA; 6 HORSE; 8 POLAND; 9 SLOGAN; 14 HANDBOX; 15 THISTLE; 16 GIMBALS; 17 LOOBOOK; 18 KIBELS; 19 DUMIX; 23 BARNED; 24 PINALS; 26 ATLAS; 27 LANCE; 29 ARIEL; 30 INDUS; 31 TANK; 32 KISS.

CONFERENCE

SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON FOLKLORE IN THE METROPOLIS

SATURDAY, MAY 4th

Morning Session, 10:30—Afternoon, 3 p.m.
at the ELIZABETH IRWIN HIGH SCHOOL
40 Charlton St., N. Y. C.

Speakers: Harold V. Thompson, Ben. A. Botkin,
Herbert Halpert, Alan Lomax, Margot Mayo, Ruth
Rubin, Savaia Pirkova Jakobson, Pete Seeger.
Admission: 50¢ for each session. Luncheon, if de-
sired, in the school cafeteria (\$1.00).

Mail reservations to:

CAMP WOODLAND, 24-16 Bridge Plaza So.
L. I. C., N. Y. Tel. STillwell 4-8530

LANGUAGES

STUDY EASILY and quickly all lan-
guages by phonograph records. Also ren-
tals. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17.
MU. 3-1093.

HELP WANTED

SECRETARY Stenographer for Consumers
Cooperative Organization, uptown. Oppor-
tunity, excellent working conditions, 5 day
week, \$36. Audubon 3-3900.

SITUATION WANTED

YOUNG WRITER, ex G.I., degree in
Musicology, desires any appropriate posi-
tion, preferably magazine or newspaper
work. Seymour Solomon, 359 DeKalb Ave-
nue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

PERSONABLE, efficient young lady with
initiative. MA political science (Yale); AB
economics, psychology. Secretarial, teach-
ing, labor, research, organization experi-
ence. Interested in good position with
future, vicinity Philadelphia. Box 1595,
c/o The Nation.

SUMMER RENTAL

PROFESSOR owns Maine Island, two cot-
tages, will rent one suitable three persons
for summer, \$250. Sailing, fishing, swim-
ming, nearby college library. Box 1596,
c/o The Nation.

WANTED

WORKING MOTHER needs apartment
or rooms for herself and two daughters, 7
and 5, preferably where children will be
cared for until mother returns from work.
Have been separated for year because of
no place to live. GR. 7-1466, Room 701,
8 to 10 p.m.

PROFESSOR wishes to exchange 2-bed-
room furnished home in Berkeley, Califor-
nia, for furnished apartment in Princeton,
N. J., for one year. Box 1593, c/o The
Nation.

VACATION EXCHANGE

APARTMENT, Riverside Drive: Spend
August in 5-room home, 8 river windows,
2 baths, private entrance, big nursery; in
exchange exclusive month's use comfort-
able farm country house. Box 1597, c/o
The Nation.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

GOOD 8-room house; two baths; steam
heat; 3 acre lawn; splendid trees; tenant
house with bath. All for \$6,000. Imme-
diate. Phone evenings collect Berkshire
Farm Agency, Chatham, N. Y., for ap-
pointment.

FOR SALE

ANTIQUE JEWELRY

Old Pieces Matched—Skillful Repairing

Old Pieces Bought

Also Rose-cut and Old Mine Diamonds

ANSELMA FRIEL

87 NASSAU ST. CO. 7-5452

NEW YORK CITY

FOR LEASE

55,000 SQUARE FEET. Two brick and
stone, sprinklered buildings, 4 stories and
basement (formerly textile mills); elevator
in each building; about 14 acres land, at
Sruyvesant Falls (9 miles from Hudson,
N. Y.)—with perpetual use of 400 h.p.
included in rental. Desirable for chemicals,
textiles, bakery, etc. L. N. Rosenbaum &
Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.

FOR SALE

OLD CIDER MILL—This old mill sets on
the bank of Housatonic River at New Mil-
ford. Would make ideal studio for sculptor
or painter. River rights go with it for
\$8,500. Allan McKay, Agent, Route 7,
Danbury, Conn. 619-12.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum
3 cartons. Price \$1.35 per carton, postpaid.
Send check or money order. Ace Mail
Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

PAINTINGS

PORTRAITS, oil and water color—from
life or foto. ZENK Studio, 213 Fourth
Ave., N. Y. C.

CLASSIFIED

ADVERTISING RATES

62c a line (six words)

Minimum 3 lines

\$6.16 an inch

Attractive discounts for
multiple insertions.

THE Nation

20 Vesey St., N. Y. 7, N. Y.

BArcley 7-1066

year plan which each year will bring
together two hundred youths from
seventeen to twenty-two years of age in
a program of self-government and co-
operative living.

Youths recommended to the Encamp-
ment by churches, schools, farm groups,
clubs, and unions throughout the United
States as having shown interest and
leadership ability will study such prob-
lems as will affect their communities in
the years ahead. They will share in
planning education and recreation pro-
grams and perform the necessary "squad
details" that go with group living.

Studies of natural resources and of
how increased knowledge can promote a
higher standard of living, of interna-
tional affairs, of labor and minority
problems, and of economics will be part
of the curriculum. Guest speakers from
state and federal departments, business,
embassies, and civic institutions will ap-
pear periodically. Also scheduled are
tours through New York's leading news-
paper plants, government offices, mu-
seums, concert halls, and theaters, and
excursions along the city's harbor.

Qualified students will be admitted to
the "Encampment for Citizenship"
either by \$100 scholarships sponsored
by Y's, churches, clubs, unions, co-
operatives, and the American Ethical
Union, or by personal payment to the
"Encampment for Citizenship," at 2
West Sixty-fourth Street, New York.
Students will be selected by an admis-
sions committee of educators, civic
leaders, and theologians.

Henry B. Herman, a veteran social
worker and educator, is executive di-
rector of the "Encampment for Citizen-
ship." On the advisory committee are
Eleanor Roosevelt, Albert Einstein,
John Dewey, David S. Muzzey, and
others.

ALGERNON D. BLACK,

New York Society for Ethical Culture
New York, April 2

Help Wanted

Dear Sirs: I am writing a doctor's
thesis on the life of the late Harold
Frederic, 1856-98, noted author of the
Mohawk valley and London correspond-
ent of the New York Times.

I would be grateful if anyone could
advise me of the whereabouts of his
descendants or of letters by him or ma-
terial about him.

Needless to say, any manuscripts lent
will be carefully preserved and promptly
returned.

ARMIN KELLNER

Albany, N. Y., April 1

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 4, 1946

NUMBER 18

The Shape of Things

ONE YEAR AFTER HITLER'S SUICIDE IN A Berlin subway his followers enjoy the privileges of a ruling caste in Bavaria, while anti-Nazis "fear to speak freely and some . . . talk only in their homes at night or at some rendezvous away from their offices." This is the burden of Raymond Daniell's remarkable series of detailed and grimly convincing dispatches to the *New York Times*. So tightly have the Nazis retained their grip that Dr. Wilhelm Högner, Minister President of Bavaria, has publicly warned of immediate chaos and civil war should American forces be withdrawn; and others believe the Nazis would be back in power within a matter of weeks without even having to stage a civil war. For this shocking state of affairs the Catholic hierarchy in Bavaria appears from Mr. Daniell's reports to have a major share of responsibility. Its Christian Social Union is loaded with Nazi sympathizers, such as Dr. Rudolph Werner, who at the Union's request was allowed to edit a newspaper until American authorities dug up some violently pro-Nazi editorials he had written in the service of the Führer. Confronted with the evidence, Werner remarked blandly that he had not thought the Americans were "smart enough" to catch him. But the Christian Social Union goes right on defending him and has the gall to threaten an appeal to Catholic sentiment in the United States against such "anti-clerical persecution." Cardinal Faulhaber has been "active in appealing for the appointment of Nazis in important jobs" and candidates of other parties are repeatedly branded from the pulpit as "anti-Christian." Mr. Daniell is to be congratulated on his outstanding service, but it is plain that the root of the evil goes deeper than he has yet probed. German democrats cannot begin to make a fight until our authorities give them not only political backing but a realistic economic policy on which to build a program.

★

WHEN HARLAN FISKE STONE WAS NAMED TO the United States Supreme Court by President Coolidge, sterling liberals like Walsh and Norris rose in the Senate to oppose the choice. Stone was a rock-ribbed New England Republican who had come to the Coolidge Cabinet from one of the richest corporation law practices in Wall Street. Both Senators, to their lasting credit, were

to admit a mistake in judgment when "Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone dissenting" became a traditional pattern in the darkening days of the Hoover Administration. A strict constructionist of the court's function under the Constitution, Justice Stone, still later, was to rank as a judicial pillar of the New Deal, not because of any personal predilection but out of a profound regard for the powers vested in Congress by the electorate. "Courts," he wrote in his famous dissent upholding the AAA, "are concerned only with the power to enact statutes, not with their wisdom." Appeal from laws that are constitutional, however unwise, must be to the ballot-box, not the courts, which, he added pointedly, "are not the only agency of government that must be assumed to have capacity to govern." Beyond this constitutional approach he brought to his office a flexibility of mind and a sensitivity to change that prompted him to tell an audience in 1936: "We are coming to realize that law is not an end but a means to an end . . . that that end is to be attained through reasonable accommodation of law to changing economic and social needs." Should President Truman elevate a member of the present Court to be Chief Justice, it is assumed he will appoint a Republican to fill the resulting vacancy in order to preserve the bi-partisan character of the court. Republicans of Justice Stone's caliber are to be found, no doubt, but they can hardly be numerous. Neither can Democrats for that matter.

★

THE ELECTION OF ROXAS AS PRESIDENT OF the Philippines and the anticipated enactment of Congressional measures dealing with Philippine trade and defense tend to remove any distinction between the United States and other colony-holding countries. We will grant the Islands nominal independence on July 4, but only after having bound them hand and foot to the American economy and assisted at the installation of a President who is anti-democratic and subservient to American business interests. In his first interview President-elect Roxas proclaimed that he would do his best to provide inducements for the investment of American capital and to exclude other capital. Perhaps it was in anticipation of such favors that the American business community in the Islands—and also the American army

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	521
Save the OPA	523
Paris is the Payoff	524
Same Fears; Same Errors	525

ARTICLES

The Case of the Mufti <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	526
What Does Lewis Want? <i>by Alfred Friendly</i>	528
Czechoslovakia's Rebirth <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	529
The Vatican and Soviet Russia <i>by George La Piana</i>	531
Haiti's Bid for Freedom <i>by Raymond Pace Alexander</i>	534
The Canadian Spy Case <i>by B. K. Sandwell</i>	536
Calling All Social Scientists <i>by Stuart Chase</i>	538
Rumanian Rhapsody in a Minor Key <i>by Hal Lehrman</i>	540
In the Wind	542
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	543

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Poor Young Art of Radio <i>by Mildred Adams</i>	544
The Shako. <i>A Poem by Robert Lowell</i>	545
Guilt and Germany <i>by Hermann Ebeling</i>	546
The Process and Reality of France <i>by Charles A. Micaud</i>	548
Briefer Comment	548
Art <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	552
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	553

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 554

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 159 *by Jack Barrett* 555

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchway

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1873, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

—threw their support to Roxas despite his naked record as a collaborator with the Japanese. It should be remembered that Roxas was able to run only because General MacArthur decided to "forget" about his collaborationist activities and not prosecute him—a decision which was apparently taken at the suggestion of Colonel Andres Soriano, a millionaire Spanish business man who was once General Franco's representative in the Philippines. The favoritism shown by the American army probably provided the margin of victory for Roxas by harassing his most active opponents, the radical peasants of central Luzon and elsewhere who had offered the most effective guerrilla opposition to the Japanese. How rapidly enemies become friends, friends become enemies and independence becomes dependence when profits are an overriding consideration!

✕

NETTLED BY THE SHRILL JUSTIFIED YELPS OF Clare Boothe Luce, the angel who presides over the destinies of the D. A. R. has effected one of those changes that, once or twice in a century, disturb the monolithic immobility of her charges. The President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution, after several telegrams damning the "revolt" of a little band of Lucites, has decided to allow the Tuskegee choir to sing in Washington, since (unlike Marion Anderson, presumably) it "is famous throughout the land, and the request to appear in Constitution Hall cannot be classed as a publicity scheme." This is a partial, belated, and rather graceless change in the D. A. R.'s notorious policy of permitting "white artists only" to perform at the one Washington auditorium available; and, the world being what it is, we may as well greet this mitigated blessing with unmitigated delight. The disenchanted historian may guess that Mrs. Luce's Boston Tea Party was no more than the immediate cause of the new D. A. R. policy; upsetting rumors of the Emancipation Proclamation must have reached the President General, who may at this moment be bringing the bad news to Senator McKellar, a grudging recipient.

✕

BY ONE OF THOSE TYPOGRAPHICAL SLIPS that are of the most annoying variety because they convey a plausible meaning, we commented last week on "the court-martial system, which dooms enlisted men to drastic punishment for the mildest cases of disobedience but subjects officers merely to a reprimand for any other crime except murder, rape, black-market profiteering and cheating at cards, which is conduct unbecoming an officer." The sentence should have run, "... but subjects officers merely to reprimand for rape, black-market profiteering, and any other crime except murder and cheating at cards." As though to point up the error, General McNarney has just issued an order cracking down on officers and men alike for wholesale violations of army discipline, with particu-

lar reference to illicit trading. And James Aronson, reporting to the *New York Post*, writes that "in Berlin black-market activities among American officers and troops have become so widespread that they have almost achieved the respectability of a gentleman's vice." Of the thousands engaged in these shady transactions, hundreds of enlisted men have gone to jail, but the immunity of officers to punishment for the same offense raises the question of whether the men were jailed for fleecing the people of a stricken continent or for indulging in a "gentleman's vice."

✱

FORMATION OF A UNION FOR BASEBALL players finds the editors of this journal mildly interested, relatively ignorant, and hopelessly divided. Since we shall probably not return to the subject unless the Dodgers—"dem bums," as their public relations men prefer to have them known—start picketing Ebbets Field, we take this occasion to offer both majority and minority opinions. Speaking for the majority, our labor editor is all for the American Baseball Guild, which has just come into being under the direction of Robert Murphy, a Bostonian formerly with the National Labor Relations Board. Our labor editor lightly brushes aside the \$30,000 salary drawn by Ted Williams and even the lot of Hank Greenberg, who draws twice that princely sum. Getting down to cases, he points to the one-sided economic arrangement in the big leagues whereby a player, however handsome his salary, is the chattel of his club owner. At the end of each season, when his contract expires, he can either accept a contract renewal, at terms fixed by his owner, or abandon his high calling and go open a bar and grill in Milwaukee. He cannot go to another owner and offer his services for the following season. He is bound to his club until his master sees fit to toss him out, to sell him for cash—of which the player gets not a nickel—or perhaps to trade him for two other players and a first-baseman's mitt. The guild would fix a salary minimum for the big leagues—important to easily exploited rookies, starry-eyed with the thrill of making the big team, give a player freedom to negotiate at the expiration of a contract, and assure him a percentage of his sales price. It seems to our labor editor that these gains more than offset the complications arising out of the peculiar nature of sport based on profits.

✱

ON THE OTHER HAND, OUR SPORTS EDITOR, who is retained on the staff for just such quadrennial emergencies, takes a somewhat jaundiced view of the whole affair. He points out in the first place that if a player is permitted to auction off his services in a free market every season, the high-priced talent will gravitate to the millionaire clubs even faster than at present. The competitive balance between the clubs, which is nothing to brag about now, would be ruined com-

pletely. The individual player's skill has such a direct effect on the gate receipts, he insists, that the men are at present paid quite in proportion to their ability and that no player of major-league caliber can ever really be exploited. If the contract-and-option method of controlling a player's "labor" worked any hardship on the "chattel," it would be different—but our expert claims that it doesn't. He refuses to get worked up over the fate of twenty-year-old rookies who get a starting wage of only four or five thousand a year plus first-class travel expenses. As a matter of fact, he is inclined to be suspicious of Mr. Murphy's interest in the welfare of downtrodden shortstops and doubts that there has been or will be any great rallying to the cause from the player ranks. It should be pointed out however that since this sports editor of ours appears so infrequently, he is allowed to maintain certain bourgeois prejudices; and it may well be that his judgment is a little warped with horrifying visions of picket lines patrolling right field at the Polo Grounds and trios of base runners going on a sitdown strike with the score tied in the ninth.

Save the OPA

THE Senate will shortly have to make a decision that will determine the economic future of the United States for years to come. It must decide whether to continue the system of price control which brought us through the war without serious injury to the country's productive economy or to abolish or weaken the controls and thereby invite a repetition of the economic gyrations which followed the last war.

In no political battle since that over the Hawley-Smoot tariff have the stakes been so high. No one seriously doubts where the public stands. Reports from Washington indicate that the Senate is being deluged with letters and telegrams in support of the OPA. But the big business groups that are out to kill price control have also turned on the steam. The National Association of Manufacturers admits spending several hundred thousand dollars in its campaign to discredit the OPA. Other business groups, including the United States Chamber of Commerce and numerous trade organizations, have joined forces in what is obviously one of the most carefully planned lobbying campaigns in legislative history. This combination is a formidable one. Senators know from long experience that they can often ignore the will of the electorate and escape punishment at the polls. But they have found that the big business groups have a decisive word when nominations are made and political support is lined up in advance of the elections.

We do not mean to suggest that Congressional opposition to the OPA comes solely or even primarily from craven puppets of big business. Some of it, like that

of Senator Capehart, the former juke-box king, can be accounted for more directly. And a great deal undoubtedly springs from honest confusion. Inequities are bound to crop up in any system of price control, and Congressmen, with the aid of their constituents, have undoubtedly seen numerous instances of what they feel to be unfair applications of the law. They have little opportunity, on the other hand, to view the values of price control in its larger aspects. It is an unfortunate fact that the most impressive demonstration of the benefits of price control would be the disaster that followed its repeal.

A potent factor in the opposition to the OPA is the belief, carefully nourished by the N. A. M., that the price agency is responsible for the current shortages. Congressmen, like the rest of us, see scarcities on every side, many of which seem inexplicable. Specific cases can be cited in which producers, hopeful of price relief from the OPA, have slowed down or held back production.

The killing of the OPA would undoubtedly bring a lot of such goods out of hiding. The prospect of higher prices might also stimulate the production of some scarce commodities where the present profit margin is too narrow to permit plant expansion. But contrary to the N. A. M.'s view, an increase in prices would not assure a rise in production. Profit levels are generally high today, as can be seen by the balance sheets of the vast majority of our industrial and commercial establishments. Strikes have constituted the major barrier to all-out production in recent months; but a new rise in prices would almost certainly set off a new wave of crippling strikes.

Nor is there any validity, apart from the strike threat, in the claim that rising prices will stimulate production. Prices never rise smoothly. The dislocations and inequities which are inevitable in an inflationary situation create numerous bottlenecks in production. Moreover, as any recent visitor to Europe or China can testify, an inflationary rise in prices is more often than not accompanied by industrial stagnation because speculation becomes more profitable than production.

The danger is not, of course, that the OPA will be completely liquidated at this time. Such action would be far too risky on the eve of an election. What is to be feared is that a Republican-Southern Democratic coalition in the Senate will keep some of the major amendments adopted by the House any of which would probably be sufficient to bring about a collapse of the present wage-price line.

The public must be on guard particularly against the amendment that would remove controls on commodities in which the 1940-41 level of production has been attained. This proposal, which has strong farm-bloc support, has as its obvious purpose the removal of controls on most agricultural products. It would be difficult to conceive of a more irresponsible suggestion. A rise in

food costs would be immediately followed by demands for higher wages, with inevitable repercussions on the price of industrial goods. A curtailment in subsidies would provoke the same reaction. Republican support for these two measures is apparently predicated on the assumption that the Truman Administration would be held responsible for the ensuing economic chaos.

The protests against weakening the OPA are already strong enough to justify Chester Bowles' prediction of the greatest demonstration of democracy in action that this country has ever seen. But they have not yet reached a sufficient volume or been widely enough distributed to assure the defeat of all the crippling amendments imposed by the House. The crisis is a national crisis but the protests have come largely from the cities of the Northeast and Far West. It would be well if other sections, particularly the Middle West and South, recalled the effects of the collapse which followed our last post-war inflation.

Paris Is the Pay-Off

JUST a year ago the victorious Anglo-American and Russian armies were fraternizing enthusiastically on the banks of the Elbe; Nazism had at last been trampled in the dust and a new hope dawned for the world. But even as toasts were exchanged at Torgau, statesmen in San Francisco were wrangling over the terms of the United Nations Charter and opening the rift between Russia and the West which has been growing wider ever since.

At Hunter College the atmosphere is heavy with disillusion. The Security Council, instead of developing as a cooperative organ for the solution of international questions, is already degenerating into a forensic circus where diplomatic gladiators score petty victories. Russia, sullenly convincing itself that it is the victim of a capitalist conspiracy, practices obstruction and creates precedents for inaction it may some day regret. The United States and Britain, smugly aware of their compact majority in the Council, criticize Russian intransigence while smothering attempts to root out the fascist infection in Spain. Meanwhile, Europe waits, suspended between war and peace, hungry, insecure, neurotic, unable to settle down to work or plan for the future.

There is little point in trying to assess the responsibility for this situation. All the Big Four powers have shown an infinite capacity for perceiving the motives in alien eyes; none has displayed any talent for imaginative understanding of other nations' points of view. Here we sit on a growing pile of atomic bombs and wonder fretfully why the Russians should doubt our good intentions. Moscow for its part excoriates our baseless suspicions, while assiduously experimenting in the science of political fission through the Communist parties whose allegiance it commands.

Twelve months after the end of hostilities in Europe we have reached a kind of zero hour. If the Foreign Ministers at the conference which has just assembled in Paris cannot lessen the gap between east and west, cannot find some *modus vivendi* for peace-making in Europe, we do not see what is to stop the division of the world into permanently antagonistic blocs. We can only hope that the ministers will realize that this is indeed the pay-off, that if their deliberations on this occasion are as sterile as those in London last fall they will probably not have a third chance. We do not pitch our expectations very high; we do not suppose that they can settle all outstanding differences; but we do demand that they make a beginning in reestablishing unity.

A few reasons for very cautious optimism can be cited. The Soviets apparently are taking this conference very seriously. They have sent their strongest team to Paris, accompanied by a formidable array of experts. Moreover, they have opened with a gesture of good-will by agreeing to allow France to sit in on discussions of the Balkan treaties—the very issue on which Molotov's obstinate stand broke up the London conference last year. This is an astute reversal as well as a graceful one, for Moscow has much to gain by conciliating France. But it may also be a sign that the Soviet government realizes that it has been overplaying its hand and by the very aggressiveness of its tactics giving substance to its fears of a hostile combination of powers.

At any rate this easy settlement of the problem of French participation has given the conference a good start. But a great many far more complicated questions are on the agenda, with the peace terms for Italy at the top. Many of the demands that Russia has made or implied in respect of an Italian settlement are plainly preposterous. It cannot really expect that Britain, or France for that matter, would be willing to see it established in Tripoli in a position to command the Mediterranean. And it must be aware that its claims for reparations from Italy are claims for blood from a stone. They could only be made good if the United States supplied the blood in the form of loans. Again its current veto against the return of the indubitably Greek Dodecanese Islands to Greece, unless it is given a naval base there, is little better than blackmail.

No doubt some of these demands are bargaining counters put forward to offset Anglo-American demands in the Balkans. Perhaps Russia will withdraw its bid for Tripoli if assured a secure outlet to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, or will consent to the return of the Dodecanese to Greece if Britain gives up Cyprus. But the time for bluff has passed. If the Paris conference is not to fail, Russia must put its cards on the table, making known what it wants and what it is prepared to give.

We and the British must follow suit, but more than that, we must first decide what game we are going to

play. If we are going to take a tough line against Russian imperialism we must be prepared to surrender our own imperialist positions. We cannot demand that Russia should explore the international trail to security while we stick to the nationalist highway. If this is too idealistic a course for us, then we must be prepared to give Russia a free hand in its security zone in return for its non-intervention in the West. Let America and Britain, in other words, put off the armor of self-righteousness and call upon Russia to do likewise, for only when stripped of pretensions can we hope to begin building peace.

Same Fears; Same Errors

A FARCE as tragic and disheartening as that of "non-intervention" is reaching its climax in the Security Council of the United Nations as we go to press. Whatever the final action of the Council on the Australian resolution for an inquiry on Spain, the debate so far has served to encourage Franco, to undermine the morale of the Republican opposition, and to widen the rift between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States and Great Britain on the other. It is this tendency of the Spanish issue to divide the world into two camps that constitutes Franco's greatest threat to international peace and security. Fascist Spain, which provided an Axis testing ground for the Second World War, is helping to split the United Nations, the one hope of preventing a third.

Behind the unwillingness of the American and British governments to take action against Franco, behind their insistence on more "evidence," is the old fear of communism. This fear, in turn, reflects a lack of faith in democratic processes. It assumes that a Spanish Republic is an impossibility, that Spain must go Communist if not held down by some tightly reactionary regime. The result is to create the very thing feared, to throw leadership to the Communists and the Soviet Union, to discourage those who look to the democratic powers for support. This discouragement has spread even to the monarchists, who now seem to feel that Franco may succeed—Perón style—in strengthening himself with a plebiscite. The Spanish government's decree for a census to be used as the "basis for a referendum" indicates that the Spanish dictator is beginning to hope that he may yet survive the collapse of the Axis.

The pusillanimous attitude of the Security Council made it appear that Franco would gain something, whatever its final action. The defeat of the Polish resolution would raise his prestige at home. The passage of the Australian resolution might be utilized to turn the investigation against the Soviet Union and the Spanish Republicans, to give the Franco regime a chance to accuse them of endangering world peace and security. An attempt by the Soviet Union to veto the resolution,

whether successful or not, would further embitter relations between the powers.

A year after the defeat of the Axis fascism is already beginning to recover. Perón might have been defeated had the United States and Britain joined with the Soviet Union at San Francisco in barring Argentina from the

United Nations. Franco could still be forced out of power by a united stand in the Security Council. A year from now the State Department may regret its attitude on Spain as its regrets the treatment of Argentina at San Francisco. The old fears are leading to the old mistakes, and these in turn may culminate in a new catastrophe.

The Case of the Mufti

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 28

THE forthcoming report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, which may be released before this appears in print, makes the case of the Mufti number-one business for those who desire a peaceful solution of the Palestine problem. If this Arab war criminal is permitted to return to Palestine, the stage will be set for trouble, not only between the Arabs and the Jews, but between the great powers in the Middle East—for Haj Amin el Hussein is a genius at intrigue.

From advance accounts it appears that the report of the Committee of Inquiry leaves unsettled the long-range political problems of Palestine but would permit the entry of 100,000 displaced European Jews, as demanded last year by President Truman. The one hope of those who wish to block the grant of the required 100,000 certificates is to stir up large-scale, prolonged Arab riots in the Holy Land, and the one man who can do that is the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, Hitler's collaborator, who is now living sumptuously in a villa near Paris.

Those who hope that the grant of the certificates may pave the way for better feeling between Britain and world Jewry, those who would like to see the British and American governments join in the Lowdermilk plan for a Jordan Valley Authority, those who look to the meeting of the United Nations Assembly next fall for a solution of the Palestine problem fair to both Jews and Arabs must prevent the Mufti's return or see their hopes blasted. If he returns, he and his followers will again terrorize the moderate Arab leaders, as they did during the 1936-39 uprising. The difficulties of responsible and moderate Jewish leadership will also be greatly increased, for in a sworn statement made at Nürnberg on March 5 by S. S. Hauptsturmsführer Dieter Wisliceny, former chief assistant to the head of the Gestapo's Jewish Extermination Bureau, the Mufti was declared "one of the initiators of the systematic extermination of European Jewry by the Germans." If the British allow Haj Amin to return, the bitterness engendered among Palestine Jews will strengthen the terrorist minority that was responsible for such outrages as the murder of seven

British soldiers in Tel Aviv last week, a crime that has shamed every friend of Palestine.

The rich annals of appeasement contain no more striking story than that of Haj Amin el Hussein, no more convincing testimony to the readiness of the British government to be gulled. This Axis tool owes his eminence to the fatuous magnanimity of Sir Herbert, now Viscount, Samuel, himself a Jew. Haj Amin's agitation first drew blood in the savage Jerusalem pogroms of 1920. He fled to Transjordan, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment *in absentia*, benefited by amnesty, and returned to be appointed Mufti by Sir Herbert, although his name did not appear on the list of three candidates picked by the Moslem leaders of the country for submission to the government. Sir Herbert's advisers were convinced that this rather fulsome gesture would make a loyal subject of Haj Amin, and despite all that has happened since, the Mufti hopes to be again the beneficiary of such miscalculation. "If you now give this country its rights," his lieutenant, Jamal Hussein, told the Anglo-American Committee in Jerusalem, "the Grand Mufti will be to you a second General Smuts." The comparison is a colossal bit of cheek.

Haj Amin's career hardly parallels that of the noble Boer. The Mufti repaid British generosity by becoming the agent first of Mussolini and then of Hitler in the Middle East. His dealings with the Italians were proved by letters published in the Palestine Arab press as early as 1935. Two years later the outrages committed by his followers against Arabs, Jews, and Britons alike became too much even for the appeasement-minded, and the Palestine government ousted him from the presidency of the Supreme Moslem Council. Haj Amin fled to the Lebanon to escape arrest, exploiting Franco-British rivalry to obtain asylum there and to carry on his anti-British propaganda undisturbed. He was allowed by the French to resume his ties with German and Italian agents. When the war broke out, he escaped into Iraq, where he became a dominant political power. He helped put the traitor, Rashid Ali, into the premiership and engineered the Iraqi revolt in 1941. Had that Axis-inspired rebellion succeeded, Hitler would have had

*At the Security Council*

a base from which to strike north at the Russian oil fields and southwest to the Suez, and the two turning points of the war—Stalingrad and El Alamein—would have been Axis victories.

With the collapse of the Rashid Ali revolt, Haj Amin fled for refuge to the Japanese legation in Teheran, whence he moved on—just ahead of the Russian and British occupying troops—to triumphant welcomes in Rome and Berlin. He engaged in the organization of propaganda and espionage, and formed the Arab Legion, which fought as part of the Wehrmacht on the eastern front. Eleven days after Pearl Harbor he gave the Domei news agency an interview—broadcast the next day over Radio Berlin—in which he declared, "Japan's successes benefit the whole of Asia and all the Asiatics who are suffering under the Anglo-Saxon yoke." As late as October 11, 1944, he sent a telegram of thanks on behalf of the Moslems of Eastern Asia to the Japanese Premier. He played a leading part in the anti-Jewish propaganda and atrocities of the Nazis and organized Moslem S. S. units which operated in Yugoslavia. Yet for some mysterious reason the Yugoslavs have taken him off their war-criminals list, and Under Secretary Hector McNeil, in reply to a question in the Commons on April 15 of this year, said, "The Mufti is not a war criminal in the technical sense of the term."

The French government is playing the same kind of stupid, dirty role in connection with the Mufti that it played in 1937. The Swiss government, in compliance

with Allied directives against harboring Axis war criminals, twice deported Haj Amin when he tried to find asylum there in May, 1945, after the German collapse. But the French, then squabbling with the British over the Levant, thought they could use him against the British. Haj Amin was permitted to enter France late in May. He was placed under nominal house arrest in a villa outside Paris but was treated, according to a French news-agency dispatch of May 30, 1945, "with every consideration due to an outstanding personality of the Islamic world." Since the parley last November which patched up the Franco-British quarrel over the Levant, the two governments have been "passing the buck" to each other when asked what is to be done about the Mufti. On April 17 of this year the French government hit an all-time low in duplicity. It broadcast in English to North America an attack on Haj Amin as a war criminal and on the very same day broadcast in Arabic to the Levant a note of thanks from the Secretary General of the Arab League thanking France for the "privileged position" and protection accorded the Mufti. There is good reason to believe that in a short time the French, with the tacit approval of the British government, will permit the Mufti to leave France for the Middle East.

Some Britishers seem to think they can use Hitler's tool as their own. Only strong public protest in Paris and London can prevent the Mufti's resumption of Arab leadership in Palestine. There will be trouble, with international repercussions, if he does.

What Does Lewis Want?

BY ALFRED FRIENDLY

Staff reporter for the Washington Post covering labor and economic subjects

THE woods are full of people who have tried to figure out John L. Lewis. They are a frustrated group, a pleasant sight only to the unemployed psychiatrist. Lewis's motives, objectives, and satisfactions do not lend themselves to easy analysis. The man is neither all black nor all white, nor even marked off in clear sections of black and white, like Pierrot. His purest aims always contain a sizable amount of the dross of self-seeking; his most patently shabby goals always have a touch of nobility.

The present coal strike, for example, is a complicated device for injecting the dose of exaltation periodically necessary to sustain the Lewis ego. At the same time, it is a simple means of obtaining for 400,000 miners wage increases comparable to those enjoyed by other workers. It offers Lewis the opportunity to strut in professional gatherings as the hottest pilot ever to shoot down a table full of employers and thereby to establish himself as the dominant figure in the A. F. of L., the victor over his hated enemy Murray, the conqueror of the national stabilization program, and in consequence the most potent man in America. Yet it is also a way of giving his followers the security wrongfully denied them for years, of overcoming inequities so gross that they should have been corrected two decades ago.

Whatever the uncertainty about just what Lewis is seeking, one thing is clear: up to date he has been stalling. During March and the first ten days of April, before "negotiations" were broken off, there was no collective bargaining. Lewis declined to state his demands in specific terms. More important, he refused to consider several offers made by the employers. Evidently he figured that his real demands were such that they could not be met until public pressure had been built up to end the strike.

For more than three weeks of the strike such pressure was all but non-existent. When the walkout began, the supply of coal above ground was larger than usual. Now, at the end of April, the situation is getting tougher, and Lewis may assume that the time is ripe to talk business. He obviously hopes that this strike will be settled, as most others have been, by one company being so tempted by the prospect of profits that it will break out of the operators' conference and accede to the U. M. W.'s demands. Then the other operators will emit a loud public cry of indignation at the treachery and a private joyful sigh of relief that they can follow suit and settle up.

Though Lewis has not yet formulated his demands in

detail, a couple of his objectives are obvious. In the matter of wages he wants something more than the 18½ cents which is the C. I. O. pattern. Persons close to the negotiations insist that this demand is no problem; the



operators are willing to give him the 18½ cents since they can recover it in higher prices. Under more pressure, they will grant a few extra pennies; these will not be compensated by higher prices, but the operators can

squeeze profits a little for the sake of resumption of operations. Talk that the wage demands will force the mine owners to price themselves out of the market is largely unfounded. The point is on the horizon but has not been reached.

However, "a few extra pennies" more than the pattern is not enough for Lewis. He wants substantially more, more than the operators can pay out of profits. Hence his demand for a welfare fund to be paid through a royalty, presumably 10 cents a ton, on all coal mined. If this is granted, and if Bowles and Porter acquiesce, the owners could conceivably charge the royalty to their costs and take their new figures to OPA for an increase in ceilings.

The accident rate in coal mines is a horrifying surprise to those who first learn of it. During the fourteen months ending last February, for example, one out of every four West Virginia miners suffered an accident in the pits, with an average disability period of forty days. The accident-frequency rate is some twelve times higher than among production workers at General Motors. The only industry with a worse record is heavy logging. There are, to be sure, some state compensation laws, but these vary from fairly decent in Pennsylvania to downright dreadful in the Southern states. In some states insurance coverage by the mines is optional. The mine at which the recent Kentucky disaster occurred had not participated in the insurance plan, and the widows and orphans of the victims had not a penny coming to them. The situation is the result of the owners' troglodytic attitude over many decades. Had they followed the more enlightened safety policy of most of American industry and spent a few millions in making their mines safe, they would have recovered

their investment ten times over, and the present crisis would not be plaguing them.

Lewis's case on the need for a welfare and insurance fund is unassailable, and the owners must grant some kind of benefit system. But Lewis's demand that the fund be administered solely by the union can hardly be defended. There is probably room for a compromise, with public or joint administration of the money.

Once negotiations begin in earnest, accompanied by public pressure to settle, Lewis and the operators will probably be able to come to terms. A more difficult question is what happens to the stabilization program in the process. Bowles is fond of asserting that the program can stand one blow below the belt every twelve months but no more. The last one came only two months ago with the settlement of the steel strike. Will an 18½-cent pay increase in coal, plus a royalty payment, both of which must be reflected in higher coal prices, be a blow which the stabilization program can survive? Lewis,

it may be assumed, hopes it will be the death of the program, for he has frankly admitted that he would like to see all government controls buried deep in hell. If this is one of the results of the strike, Lewis can count on becoming the favorite labor leader of a large part of American industry.

How long will the strike last? As usual in matters in which Lewis is involved two contradictory answers seem equally logical. The first is that the strike will inevitably become a strike of Lewis against the government and will therefore be drawn out for many more weeks. Bowles and the Administration cannot give in and take the consequence of inflation, but they have no effective compulsion against a tough, rich union. The second possibility is that the strike will end much sooner than anyone expects, for Lewis is now striving to become a "labor statesman" in the public eye and therefore will be swift to heed public opinion if it runs against him.

Czechoslovakia's Rebirth

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Prague, April 25

BEFORE my departure for Europe I wrote a *Nation* article about Czechoslovakia in which I called it the republic of common sense and expressed the conviction that it would make the most rapid strides toward economic and political recovery. At that time I had at hand only Benes's first address to Parliament and the few stories that had been published in the press. But I had known Benes for many years and had observed him in many different situations. I saw him in New York early in the summer of 1939 after his country, like mine, had been sold out by the democracies; I saw him again on his visit to New York when the war was turning definitively in favor of the Allies. A difficult heritage had fallen to him—it is not easy to be the successor of Thomas Masaryk, one of the greatest men the century has produced—but he carried that heritage faithfully and added to it the stamp of a remarkable personality. Benes has grown in the last twenty years to become one of Europe's ablest statesmen, that rare kind of leader who combines shrewdness with honesty, adaptability with loyalty to principles. He went through the hardest trial of his life, the tragedy of Munich, without once faltering. At the first vigorous reaction of the democracies after the French débâcle, he knew that Czechoslovakia would rise again and that he must take the lead in the effort to repair the terrible damage which appeasement and stupidity had inflicted on his country. In New York three years ago he was as confident of his country's future as he is today in Prague. But I doubt

whether even he expected such an extraordinarily rapid recovery.

People who travel through Europe today on business or in government service all come back to Paris enchanted by Belgium. I, too, went to Belgium before proceeding to Prague. While the Belgian effort deserves the greatest praise, post-war recovery in Belgium and Czechoslovakia are two very different matters and only people without political insight can put them on the same level. What is taking place in Czechoslovakia is not simply recovery; it is also one of the most valuable post-war experiments in social justice and economic democracy. I cannot remember another case where the social structure of a country that has gone through the disintegrating ordeal of Nazi occupation has been so thoroughly transformed in so short a period. But of one thing I am certain: never has such a profound change been accomplished with less friction and with such great popular support.

From the moment the traveler crosses the Austrian-Czech frontier at Horni Dvoriste, the picture changes. His delight at seeing Kitzbühel and Salzburg again has been tempered by the general impression of distress: according to the information I could gather as I crossed Austria, the food situation has deteriorated incredibly in the last three weeks. The first sight of Czechoslovakia brings a feeling of relief. Suddenly everything seems to return to normal: the customs officials and police are dressed in good uniforms; coffee is brought to the train—coffee with sugar, in a Europe where the lack of sugar

defies even the audacious talents of the black marketeers. The renowned coffee-houses of Prague offer the customer everything he may desire. Shops are well stocked; every week some new article in the store windows draws admiring glances from the strolling crowds. Here people walk for pleasure even late in the evening; Prague is a much better-lighted city than Paris. The number of bookshops is unbelievable; the Czechs, who always read a great deal, are reading more than ever before. British and French and Swiss papers are snatched up quickly. Though theirs is a small country, the Czechs are convinced that they have an important role to play and they are eager to learn for themselves what is going on in the world. Even more important than the material recovery is the moral one. There is no fear or uncertainty about the years ahead; almost everyone feels sure of his country and of himself. Unemployment is unheard of in Czechoslovakia today; there is plenty of work for all, and work that will benefit not the trusts and the capitalists but the nation and the people as a whole.

Liberation and recovery are not the words that one hears most frequently. The Czechs are talking about revolution. Astonishing to say, I heard Catholic priests discussing it with little sign of repugnance or alarm. The Czech Catholic press is in general sympathetic to the cause of the Spanish Republic, and it was a Catholic priest, Halla, the Minister of Communications, who recently said to a member of the French M. R. P., "Tell Bidault and Gay that French influence in Central Europe will be nullified as long as France does not take a strong position of friendship toward the U. S. S. R." (His statement was quoted in the March issue of the French Catholic monthly *Esprit*.)

Confidence in Czechoslovakia's ability not only to regain its pre-war standards but to surpass them was the common note of the two long talks I had with Prime Minister Fierlinger and Vice-Premier Gottwald, who head the present government. I saw them both in their homes, without the formality of an official visit, and I had the feeling that in those intimate surroundings they were very much at their ease in answering all my questions. Each of the men is quite impressive in his own way. Fierlinger, a member of the Social Democratic Party, seems almost to have been born to head a coalition government. He can be both conciliatory and firm; he gets along with parties and men, but he knows also where he is going. His entire policy is guided by two main purposes: to assure the continued participation in the government of the four parties which now compose it, and to retain the support of the trade unions. The day I visited him he had spent the morning at the first national congress of the *Revoluční Odborové Hnutí* (R. O. H.), or Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. He explained to me how, since its formation immediately after the end of the war, the R. O. H. has been

directly associated with the Cabinet in all matters concerning labor: "You saw Foreign Minister Masaryk and me at the congress this morning. We were there not only because the working class played a predominant role in the battle of liberation but because without its wholehearted cooperation we would not be in the enviable situation which you just described. I would not think of staying in my present post for another day if I felt I had lost the support of the unions." That he has not lost it was evident from the enthusiastic reception he got when he stepped into the congress hall.

The next elections, on Sunday, May 26, will decide whether Fierlinger will continue as Premier or be replaced by Dr. Zenkl, present Lord Mayor of Prague and a member of the National Socialist Party, to which Benes once belonged. (Even if the Communists should get the largest vote, it is rather unlikely that there would be a Communist Premier.) The real contest will be between the Communists and the National Socialists, with the Social Democrats probably running third. The Communists are convinced that they will poll the biggest vote; right now, after talking to many different people, I think the chances of the Communists and the National Socialists are practically even. But of course the picture may change in the three weeks that remain. Dr. Zenkl has a reputation as a good administrator, but it would be a pity to see Fierlinger leave the premiership just when he is in the middle of a successful job.

Klement Gottwald has been chairman of the Communist Party since 1927, and when I was in Moscow in 1935 held the post immediately under Dmitrov in the Comintern. He was kind enough to interrupt a brief Easter Sunday holiday to receive me since I was leaving Prague in a few hours. We spoke mainly about production and the nationalizations. "We cannot complain," he said; "compared with 1938 figures, lignite production has reached the 100 per cent mark, hard coal 90 per cent, steel 70 per cent, and the majority of the other industries 50 per cent. And every month shows a new advance. We could do still better were it not for the lack of certain raw materials—for instance, wool—and of skilled workers." "But Mr. Minister," I interrupted, "the Czech worker is very able." "Yes," Gottwald agreed, "only you must not forget that of the 3,500,000 Sudetens we are sending to Germany, almost 800,000 are industrial workers. There is a gap that must be filled." Then he added quickly, "But we would do it again, no matter what the consequences to the national economy. We place the security of the state above any consideration of technique or production." As he spoke, I was thinking of a remark a member of an Allied mission had heard the day before from a Sudeten about to be deported: "The day we have enough V-2 robot planes, we will come back. With other surprises too. And we will put these Czech swine in their place again." Or this even more illuminating com-

ment of a repentant Sudeten Nazi: "Das Vierte Reich ist schlechter als das Dritte, aber das Fünfte Reich wird besser sein"—"the Fourth Reich is worse than the Third, but the Fifth Reich will be better."

Gottwald told me much more than is commonly known about the nationalization program, a large part of which has already been accomplished. Coal mines, all sources of electric energy, the banks, a large proportion of the metal factories, certain groups of food industries, and the movies have already been nationalized; he cited a series of figures which indicate how well they are doing under state ownership. He said that now the nationalization period can be considered as finished; all other privately owned enterprises will be able to continue

working without fear of being taken over by the state.

Like Fierlinger, Gottwald expressed himself categorically in favor of continuing the national government coalition. The two men seem to complement each other and work very well together; they were both in Moscow during the last years of the war when Fierlinger was the ambassador of the Czech government in exile. But their mutual esteem would not in itself be sufficient; their successful collaboration is based on the good relationship which exists between the Socialists and Communists. In this respect, too, Czechoslovakia is better off than other European countries.

[Next week Mr. del Vayo will discuss Czechoslovakia's foreign policy.]

The Vatican and Soviet Russia

BY GEORGE LA PIANA

Morison professor of church history at Harvard and author with Gaetano Salvemini of "What to Do with Italy"

RECENT religious and political developments in the Soviet Union make possible a closer estimation of the losses incurred by the Catholic church in Eastern Europe as a direct result of the war and the victory of Russia. These losses cut deep into the vital interests, both religious and political, of the Vatican in a score of European states. It is clear that the Stettin-Trieste line, if that is to mark the western boundary of the so-called Russian sphere of influence, will mark also the eastern boundary of the Vatican's sphere of influence in Europe.

Beyond that line lie, first, the Baltic states, which were formerly bound to the Vatican by concordats—Latvia, 1922, Lithuania, 1927—granting to the Catholic church special privileges and state support. These countries, now Soviet republics, have discarded the concordats and adopted the religious policy of the Soviet Union.

Poland, for centuries a stronghold of Roman Catholicism, has ceased to be for it a door opening on the vast expanses of the Slavic world: it is now a door open in the opposite direction. The abolition of the Concordat of 1928, the most favorable ever obtained by the church in any country, has shorn the Polish church of all its economic and political power. The radical agrarian reform—long promised but never carried into effect by the previous government owing to the pressure of the landed aristocracy and the bishops—will weaken and possibly eliminate altogether the church's strong grip on the rural masses, now regimented in the new economic and social order on the Soviet pattern.

The changed boundaries of the new Polish Republic have added to the Catholic losses. On the eastern side

the former Polish section of White Russia with its three bishoprics is now part of the Soviet Union. The Little Russians, or Ruthenians (a latinized form for Russians), have joined their brothers across the Carpathian Mountains in the Soviet Republic of Ukraine. Between two and three million Ruthenian Catholics of the Slavic rite, who had been savagely oppressed and persecuted by their former Polish Catholic masters, have already announced their rejection of all connection with Rome and their return to Orthodoxy, which they had abandoned far back in 1596. On the western side, the new Polish state has gained vast provinces, among them the whole of Catholic Silesia, where the church will now experience the same fate it has met in Poland proper.

Next comes Hungary, which after the First World War shrank to a small state of seven million inhabitants, of which only about two-thirds were Catholics. The church lost its possessions there during the red revolution of Bela Kun, but recovered most of them under Horthy's regime. At present Hungary, still under Russian military occupation, has a government controlled by the agrarian middle class with conservative leanings—in the sense that it is not disposed to adopt outright Communist institutions. On the other hand, the agrarian reform, now applied in earnest against the resistance of the bishops, marks the liquidation of the landed aristocracy and of the large ecclesiastical estates. The foundations of the political power of the church have collapsed: the economic, social, and political life of the new Hungary has to move within the orbit of the Soviet Union.

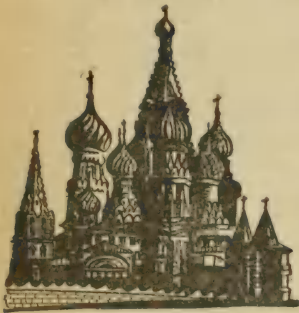
No more encouraging is the outlook in Czechoslovakia. Under the pre-war democratic regime the anti-

Roman, anti-clerical current was so strong that the Vatican could not obtain a concordat but only a temporary *modus vivendi* (1928). Relations between the government and the Vatican were so strained that at one time the Apostolic Nuncio left Prague. The action of the Catholic Party of Slovakia, led by Monsignor Tiso, in standing with the Germans to the end of the war was a damaging blow to Catholic prestige in the whole country.

The treaty made with Russia by the Czechoslovak government in exile guaranteed the independence of the republic and the maintenance of its democratic institutions. But after the experience of Munich the Czechoslovaks know well that they must lean on Russia for safety. The present Prime Minister of the provisional government said recently, "The treaty of alliance with Russia will be the basis of our foreign policy, which will remain unchanged whatever the outcome of the elections." It is obvious that no Vatican proposals for new agreements will find willing ears there.

In the three states which form the southern links of Russia's "security system" are other factors working against the Vatican. The great majority of their populations belong to the national Orthodox churches. During the last century the Roman church made some gains in Rumania, and the Vatican concluded a concordat with that country in 1929. A similar concordat was negotiated

with Yugoslavia, the population of Croatia and Slovenia being largely Catholic. But the government could not overcome the stubborn opposition of the Parliament, and the concordat was dropped. The new regime of Marshal Tito, so closely linked with



Moscow, has dealt harshly with the Catholic bishops, whom it accuses of having given "a poor example of patriotism during the war," and has all but wrecked the church throughout Yugoslavia.

But the most important factor in the religious situation in the Balkans is Moscow's change of policy toward the Orthodox church. The Russian church, which as an integral part of the czarist regime was destroyed by the revolution, has risen from its ashes and is now rebuilding its old structure on new political foundations. It has revived the ancient Patriarchate of Moscow, which was abolished by Peter the Great, and is picking up the broken threads of its historical traditions. All this is done with the approval of the Soviet regime. The Russians are essentially a deeply religious people. Neither

the anti-religious spirit of communism nor the atheist propaganda put out by the government had much influence outside the ranks of the Communist Party. Like Napoleon after the French Revolution, Stalin has learned that at this stage of Russian history the church may be useful. By helping it to regain a place in Russian life he has achieved three aims at one stroke. First, he has eliminated a cause of internal dissension and strengthened the spiritual unity of the Russian peoples. Second, he has put out of business the anti-Soviet Russian Orthodox church in exile, which claimed, not without some justification, to represent the true religious conscience of the Russian masses. Third, he has removed the label of "atheist" from the Soviet Union as a whole.

The new Russian church, however, has another and higher task to perform, that of gathering around its revived patriarchate the other Orthodox churches of Slavic countries and possibly of the whole eastern Mediterranean region. The czars always cherished the plan of uniting the Orthodox religious world under the protection of Russia. In spite of some partial success the plan fell short of realization because apart from the fact that the ancient Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople still had some powers left, the Russian church was too closely identified with czarism. It was not even ruled by a patriarch, but by a synod, the president of which was a layman, a minister of the state. The church of Russia lacked the spiritual prestige that goes with the office of a supreme ecclesiastical leader carrying on canonical and spiritual traditions.

By the restoration of the patriarchate the church of Russia has linked itself again with the regular tradition, and it is already able to claim a considerable degree of internal autonomy. At the ceremony of enthronement of the new patriarch, Alexei, in January, 1945, dignitaries of the other Orthodox churches were present. The official representative of the Soviet Union, George Karpov, thanked the Russian church for its loyalty and the sacrifices it made during the war. In his turn the Patriarch thanked the government for the aid given to the church and sent his heartfelt blessing to "the great leader Marshal Stalin." The first official document issued by Alexei—on February 9—contained a strong denunciation of the Vatican's Fascist and Nazi sympathies and an appeal to unity addressed to all Orthodox churches.

In March, 1945, the Patriarch visited in style the Holy Land and celebrated a pontifical mass at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, surrounded by the patriarchs or their representatives and by bishops of all the Eastern churches. In October he sent to the United States the Metropolitan of Yaroslav as his legate to reestablish the union of the Russian churches of America under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate. Since the end of the war the Orthodox churches of Serbia, Rumania, and Bulgaria have strengthened their connec-

tions with Moscow. Stalin himself now smiles benevolently upon the Georgian and Armenian churches, and he recently bestowed a high decoration and a new automobile on the Gregorian Patriarch of Armenia.

Since the pan-Orthodox program of the Russian patriarchate coincides with the Soviets' program for expanding Russian political influence, it has more than a chance of success. The task of winning over the non-Slavic Orthodox and dissident churches will not be easy, but with the ancient Patriarchate of Constantinople reduced to a mere shadow and the other patriarchates broken into fragments and threatened by the Uniat propaganda of the Vatican, they may yield to the revitalizing Russian influence.

The Vatican is fully aware of this new development and of its threat to the whole long and patient work of Catholic penetration in the East. Above all, this change in Russia means that the old conflict between the Vatican and Moscow is shifting to different ground. As long as the Soviet Union was and appeared to be an out-and-out "atheist" state, the conflict was clear-cut—religion against atheism. On this issue the Vatican could count on the support of the whole Christian world. But now the conflict is changing into a struggle between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, between the church of the West and the church of the East. On this issue the Vatican cannot expect much support outside the Catholic fold.

In the light of these events the emphasis on "universalism" in the recent papal addresses explaining the wide choice of new cardinals and the bestowal of the red hat and of special attention on the Catholic Patriarch of Armenia acquire special significance. Incidentally, this patriarch, in spite of his high-sounding titles, rules over a church the size of a modest American bishopric. But Pius XII could not be niggard in comparison to Stalin. Neither the insistence of the Catholic press in calling Russia an atheist state nor its indictment of the Russian church as a mere tool of the Soviet Union can be of any real help to the Vatican in the struggle ahead. The revival of the Russian church—limited though it may be at present—is not a myth; it is a fact that affects the life of many millions of people within and outside Russia. Patriarch Alexei has officially denied that the activities of the church, the training of its clergy, or its schools are controlled by the government. At any rate, the loyalty of the Russian church to the Soviet Union cannot be questioned. The collaboration of church and state in a program of expansion, religious for the church and political for the state, has never been objected to by any church.

Behind this new militant antagonism of the two churches there is the old irreconcilable opposition between the economic, social, and political doctrines and institutions which the Vatican holds sacred and those of socialism and communism, now represented primarily, but not solely, by the Union of the Soviet Republics.

For a century the popes have condemned socialism and communism as contrary to the laws of nature and of God. As long as these systems were only theories held by a few intellectuals and political agitators, the papal condemnation was of little consequence. But socialism and communism have now become active, and in some countries dominant, political forces: communism—with some modifications—is now the economic and social system of a great military power, the Soviet Union.

Since the Communists came to power in Russia, the Vatican has multiplied almost frantically its anathemas and has urged all the political and religious forces of the world to unite against this common enemy. The anti-Communist, anti-Russian campaign of the Catholic press the world over goes on unabated. The Soviet press in its turn loses no opportunity to attack the Vatican. Yet the Vatican has not hidden its keen desire to conclude with the Soviet Union some kind of agreement that would open the door of Russia to Catholic propaganda. The peace dove, however, flown from Rome or by intermediaries, has never brought back an olive branch.

The Vatican's plan is very simple. It does not imply that the church should retract its absolute and total condemnation of communism as such. But the church is willing and ready on practical grounds to come to a compromise even with a Communist state. All the Vatican asks is to be left free to organize the Catholic church in Russia under its direct control, and finally to convert all the Russians to the Roman Catholic faith. Pius XII in one of his recent addresses went out of his way to express his benevolence toward Russia, recalling his refusal in 1941 to join the Nazis and Fascists in their "holy crusade" against the Soviet Union. (Incidentally, some Russians may have thought that the Pope's refusal to break his official neutrality was not for love of the Soviet Union but for his own sake—to side with the Germans would have been a fatal mistake. The Russians may well wish now that the Pope had made this mistake.) The *Osservatore Romano* has also praised Stalin for his reassuring words about peace. The hope of a compromise with Russia is still strong at the Vatican.

To the outside observer it seems hardly possible that a subtle distinction between theoretical condemnation and practical agreement—though it worked well with a cynical egotist like Mussolini, who in a Catholic country needed the support of the church—could work at all with the men of Moscow, in a country which has reorgan-



ized its national Orthodox church, an old rival of Rome. The Soviet Union is still ruled by men who got their political education in the dangerous game of revolution, hunted as outlaws by the police. Secrecy, suspicion, and conspiracy were the only means by which they could survive and perhaps attain their goal. After they established the Soviets, Europe threw an iron ring around the new Russian state and looked upon it as an international outlaw. Hence secrecy and suspicion shaped Soviet policy and methods in international affairs. Mental habits are not easily dropped: secrecy and suspicion, even after the alliance with the Western powers and the common victory, still reign in Moscow.

To the men of Moscow the Vatican is the nerve center of a worldwide conspiracy against the Soviet Union: plots and intrigues are there woven by the secret papal diplomacy to increase everywhere the hatred of Russia. By the strange irony of events, Soviet Russia is now thundering against secret diplomacy, and the Vatican is now the outspoken champion of freedom of religion. The men of Moscow know well how dangerous a weapon secrecy may be and they want the monopoly

of it; the men of the Vatican know well that freedom of religion is a dangerous heresy, and what they mean is freedom for themselves to monopolize religion.

It may be supposed that the Moscow leaders will not knowingly admit the enemy within their gates. To grant freedom of organization and propaganda, under present conditions, to the Catholic church in Russia would be tantamount to authorizing the Catholic clergy to read from the pulpits of Russia the papal encyclicals against the economic and social order of the Soviet Union and to teach anti-Communist doctrines in Catholic schools. Likewise, to let the Catholic church control through Catholic political parties the governments of countries within the Russian sphere of influence would undermine the Russian "security system," of which these countries are essential links. Unless the Vatican reverses its teaching concerning communism or Russia overthrows the Soviet regime, the gulf that divides the two will grow wider and deeper. Both alternatives are now unthinkable. In a world that is desperately seeking how to avert a new and perhaps final catastrophe the old explosive mixture of religion and politics is again at work.

Haiti's Bid for Freedom

BY RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER

Philadelphia lawyer and writer. Mr. Alexander has spent many years in the West Indies, particularly in Haiti.

Port-au-Prince, Haiti

FOUR and a half hours by plane from Miami, on the northern rim of the Caribbean, lies one of the most picturesque, historic, and misunderstood countries in the Western Hemisphere. Christopher Columbus, convinced that he had at last arrived in Asia, discovered the island of Haiti on December 6, 1492. In gratitude to his patrons, the King and Queen of Spain, he called it Hispaniola. The Indians had a word for it, however—Haiti, land of the mountains, and that name was afterward restored to use. In 1804, after more than three centuries of Spanish and French rule, Haiti won its independence. Since 1844 the island has been divided politically into two parts—Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Today Haiti has a population of 3,250,000, settled on 10,800 square miles of land, which means a very great density. Except for between ten and fifteen thousand whites, some foreign, some naturalized, these people are all "colored," or "Negroes" as we define race in America; perhaps 600,000 of them are mulattoes ranging from "light brown" to white.

The color question was one of the underlying causes of the unrest that erupted in the students' strike of January 7 and the overthrow of the regime of President

Lescot on January 11. It is fantastic to say that the unrest in Haiti is of Communist origin. The students' uprising was merely the first breaking into flame of a long-smoldering resentment against the maladministration of Elie Lescot and his predecessor, Stenio Vincent.

Lescot's pre-election promises of greater democracy were sharply contradicted by his acts as President. Soon after taking office he forced the Senate and Chamber of Deputies to pass legislation extending his term of office, which was due to end January 15, 1945, until 1952. He assumed the right to extend the life of the parliament and to name successors for members who resigned or died. He took it upon himself to appoint the city mayors, who had always been elected by the people. He made his twenty-eight-year-old son Gerard Lescot, who was mentally and physically a child, Foreign Minister and head of the Haitian delegation to San Francisco, and named many other members of his family to high office.

While minister to Washington, Lescot received \$30,000 from his government with which to buy arms in America; no arms were bought but the money was spent. To square his accounts he borrowed \$30,000 from President Trujillo of Santo Domingo and in letters which have since been published pledged himself and "his

family as eternal slaves" to Trujillo. Three months after becoming President, Lescot purchased a beautiful \$80,000 estate from the president of the American-controlled Haitian-American Sugar Company. Afterward a monopoly of all Haitian cane was given to HASCO.

If anyone in the employ of the government uttered a word of complaint he was immediately discharged. If liberal newspapers were critical, they were suppressed and their editors imprisoned. Pierre Louis, editor of *L'Opinion*, died in jail. Max Houdicourt, editor of the *Nation*, fled to New York, where he worked for the Haitian underground until last January, when he returned to become a leader of the vigorous left-wing Parti Socialiste Populaire. This group, with others, is trying to give a new deal to the Haitian workers.

The University of Haiti is supported and controlled by the government. Vincent and Lescot dictated all appointments. The student paper *La Ruche* (*The Hive*) bitterly criticized the stifling of academic freedom and demanded that the Four Freedoms, which Haiti had subscribed to at San Francisco, be established at home. Lescot suspended the paper.

The students showed their defiance in streets parades. Demonstrations by clerks in stores, laborers on the roads, and transportation workers paralyzed the economic life of the capital. Lescot's Cabinet, badly frightened, resigned and began to leave Haiti. After four days of rioting, the learned Dr. Georges Rigaud formed a committee which pointedly told the President that the people demanded his immediate resignation. Lescot refused and called in the head of the military, Colonel Frank Lauvaud, and his chief aides, Majors Antoine Levelt and Paul Magloire, ordering them to restore order at any cost. These men proved to be better administrators and truer democrats than Lescot. They talked with the popular leaders and then told the President that for his own safety he had better resign.

Colonel Lauvaud and Majors Levelt and Magloire, as a military junta, took over the government of the country. To this junta and its Cabinet must be given credit for an intelligent and fair administration, which has shown special concern for the depressed workers. When the junta was ready to return the government to civilians, it asked the Supreme Court to take over, but the court refused. Various citizens, including Dantes Bellegarde, were then asked to form a Cabinet, but all felt the military was doing a fine job. It was decreed, therefore, that a general election for a new parliament would be held May 12. Writing a new democratic constitution would be the parliament's first task; a presidential election would be held immediately after adoption of the constitution.

The banned parties and liberal newspapers are now flourishing. The dominant political philosophy is decidedly "left." The dark-skinned Haitians who make up 75 per cent of the population are belligerent because under

Vincent and Lescot, who were mulattoes, they were denied places of responsibility in the Cabinet and diplomatic services. One of the junta's first acts was to appoint black Sylvio Cator, Haiti's great Olympic athlete, mayor of Port-au-Prince. Emile St. Lot, leader of the black party in Haiti, the Parti Populaire National, was made dean of the Law School of the University of Haiti. St. Lot is now actively campaigning for the Presidency.

The leader of the so-called Communist Party is Felix Dorleans Just Constant, a handsome, well-educated, and respected black priest of the Episcopal church, United States Diocese. He is a strong and colorful figure and an avowed Presidential candidate. In his open attempt to loosen the grip of the Catholic church on the government he is supported by a group of Protestant ministers who, though they do not share his political views, have joined him in a Protestant Front Party. They insist on the separation of church and state and oppose the government's annual cash grants to the Catholic church.

The Communist Party in Haiti is not actually a Marxian party. It is a strong socialist movement to end the oppression of the working classes and the corruption in the government. It wants to institute an educational program for the masses, still 75 per cent illiterate; to legalize labor unions; to end the granting of monopolies to foreign-owned corporations, chiefly American; and to begin an era of intelligent planning for Haiti's economic, social, and cultural recovery. Its leaders hope to see the Haitian-American Cooperative Commission on Education, of which our State Department is sponsor, broadened to become a vital part of Haitian cultural and economic life. This commission has greatly extended the average Haitian's knowledge and understanding of the United States and of the accomplishment of the American Negro.

All Haiti's democratic leaders urge an end to the American control of Haitian finances—instituted in order to protect a loan to Haiti of less than \$12,000,000. They demand better-balanced commercial relations with the United States. Haiti is one of the world's greatest producers of fine coffee, sugar, bananas, and cotton, but the wealth thus created has been kept from the people by the monopolies granted Standard Fruit, the Haitian-American Sugar Company, and other firms.

Haiti deserves a better break from our State Department. Recognition of the new government, which was granted on April 8, will contribute to a revival of trade and agriculture, but a policy such as Adolph Berle recently introduced in Brazil, which would assure the country's planned economic development, is badly needed. A commission of capable Americans, including some outstanding American Negroes, might well be sent here as friends of Haiti to aid in its social, economic, and—even at the risk of the cry of intervention—political recovery.

The Canadian Spy Case

BY B. K. SANDWELL

Editor of the Toronto Saturday Night

Toronto, April 19

IN SEPTEMBER of last year a person named Igor Gouzenko, a cipher clerk in the Soviet embassy at Ottawa, being much alarmed for his personal safety, communicated to the Ottawa police the fact that he had removed a number of very secret documents from the embassy, and that these documents concerned an organized effort by members of the embassy staff to obtain secret information from persons in the employ of the Dominion government. The Dominion government was at first reluctant to have anything to do with Mr. Gouzenko's information, since Russia was a friendly power, but ultimately decided that it would have to investigate.

On October 6, therefore, it passed a secret order-in-council, numbered P. C. 6444, which set forth that "the acting Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice, if satisfied that with a view to preventing any particular person from communicating secret and confidential information to an agent of a foreign power or otherwise acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the state it is necessary so to do, may make an order that any such person be interrogated and/or detained in such place and under such conditions as he may from time to time determine." This order was passed under the powers conferred upon the government by the War Measures Act.

No action was taken against any person under this order until February 15, when thirteen persons were seized and detained by plain-clothes officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, rushed to the R. C. M. P. barracks in an Ottawa suburb, and held there, with no charge made against them and with no opportunity to communicate with counsel, for periods ranging from two and a half to six weeks.

During the time between the passing of the order and the taking into custody of the thirteen there was considerable discussion in Parliament about secret orders-in-council, and on December 6 John Diefenbaker, a prominent opposition member, speaking of another secret order which had just come to light, said: "The Minister says he does not know of the existence of this order. Will he tell us how many more secret orders there are which have not been produced?" The Minister of Justice replied: "That is not a secret order, and there are no secret orders." On March 19 the Minister of Justice, referring to this statement, told the House: "I said that was not a secret order and that there were no secret orders. I had no thought at that time of this order, which

had not been used." On March 21 Mr. Diefenbaker said to the House: "Sir, is it not an indication of what power will do to men, what it will do to a former president of the Canadian Bar Association, one who had stood for the safeguarding of rights of Parliament and the individual, that he should forget an order-in-council which did more to sweep aside the rights of individuals than any other order-in-council passed in the history of Canada?"

The powers of detention granted to the Minister of Justice under this order are the same that he enjoyed under Section 21 of the Defense of Canada Regulations, but there is added the new power of interrogation before (or without) trial, and the whole is freed from any of the limitations and safeguards which Parliament eventually insisted on attaching to the Regulations. The Regulations were a war-time measure, and the sections dealing with the powers of detention were revoked August 16, 1945.

For two and a half weeks after February 15 none of the thirteen persons were allowed to see even their nearest relatives. For the first ten days the only communication allowed was between husbands and wives, by censored mail. It was not until twelve days after the seizures that the secret order-in-council was published, and until that time it was impossible for lawyers, engaged by relatives, to learn by what authority the detained persons were being held.

The detained persons appear to have been examined informally by the Mounted Police at intervals during their incarceration, and formally by a Royal Commission consisting of two judges of the Supreme Court of Canada. The evidence given by some of them has been accepted as proof in the preliminary hearings on charges under the Official Secrets Act, but without any suggestion that they had been warned that anything they said might be used against them—the invariable safeguard in the case of statements made to the police otherwise than in open court. After the detained persons had been questioned by the police and formally under oath before the Royal Commission they were given an opportunity to procure counsel, but not earlier.

The Royal Commission has issued a series of interim reports. The first of these named four persons, and in spite of the fact that none of them had had a public hearing or been defended by counsel, declared them guilty of an offense punishable by a fine up to \$2,000 or imprisonment up to seven years with hard labor, or both. This report says: "The evidence so far, however, estab-

lishes that four persons," who are then named, "have communicated directly or indirectly secret and confidential information to representatives of the U. S. S. R. in violation of the provisions of the Official Secrets Act."

The second interim report similarly declared guilty four persons who had not had a public hearing or been defended by counsel, and the third did the same with five others.

The difficulty which this creates in the matter of securing a fair trial for these persons when a charge is finally brought against them is obvious enough. It is hardly possible for the man in the street, having in mind the character and position of the two Supreme Court judges who issued these reports, to avoid feeling that the accused have already been properly tried and found guilty. That the examination by the Royal Commission was in no sense a trial is nevertheless clear from every circumstance in which it was held. It was secret, and the accused received no legal advice for their defense. Even the counsel who defended them later in their public trial were at first refused permission to see the evidence given by their clients before the Royal Commission—the very material upon which the prosecution's case was based—unless they would take an oath of secrecy concerning it.

Members of the government have denied that the right of habeas corpus was taken away by the order-in-council, which is technically true; the order merely makes it impossible for the detained person to avail himself of it because he cannot reach anybody who would put it in operation.

The reasons for all these remarkable departures from the ordinary procedure in criminal cases are possibly to be found in the belief of members of the government, stimulated thereto by that part of the R. C. M. P. which has had to deal with Communist activities, that the Gouzenko revelations afforded evidence of a widespread conspiracy in favor of Russia, possibly involving a much larger number of persons in confidential positions. It is to be noted that a considerable time elapsed between the first decision to act on the Gouzenko information, October 6, and the first step to apprehend any of the persons named by Gouzenko, February 15—a period of rather more than four months. The Royal Commission of two Supreme Court judges was not authorized until February 5. It is reasonable to suppose that during this interval, and indeed until the business of examining the suspects was well advanced, the government may have thought that it had a much larger and more dangerous bear by the tail than proved eventually to be the case. What it wanted to do was to get the suspects to implicate as many of their supposed fellow-conspirators as possible; and it is a notorious difficulty in conspiracy charges that, the crime being committed in common, the suspect cannot be compelled to give evidence against his fellows because in doing so he will be giving evidence against

himself. If the government regarded the supposed conspiracy as involving grave danger to the state—which on the *prima facie* evidence it might reasonably have done—it might feel justified in suspending some of the constitutional safeguards. This is almost undoubtedly what happened; unfortunately such apprehensions have not been justified by the facts as so far revealed.

There is some doubt, however, as to the right of the government to remove these constitutional safeguards. That right is conferred by the War Measures Act, a permanent statute, but the right is dependent absolutely upon "the existence of real or apprehended war, invasion, or insurrection," and there was no real or apprehended war with Russia when the order-in-council was passed. During December Parliament brought to an end the right of the government to act under the War Measures Act, but granted it an extension of a limited fraction of its special powers under a Temporary Emergency Act, designed to meet the needs of the transition from war to peace. The War Measures Act remained in effect until the end of December, but it is extremely doubtful whether Parliament would have granted the government its extension of the more limited powers for the year 1946 if it had known that the old powers were being secretly used by the government to suspend the constitutional safeguards by an order-in-council which might have remained in effect throughout the present year. The incorrect statement of the Minister of Justice that there were no secret orders-in-council certainly greatly facilitated the passage of the extending legislation. Actually the government revoked this order-in-council almost as soon as the proceedings of the Royal Commission and the R. C. M. P. in the Gouzenko cases came under criticism; but by that time all the harm had been done.

What happened during the four months of inaction is necessarily largely a matter of conjecture. It may be assumed that there was a good deal of discussion with the other governments interested in the secrets which the Russians are supposed to have got hold of at Ottawa. Whether these discussions influenced the government in its choice of methods for handling the case is uncertain. A principal factor in that choice was probably the anxiety of an influential element among the French Canadians to obtain political material with which to combat the progress of communism in Quebec. The Minister of Justice is a French Canadian. There has long been a widespread feeling in Quebec that the government should not have repealed Section 98 of the Criminal Code, under which the leader of the Communist Party in Canada was successfully prosecuted some sixteen years ago. Quebec still has among its statutes the Padlock law, under which premises employed for Communist propaganda can be closed by the police, but it has not been used in recent years. With Section 98 out of the way, and with Russia at war with Germany, the Communist Party

under its new designation of Labor-Progressive became comparatively respectable even in Quebec, but it is a matter of deep resentment with many French Canadians that a great working-class constituency in Montreal should be represented by a Communist under the label of

Labor-Progressive. At any rate the method chosen was calculated to insure the utmost possible publicity for the accusations against the alleged suppliers of information to Russia, including Mr. Rose, the member in question, before their defense could be heard.

Calling All Social Scientists

BY STUART CHASE

Writer and economist; author of "Men at Work" and other books

DR. ELTON MAYO has been studying people in industry for a quarter of a century. He began his observations in Australia during World War I. Working on the problem of fatigue he found that women workers produced more shells in a ten-hour day than in a twelve. He was largely responsible for the great research project on labor incentives at Hawthorne, Illinois. Since then he has taken a more or less active part in a number of important studies. For many years he has been professor of industrial research at Harvard and an outstanding authority on man in the machine age. Yet when I asked 300 or more people at *The Nation's* conference on the atomic bomb if they knew his work, less than a dozen hands went up.

In 1933 Dr. Mayo wrote a volume called "The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization" which set forth his central thesis. Some day whole libraries will be devoted to this theme, for nothing is more significant—and until recently, more neglected. It has been suddenly highlighted in the glare cast by the bomb. It is carried forward in Dr. Mayo's latest book, "The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization" (published by the Division of Research of the Harvard Business School), which describes some of his studies in detail and also sets forth certain conclusions which come out of his work. I find them very exciting.

The thesis is this: Before the advent of the machine mankind lived in what Dr. Mayo called established societies, where the rules and folkways were familiar to all members of a given community; where every individual had his accredited place and knew what was expected of him. Now we live in *adaptive* societies, where applied science forces us constantly to change our ways of living, and we no longer know where we belong or what is expected of us.

The head rollers of the tin mills of western Pennsylvania served to illustrate the transformation. They came originally from Wales, knowing their trade from the ground up. They did well in Pennsylvania for several generations. In due course they owned their homes free and clear and became persons of solid worth in the community. Suddenly, about ten years ago, the technology

of tin-plating gave a convulsive leap forward, and turned the head rollers out on the street. A new machine took over their task. They had no ready way to support their families, let alone maintaining their prestige and position in the community. Trained for an established society, the head rollers found themselves stranded in a society which placed a higher value on adaptability.

A young man in an average community a century ago acquired simultaneously the skills of his trade as an apprentice and the *social* skills of getting along with his fellows. Sanity for the individual implies a balanced relation between technical skills, in manipulating things, and the social skills of understanding and dealing with people. "Social skill shows itself as a capacity to receive communications from others and to respond to the attitudes and ideas of others in such fashion as to promote congenial participation in a common task." Think of the complex duties of a Mexican villager helping to put on the annual fiesta.

The machine plows into this order, scattering tin makers, steel workers, human cotton pickers, band players, fiesta organizers in all directions. People become placeless and lost, not only in their jobs but in their communities. Technical skills grow ever greater, but social skills wither away. No substantial effort is made to find new social skills to fit the machine age. It has been assumed that people would somehow stumble into new institutions which could cope with the new environment. Well, they did not and they will not.

Dr. Mayo finds two major symptoms of disruption in modern societies:

First, the relative number of unhappy individuals increases. Forced back on himself, with no real social responsibilities, the individual becomes a prey to unhappy and obsessive personal preoccupations.

Second, groups form, but they are not so well integrated into the whole society as they used to be. "On the contrary, their attitude is usually that of wariness or hostility. It is by this road that a society sinks into a condition of *stasis*—a confused struggle of pressure groups and power blocs. . . ." Indeed, who could be more wary and hostile than a John L. Lewis, a Caesar Petrillo, an

Ed O'Neal, or the chiefs of the real-estate interests now ganging up on Wilson Wyatt's housing program? These gentlemen represent powerful organizations, but they do not represent society.

The issue which the bomb has highlighted lies right here—in an "industrial, mechanical, physico-chemical advance so rapid that it has been destructive of all the historic social and personal relationships. And no compensating organization, or even study of actual social relationships, has been developed that might have enabled us to face a period of rapid change with understanding. . . ." Our author is too modest. He and his colleagues—Warner, Lunt, Roethlisberger, Dickson, and others—have made an important if not a historical beginning in field studies of actual social relationships.

Dr. Mayo does not decry technological advance. It cannot be stopped, he says, and should be welcomed. But unless we develop social skills to help us adjust to change, the adaptive society, failing to adapt well enough itself, is doomed. In the past social skills were handed down from father to son in the family, in the guild, the shop, the church, the village green. Now, if they are to be developed at all, the social sciences will have to lead the way. These sciences include anthropology, psychology, economics, history, sociology, political science. All have made marked progress in recent years, but all have a frightening distance to go.

Take economics, for instance, the field with which I am most familiar. There is not now and never has been a genuine science of economics. Few economists have used the clinical approach which Dr. Mayo describes or done the kind of patient spade work which physical scientists practice. Read "The Voyage of the Beagle" to see how young Darwin prepared himself for his great generalizations. Economists mostly sit and think. The result has been guesswork, unverified hypothesis, and systems of involved verbalisms known as "laissez faire," "capitalism," "socialism," "communism," "social creditism," and other ologies and isms. The test of a genuine science is its power to make reliable predictions. At the present moment economists fail to agree whether the United States is in for a boom or a depression in the next year or two—thus painfully exhibiting the distance to be traveled before economics becomes a science. So the economists argue interminably, demolish one another's verbal structures with dispatch, and give society almost no help at a time when it is bitterly needed.

The two chief claimants for a science of economics travel under the labels of *laissez faire* and Marxian socialism. Obviously both cannot be true, for they contradict each other at almost every point. Dr. Mayo fails to find much validity in either of them. *Laissez faire*, he says, is founded on three basic postulates: (1) Human societies are governed by "natural laws" which man

cannot alter. (2) When every individual seeks to serve his own interest, a harmony is established which cancels out the selfishness, coincides with natural law, and makes for a maximum of production and wealth. (3) The intervention of government is fatal to this harmonious equilibrium, and must be kept at the minimum necessary for maintaining law and order.

The man chiefly responsible for this extraordinary fabric was David Ricardo, and Dr. Mayo unravels it in an essay called *The Rabble Hypothesis*. Ricardo never observed the economic world the way Darwin observed South America. At fourteen he entered his father's brokerage house in London—probably the most remote post he could have found from which to observe real life. At twenty-one he married a certain Miss Wilkinson, apparently a lady of means, and retired to a country estate where he wrote his immortal "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation."

Ricardo had a few stray facts, and upon them his powerful logic erected a towering philosophical edifice, with little reference to what men actually did in the workaday world. *Laissez faire* was his dream baby. And for a century and more students in all the universities of Christendom have been drilled in this dream, and even expected to run their businesses—if they went into business—in accordance with it.

Dr. Mayo quotes Chester I. Barnard, president of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, who complained that he could find no treatise in economic literature which discussed organization as he had come to know it in his daily administrative work. Apparently no classical economist had ever *looked* at a business man to see what he was actually doing. Treatises which are supposed to discuss the matter, says Mr. Barnard, are entirely ignorant of the actualities of executive practice. Worse, the economists in their books do not even recognize the extreme importance of *organization* as the principal structural aspect of society itself.

Instead, society as seen by Ricardian economics consists of a horde of unorganized individuals acting in a manner logically calculated to serve the self-interest of each and thus by a curious alchemy called "natural law" achieving harmony for the whole. Dr. Mayo shows that the postulates have never been proved, that anthropologists have not discovered anything to be called "natural laws" in human societies, and that Ricardian economics "is a study of human behavior in non-normal situations, or, alternately, a study of non-normal behavior in ordinary situations. . . . If one observes either industrial workers or university students with sufficient care and continuity, one finds that the proportionate number activated by motives of self-interest logically elaborated is exceedingly small. They have relapsed upon self-interest only when social association has failed them."

There is no rabble of individuals in any known society.

On the contrary we find tight clusters of groups. In one "Middletown" 899 separate organizations were observed, among 17,000 people. Most classical economic studies are upside down, says Dr. Mayo. They exhibit "an extensive pathology, but no physiology, an elaborate study of abnormal social determinants, none of the normal. . . . The rabble hypothesis will not bear a moment's inspection." The behavior of a group of workers in the bank wiring room at Hawthorne flatly contradicts the classical concept of "economic man." The informal organization of the group meant far more to its members than cash incentives. They wrecked the company bonus system which had been founded on sound Ricardian lines. Such contradictions between fact and classical theory are to be found in every factory.

Not only is the rabble hypothesis untenable, but its corollary, the omnipotent state, breaks down under first-hand examination. The "conception of an all-powerful state and a rabble of unrelated individuals is implied by

economic theory, expressly stated by law and political science. It has given us a Mussolini and a Hitler and has confused the whole course of democratic politics."

Actually, Dr. Mayo shows, informal organizations are the heart and the reality of human communities. If they are functioning well, they will adjust the individual effectively to society and make a great state apparatus redundant. When they are functioning badly and the state tries to provide a pulmotor, the relief cannot be for long. The most efficient politician can hardly hope to keep a community going which has lost its internal organs. It is not statism we should fear so much as the destruction of our social skills. The real constructive task lies in replacing them.

We need a science of economics based on normal behavior, not pathology. We need a whole social science based on patient field observation rather than sitting at a desk and spinning theories out of one's stomach. In a word, we need about a thousand more Dr. Mayos.

Rumanian Rhapsody in a Minor Key

BY HAL LEHRMAN

A correspondent for The Nation in the Mediterranean area

Bucharest, April 19

THE best way to explain why "the new democratic Rumania" baffles explanation is to tell two short stories.

Gheorghe Macovescu is a pillar of the new regime, second man in the Propaganda Ministry, dispenser of the democratic gospel. He sets the tone for the pro-government press, sees to it that the newspapers go on fighting fascism every day in every way. Macovescu is an eloquent, indignant Communist. I know him, and we have spent many cordial hours discussing the Marxist road to Rumanian salvation. However, the newspaper *Dreptatea*, organ of the anti-government National Peasant Party, has recently published documents proving that Macovescu also set the tone for the press under the pro-fascist Antonescu regime, saw to it that the newspapers went on fighting Bolshevism every day in every way. More, he wrote signed articles—reproduced in facsimile by *Dreptatea*—hailing the German-Rumanian alliance. *Dreptatea* even displayed a photograph of Macovescu in Germany as guest of the Third Reich, shaking hands heartily with a uniformed Nazi official.

Anton Mureseanu is a pillar of the opposition. Until the Foreign Ministers' pact at Moscow compelled the government to allow publication of opposition papers, Mureseanu in the independent *Ardealul* was the loudest champion of the opposition's demands for a free press and genuine democracy. The other day a provincial pro-

government newspaper, *Inainte*, made an embarrassing typographical error. In an article assailing parasitical "rich young men," *domnisorul*, the word appeared as *domnitorul*, which means a "prince." This looked like an attack on the sacred person of popular young King Michael. In this topsy-turvy land even the Communists are arch-royalists. *Inainte* hastened to print a prominent editorial correction with apologies the following day and repeated it a day later. Nevertheless, three days after that, Mureseanu, spokesman for Rumanian "liberalism," wrote a violently anti-Semitic diatribe against the author of the unfortunate article, whose name, Sanft, betrayed his Jewish ancestry. "This stinking scribe," thundered Mureseanu, "who has only recently set foot in our country, is tolerated by Rumanian laws." It was a clumsy piece of Jew-baiting in the worst tradition of the old fascist regime.

The Groza government is loaded with ex-fascists. Constantin Burducea, who recently resigned as Minister of Religions, had been a high-ranking member of the pro-Nazi Iron Guard; he had the decoration of the *Buna Vestire*, which was awarded to only thirty-two Guardists. Gheorghe Tatarescu, as Premier, in 1940, abolished all political parties and signed a pact with the Germans for the Wehrmacht's entry into Rumania. He is not on the list of war criminals now; he is Groza's Vice-Premier. Michael Ralea, the present Minister of Arts, was one of King Carol's most ardent retainers; as Minister of Labor

he welcomed his Nazi opposite number, Robert Ley, with a Hitler salute. Lotar Radaceanu, now Minister of Labor and a belligerent Social Democrat, was in Carol's totalitarian "Renaissance Front."

The Liberals, now in opposition, governed Rumania for most of the two decades between World War I and Carol's dictatorship. During this period the Communist and Socialist press and movements were outlawed, and a vigilant censorship was enforced. The National Peasants lifted censorship, but communism remained a crime. Neither the Liberals nor the National Peasants stirred when Goga, preparing the way for Carol's dictatorship, abolished the independent, progressive newspapers *Adevurul* and *Dimineata*. Both parties, when in power, staged corrupt elections. Under the National Peasants sitdown strikers were massacred by police. Under both regimes labor leaders were imprisoned for asking for better wages. (It is said, with much truth, that the four top leaders of the Rumanian Communist party—Bodnarus, Luca, Pauker, and Gheorghiu-Dej—were "invented" by today's opposition, which rescued them from obscurity by jailing them.)

"Every nation gets the politicians it deserves." Rumania has a compromised government and an unpalatable opposition because the people are like that, too. They fraternized like mad with the German troops. They now claim excessive credit for having turned against them. The rank and file of the Iron Guard rushed for refuge into the "democratic" parties and were accepted by all of them. The transport workers and the printers' union, now the shock troops of communism, faithfully operated fascist Rumania's military railways and printed Antonescu's pro-Nazi newspapers. Proletariat, peasants, bourgeoisie, and gentry were delighted to move into Jewish-owned property expropriated by Antonescu. Everybody seems to have forgotten now that Rumania was an Axis satellite. There is more food and better living here than in Britain, incomparably more than in Yugoslavia, but you would never guess it from the eternal grumbling against the "hardships of liberation." The old mentality and arrogance are returning. I sat as in a nightmare through a student meeting at Bucharest University at which speakers demanded that only "Rumanian born" be elected to office; the same youths acknowledged the applause with the Iron Guard salute. The scrawl "Down with the Jews!" is reappearing on university walls.

The Communists owe their present leading position solely to geography and the Red Army. They have no mass support; the bulk of their registered membership signed up because it was the smart or the *required* thing to do. As a matter of fact, the Communists did not exist at all before the war, even as an underground party. The government which they dominate is literally the creation of the Soviet Foreign Vice-Commissar, Andrei Vishin-

sky, Stalin's troubleshooter for Rumanian affairs. Ex-fascists and collaborators were welcomed as allies because the Communists had no trained personnel with which to govern the country. All the acts of this regime are in the name of democracy, but the "converted" democrats mentioned above care little about democratic procedures, the masses know less, and the few old Communists in the saddle, the only sincere radicals, cannot afford to risk more than a parody of civil liberties.

The primary fact in Rumanian politics is that Russia is here to stay, if not as an army of occupation, certainly as the dominant and all-pervading foreign influence. The anti-government parties are only half reconciled to this. They make public protestations of their eagerness to co-operate with "our great Russian liberators," but in private conversations they pray that the Americans and British will somehow drive away the Big Bad Bear. The Rumanian people are not even half reconciled. The traditional Latin distrust of Russia has grown into deep and sullen hate. Given a chance, Rumanians, except in the industrial centers, would vote overwhelmingly against the government. I have tested this in traveling through the provinces, and the attitude is manifest even in Bucharest. Maniu and Bratianu are confident that 80 per cent of the people are behind them.

On the surface the Moscow agreement has been serenely and democratically executed. The leading opposition papers have reemerged. Censorship has been substantially relaxed; its continued existence is excused officially as necessary to secure observance of the armistice—that is, you mustn't criticize the Russians. Since the censors no longer return proofs bearing a rejection stamp, no documentary evidence of censorship can be exhibited, but there are other ways to keep the press under leash. If an article is too disagreeable, the censor will hold the proof "for further study"—until it has been pondered into the news grave. (That is what happened to Secretary Byrnes's speech at the Overseas Press Club in which he used plain words about Russia. The wet proofs dried and yellowed under study at the censor's office, and nothing appeared in the "free" Rumanian press.) Or the composing-room workers may refuse to print "reactionary" articles for the independent or opposition newspapers which pay their wages. The government declines to ban this unofficial censorship on the ground that it cannot dictate to "the democratic conscience of free men."

Suppression of an occasional article, however, is but a picayune way to fight fascism. Much more effective is the government's continued control of newsprint distribution. *Dreptatea* is the paper most in demand in Rumania today. Its exposés of government foibles make delightful reading for a public bored by unremitting praise of Petru Groza. Yet *Dreptatea* gets only five spools of newsprint daily, scarcely enough for 50,000

copies, when it could easily sell 200,000 copies. *Scanteia*, the Communist organ, gets twenty-two spoils. The editors of the independent *Jurnalul* and *Semnalul* have complained to me that a newsprint shortage mysteriously develops when they become over-critical of the regime.

The Moscow agreement also stipulated that there should be freedom of assembly and political activity. Where foreign correspondents are likely to turn up, within perhaps a day's radius of the capital, there has been little overt interference with opposition meetings. But in remote Arpad, National Peasant headquarters were given the crowbar treatment by a political strong-arm squad; and seven local leaders sustained various injuries, including one fractured skull.

The ostensible purpose of the Moscow agreement was to assure free, democratic elections. Washington and London based their subsequent recognition of Groza on the promise of them. The opposition is resolutely campaigning as if it expected free elections to be held, and the government is solemnly pledged to hold them. But nobody seriously believes in the possibility.

In the first place, there has never been a free election in Rumanian history. All the political old-timers admit, with a kind of melancholy grin, that at one time or another they have had a hand in "fixing" an election. The slowness with which the election law has emerged from government councils is commonly explained by the need to arrange some loopholes which would permit fixing to go on. Teohari Georgescu complacently assured me that the Liberals and National Peasants combined would not get more than 20 per cent of the vote. Georgescu, as Minister of the Interior, directs the police. He ought to know.

The second and more important reason why free elections are not expected is that they would return a potentially anti-Soviet government—which would not be tolerated. The Russians would regard a triumph for the parties in which the "reaction" is concentrated as defiance, and the repercussions would be disastrous for Rumanian sovereignty.

The fact that temperate oppositionists know the Russian state of mind encourages the belief that the example set in Hungary may be followed here, that is, that all factions may form a pre-electoral pact for a coalition government with Cabinet portfolios evenly distributed. The country could then proceed to elections in tranquility, knowing the results would make no difference in the preordained structure of the new government. This proposal is certainly not democratic, as we understand the word, but it has the virtue of being practical in an otherwise hopeless situation. The United States and Britain are committed to obtaining free elections. The Soviets are determined to have a friendly government. The two objectives are mutually exclusive unless a deal is made beforehand. How long such a government would hold together is, of course, another question.

In the Wind

WE ARE EAGERLY AWAITING the arrival of a volume called "Much in Little," a book about the United States navy. A letter announcing its publication advises us that the text is illustrated with eighty-eight "authentic pictures, beginning with Noah's Ark."

OUR WARLIKE CONTEMPORARIES: A slick-paper bulletin called *Better Castings*, published by the Niagara Falls Smelting and Refining Corporation, features in its April issue an editorial entitled Now Is the Time. It propounds: "World War No. 3 is already brewing. As I said four years ago we would probably end up fighting Russia, with Germany one of our allies. . . . We must get tough now. . . . Russia is largely bluff. She is not ready to fight a big war yet; neither are we, but our potential power both on sea and in productive ability is stronger, and she knows it. Now is the time to show our might."

A DENVER CORRESPONDENT reports that up until Monday, April 8, the *Denver Post* was still, according to the slogan placed on its back page many years ago by its founder Fred Bonfils, "dedicated in perpetuity to the service of the people that no good cause shall lack a champion and that evil shall not thrive unopposed." Those days, however, are gone. On April 9 that slogan was replaced with one which simply proclaims the *Post* the "Voice of the Rocky Mountain Empire."

THESE TROUBLED TIMES: Indiana's Lieutenant Governor Richard James took to the radio recently to urge that hereafter Hoosiers stand whenever the band plays "On the Banks of the Wabash" or "Back Home Again in Indiana." "These songs are second only to 'The Star-Spangled Banner' and 'America,'" declared Mr. James.

A NEWCOMER to the comic-magazine field is the *Challenger*, published by the Interfaith Committee of the Protestant Digest. Format and contents are just like those of the standard adventure-strip comic books, but the sequences are all pointed "to fight race prejudice, discrimination, and all other forms of fascism in North America."

AND THAT REMINDS US—we have at hand an application blank for membership in the American Automobile Association which includes the line: "Member of. race."

HEADLINE in an Indiana newspaper: "Coal Strike Squelched—Miners Resting Peacefully After Parley." But breathing heavily, we presume.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK: Representative Hugh DeLacy, of Washington, on the OPA bill as "amended" by the House: "The true title of this act should be the 'Let the People Eat Cake Act of 1946.'"

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Bread and Gold

GOLD-MINING stocks are booming in Johannesburg and London just because a three-and-a-half-pound sample of ore—the core from a diamond drill in an experimental borehole on the High Veld of the Orange Free State—proved on analysis to contain gold worth \$3.60 cents. That sounds picayune, but it has sufficed to add millions of dollars to the market value of the company on whose property the strike was made and started speculators bidding frantically for the shares of all concerns remotely interested in the territory. For the assay of this sample corresponds to a gold content of 62½ ounces per ton, which is 250 times richer than the average grade of Rand ore. If this is a true indication of the composition of the whole underlying orebody, it means that a new and richer extension of the fabulous Witwatersrand reef has been found; if it is a fluke, a strike on a localized pocket, a lot of people are going to lose their shirts. More diamond drilling may tend to confirm the discovery, but only the sinking of a shaft and extensive underground development will afford any final proof that today's gamble is tomorrow's investment.

Whether or not the boom justifies itself eventually in Stock Exchange terms, from the point of view of current economic needs it seems to me entirely deplorable. There is nothing the world needs less at the present time than an enlargement of its gold supply. David Low as usual has summed up the situation brilliantly in a cartoon which would have appeared in *The Nation* had not the New York Times achieved a Low monopoly. It shows an ecstatic miner holding up a lump of rock and shouting "Look! Gold!" while a stooping, wasted figure, tugging at a shriveled blade of wheat, replies: "Is that all? I thought you had found a loaf of bread."

The golden land of South Africa is one of the current victims of food shortage. In some districts famine conditions are reported, with men eating grass and bark and grubbing for roots. Does the promise of more gold offer hope for the hungry? On the contrary. The Orange Free State discovery was made in the midst of the best corn land in the Union of South Africa. If a new goldfield is developed there, much of this land will be lost to food production. Already farmers are being offered more money for their acreage than they could ever hope to make from corn.

The gold boom also threatens a diversion of labor from the land to the mines. Recruiting agents in the native reservations may, indeed, find the spur of hunger a great aid, for though cash wages are extremely low—a native worker earns about one-seventh of a white man's pay—the mine owners at least supply food. But this food must be raised by the diminished population remaining in the villages or imported. And in these days even those nations with abundant gold are finding that they cannot swap it for food. South Africa's Midas touch cannot charm away hunger.

Another point to be considered is the effect of a gold boom on the world supply of capital goods. Destruction and depreciation during the war has created a universal demand for construction materials and new machinery. Everywhere recovery is being hindered by the difficulty of acquiring new equipment, and it may be years before even urgent needs are satisfied. A boom in gold-mining means the entry of a competitor with an exceptionally long purse into an already overcrowded market. Under present circumstances, in so far as the mining companies are successful in obtaining steel, cement, tools, and machinery, other customers will have to wait. That means an increase in the potential supply of gold at the expense of an increase in the potential supply of textiles, houses, and transportation.

During the war gold mines were given a very low priority for materials and labor: many were shut down altogether, for it was recognized that they could not make any contribution to victory. But with the return of peace we are getting back to the system in which priorities are determined on the basis, not of need, but of potential profit. And no one can deny that the South African goldfields have created profits on a magnificent scale even if their contribution to the real wealth of the world is questionable.

In a period of universal scarcity such as we are now enduring, gold-mining is sheer economic waste since it absorbs resources which could be otherwise employed for the production of necessities. In times of depression, when men and capital are idle, it has a genuine function in a capitalist world as a thoroughly respectable form of boondoggling. The rise in the price of gold which followed the depreciation of the pound and dollar in the early thirties was equivalent to the discovery of an enormous new gold deposit since it made possible the profitable exploitation of previously neglected low-grade ores. It set off a mining investment boom in many countries which helped recovery by increasing the flow of purchasing power and so adding to employment.

Of course any other form of new investment—a massive housing program, for instance—would have produced the same multiplier effect on employment, but as the late lamented Lord Keynes has so wittily written:

Just as wars have been the only form of large-scale loan expenditure which statesmen have thought justifiable, so gold-mining is the only pretext for digging holes in the ground which has recommended itself to bankers as sound finance; and each of these activities has played its part in progress—failing something better. . . . Gold-mining is for two reasons a highly practical form of investment if we are precluded from increasing employment by means which at the same time increase our stock of useful wealth. In the first place, owing to the gambling attractions which it offers it is carried on without too close a regard to the ruling rate of interest. In the second place, the result, namely, the increased stock of gold, does not, as in other cases, have the effect of diminishing its marginal utility.*

Today, when throughout the world there is an acute shortage of all forms of useful wealth, the last thing we need is a shot of gold to stimulate circulation. Five years hence we may be glad of it, but now, when people are crying for bread, we mock their sufferings by offering them nuggets.

KEITH HUTCHISON

* "The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money," p. 130.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE POOR YOUNG ART OF RADIO

BY MILDRED ADAMS

ANOTHER radio writer has joined Norman Corwin and Arch Oboler in the more exalted medium of print. Millard Lampell, author of scripts first used on an official Army Air Forces program, now offers fourteen of his radio playlets to the reading public. No better illustration of the underlying sickness that besets radio writers has appeared for a long time. Mr. Lampell does not venture forth on his own merits, or on those of his scripts. He is protected by a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, and a well-known poet, all of whom write separate forewords emphasizing the book's message.

Its contents are apparently to be taken as tracts, and you, I, the men portrayed, the folks back home, and "the most prejudiced and most troglodytic orators in the halls of Congress" all ought to read them. The poet's foreword contains six "oughts," one "should," and the final plea—"This is a book that has a big heart in it and a strong purpose. Please read it. . . ." You may pay \$2.50 for the privilege, and the royalties will go to the Committee for Air Forces Convalescent Welfare.

It is not my intention to criticize Mr. Lampell, his scripts, or the familiar radio mixture of bathos and sales appeal decked out as public service which appears within the covers of his book. Far more important are the questions that the scripts raise—questions that appear with increasing frequency as more and more radio material makes its way into print. Why has radio writing so little claim to any real literary merit? Can anything be done about it? Or are conditions of the industry such that radio writers must, as craftsmen, content themselves with developing skill in a bastard form of expression which lies somewhat between vaudeville, sermon, newspaper, and advertising patter? Has the radio writer who hopes to attain greater distinction any chance, or is he doomed before he starts?

In attempting to answer questions of this sort one must look first at the special requirements of the radio writer's job and then at the conditions imposed by the industry which employs him. For instance, it cannot be said too often that radio is an auditory medium. So, of course, is the theater. But the radio writer who turns out plays does by no means the only type of writing which the industry needs. News programs, comment, "talks," announcements, the yards of disparate material woven together which come under the head of continuity—all this must be written too, and in such form that it will sound like the spoken word. Radio writing is done not for the eye but for the ear: what the eye enjoys is likely to be bad radio writing. Only the writer who has tried to write for both organs knows how different are the techniques that each demands.

Of course, both the playwright and the preacher share

this difficulty. But at least the playwright and the preacher have time to prepare their products; the radio writer has not. Lope de Vega, who turned out fifteen hundred plays in a full lifetime, was a gentleman of leisure compared to an experienced radio dramatist. A play a week is by no means unusual, even among free-lance writers who may have no other spur than the wish to eat. Serial writers on contract—and this is where the money is—usually exceed this rate. A popular series may appear every day, and script for it must click off the writer's fingertips no matter how thin his inspiration or how tired his mind. Two famous women turn out three serial plays in a day, and one legendary couple is said to produce twelve daytime serials each twenty-four hours.

In the process writers develop extraordinary facility, efficiency, and power of concentration, but at a price. They have no time in which to polish, to perfect, or even to consider. Radio is a Moloch into which its slaves must pour a ceaseless stream of words. Eric Barnouw, writing in 1933, estimated that across the nation some seventeen thousand different radio programs appeared each day, and that together they demanded some twenty million words. Such circumstances go far to explain the clichés, the stupid dialogue, the repetition, the standard plots and stereotyped characters, the long-drawn-out and thinly developed incidents which are causes of complaint from intelligent listeners.

If speed, quantity, and time pressure are primary handicaps, they are by no means the only ones. The radio writer must work fast, but it does not follow that he can work freely. At all times he is in the position of a sprinter forced to run in hobbles. He must please the sponsor, the network executives, the legal department, the script editor, the director, the actor, the Federal Communications Commission, and last but by no means least the sharp-eared public. He cannot take a political stand, cannot offend pressure groups, cannot openly display an editorial point of view. He must, for at least one major network, avoid a list of clichés which have come to be potential sources of ridicule. If he writes continuities—and the ability to write good continuity is even more popular with harassed network editors than the ability to write good comedy—he must be endlessly inventive in different ways of saying the same thing. Yet he should not be baroque, or difficult, or precious, or over-poetic. At all times he is supposed to keep to the level of popular expression and understanding, which is, in printed terms, somewhere between the *Reader's Digest*, the pulps, and the comics.

Once he learns to move with ease and speed among these hazards, the radio writer may hope to be accepted by his fellow-craftsmen and regarded with mingled awe and deri-

sion by his friends in other fields. Radio may have a lowbrow air, but it also has the reputation of paying too well to be scorned even by highbrows. To the great public it is a "glamour trade," and it is able to capitalize on this reputation in the hiring of ambitious young people at salaries low enough to make possible the fat figures paid at the top.

But, as in other glamour trades, reputations in radio have the texture and endurance of soap bubbles. Unless he is regularly employed on a network staff the radio writer can hope neither for steady income nor for sure employment. Even the most successful contract writers are subject to slumps in popularity. Their employers are constantly seeking something new; their audiences are fickle and forgetful. As a rule the writer gets less advertising, and is consequently less well known, than either the star or the product. What he writes goes forth on the wind, and most of it has no more permanent form than the mimeographed copy which the company files to save itself from argument.

A few radio plays—perhaps one-hundredth of one per cent of those written—make their way into print. So far, only a few of those have been considered worth serious literary criticism. And this is not surprising, for radio writing, not meant to be seen, should not be expected to meet standards set for work in other format. A more appropriate form of immortality has been invented but is seldom used. The tragedy for the ambitious radio author is not that so few radio plays are printed, but that even the best of them are seldom made available to their ear-minded public by way of recordings. The fact that there has not yet been enough demand for such recordings to overcome legalistic hazards and company inertia is perhaps the severest criticism of the present quality of radio writing.

These are some of the hurdles of the craft. Suppose that a writer, greatly endowed with patience, health, energy, enthusiasm, and skill, does manage to overcome them. He must then face the steepest barrier of all—the schizophrenic character of the industry.

Radio's personality is not only split but segmented, and its writers grow wall-eyed from looking not two but a dozen ways at once. However warmly the idealists within its fold extol its virtues as a public-service medium, however loudly its loyal apologists proclaim its high mission as a source of free public amusement and instruction, the fact remains that radio is basically a business. Its prime purpose is to make money for its owners, and it does it in a curiously devious fashion. It is an industry which sends its product into seventy million American homes, but the dwellers in those homes neither pay directly for the product nor exercise more than a remote and negative control over its quality. The price of the product is met by manufacturers of soap powders, dentifrices, patent medicines, automobiles, crematoria, macaroni. Logically, the air time which the manufacturers buy should be spent entirely in advertising their wares. But since the public will not listen long to unadulterated advertising, it is wrapped in envelopes of sanctified illusion marked "entertainment," "education," and so on.

The competition among radio companies to introduce this advertising into the American home is so great that the government has found it necessary to set up a policing and

standard-making agency. The FCC demands that the radio industry devote a certain small proportion of its time to public-service programs presented without benefit of advertising sponsors, and it has recently been pressing that demand, for the war and a post-war combination of prosperity and newsprint scarcity have sent a flock of new advertisers swarming to the radio, until sustaining programs have been crowded almost out of existence.

But even at best the sustaining programs give scant opportunity for the development of a real and expressive literature. They are subject to most of the pressures, speeds, and limitations that hedge about commercial programs, and in addition they suffer from the handicap of less money to work with. They do not pay except in prestige, and the key for counting in prestige as part of income was long ago lost from calculating machines.

This hard core of business pressure is so insistent that the radio executive who manages to keep it in check, to balance it fairly against the need for first-rate non-commercial programs, is the notable exception.

The writer knows all this, or very soon learns it. He may try to forget it, or he may bend his talents to exploiting it for his own benefit. He never succeeds in escaping its implications and the air of cynicism that hangs about the whole process. No matter how pure his motives, how deep his allegiance to ideals, how exalted his ambition, he must—if he is to stay in radio—always pull himself back to the demands of an industry which pretends to serve the public while primarily serving the advertiser.

Of the frustration and repression induced in radio writers by such forces and limitations, only a psychiatrist could speak. It is perhaps not surprising that the incidence of stomach ulcers in the trade should be so great. It would be miraculous if a writer of genuine literary distinction did emerge from this complex of cross-purposes and conflicting interests. There are hardy and talented men who still think it is possible that radio is a young "art," and that out of its speed and clamor will come something more distinguished than the mixture of curry and molasses which is modern radio-ese. So far, the miracle has not occurred.

The Shako

(After Rilke)

Night and its muffled creakings, as the wheels
Of Blücher's caissons circle with the clock;
He lifts his eyes and drums until he feels
The clavier shudder and allows the rock
And Scylla of her eyes to fix his face:
It is as though he looks into a glass
Reflecting on this guilty breathing-space
His terror and the salvos of the brass
From Brandenburg. She moves away. Instead,
Wearily by the broken altar, Abel
Remembers how the brothers fell apart
And hears the friendless hacking of his heart,
And strangely foreign on the mirror-table
Leans the black shako with its white death's-head.

ROBERT LOWELL

Guilt and Germany

EXPERIMENT IN GERMANY. The Story of an American Intelligence Officer. By Saul K. Padover. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.75.

AMERICA'S GERMANY. An Account of the Occupation. By Julian Bach, Jr. Random House. \$3.

AS a member of the Psychological Warfare Division Dr. Padover followed the victorious armies from the Normandy beachhead through France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany to the memorable little town of Torgau. His task was to study the German mind. He spoke to Nazis and anti-Nazis, workers and industrialists, old and young, priests and laymen. He tried hard to be just; he looked particularly for "the righteous men in Germany who cried out in wrath against injustice and cruelty." But he left the country deeply pessimistic, gripped by "a sudden and painful allergy" to the Germans in general. To be sure, he found many Social Democrats, Communists, and other people who had never joined the Nazi Party. Yet he did not have much admiration for them. They did not revolt; they seemed old, tired, and disgusted. He was unable to discover any signs of resistance, although a Centrist loosely connected with the Gördele circle led him to believe that the cabal "apparently had wide ramifications." He was not impressed with the attitude even of those who had been imprisoned for many years in Hitler's concentration camps: they seemed to him to lack a manly revolutionary spirit. A German Communist inmate of the

Buchenwald concentration camp, a "K. Z." for twelve years, struck him only as too *ordentlich*, too much concerned with maintaining some sort of order even after the Americans had arrived.

I have had similar experiences in Germany; in most instances I cannot but indorse Dr. Padover's findings, although I met many more people who impressed me as truly brave and courageous under the conditions prevailing in Hitler Germany. Men and women released from concentration camps after ten to twelve years of physical and mental torture craved, with an amazing energy, to do something by which to redeem themselves and their country. Organized opposition went far beyond the clenching of fists in the pockets in cities like Munich, Leipzig, or Halle—Halle, as is well known by now, was spared from a last destructive American assault by the courageous action of the Anti-Fascist Committee, which forced the unconditional surrender of the city. At Buchenwald, it would have been proper to recall, German political prisoners had, in spite of enormous risks and perils, organized a secret militia, smuggled weapons into the camps, and finally attacked the S. S. guards and freed the camp, just before its liberation by our troops.

"Experiment in Germany" claims to be a study of the German mind, and as such is rather unsatisfactory. Beyond the mere reports on people's attitudes and reactions, which are valuable and exciting raw material for a serious study, rises the question of the underlying causes. Why was there no widespread resistance in Germany? Why did so many people whine in self-pity? Just because it is in the German character to do so? Dr. Padover could hardly venture such a naive explanation. As a matter of fact, why was there no revolt of twelve million slave laborers? The French struck him as particularly tired and orderly; all they wanted was to return as quickly as possible to their wives and their beautiful country. Padover disgustedly compares them with the heroes of the *maquis*.

It is strange that the trained P. W. D. officer neither noticed nor tried to explain this symptomatic similarity of behavior of both the German anti-Nazis and the anti-fascist foreigners in the Third Reich. He thus missed the clue that is essential if we are to solve the riddle of the German mind. The same conditions produced the same reactions. Hitler's systematic and brutal smashing of even the smallest form of independent organization that might relieve the individual's feeling of total isolation; his ruthless arresting, interning, and killing of anyone who dared to oppose his regime by so much as a free thought; his scientific spreading of anxiety and terror until the individual felt that he stood alone and powerless against an all-knowing, ever-present, omnipotent foe—all this paralyzed Germans and foreigners alike. In France the French would have joined the *maquis*; in Germany they were quiet and orderly. This was true of all the other nationalities—in Germany. When asked—as Padover, with serene innocence, asked the German anti-Nazis—why they did not defy Hitler, they could only mutter, "What could we do?" Padover's repeated comparisons of Germany with Norway, France, Belgium, and other countries miss the point altogether because they disregard the entirely different conditions. It is not a question of national character; it is a question of a system, of human nature itself.

do you know

the facts behind today's critical economic issues?

Get information you can't get elsewhere—be WELL INFORMED! Send \$1 for a FULL YEAR subscription to all Legislative, Labor, and Economic publications of

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Name.....

Street.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

Congressman's name (if known):.....

If we rely on such snap moral judgments we shall be unable either to understand or to cure.

Padover's misunderstanding of the core of the problem—that mentally the Germans are a product of twelve years of scientific terror, of a policy of atomization which made the individual feel utterly isolated, abandoned, supervised, and helpless, and that in such an atmosphere mass revolts and heroism could hardly thrive—makes it impossible for him to appreciate in their real significance the few hopeful factors that exist at present. Consequently, his positive recommendations seem lame and unconvincing: "What hope there is for a democratic, a decent future of Germany lies in these men [that is, Social Democrats, Communists, Left Centrists], these old, weak-kneed, soft-willed men."

"America's Germany" in spite of some smug journalistic formulations and some easy and debatable generalizations, is a serious and thorough book. Although the author does not like anything in Germany except the Autobahns and the Bavarian Alps; and respects "nothing at all, including the Autobahns," he says that "there is a difference between feeling sympathy and facing the facts. The facts of life in Germany are grim. It is our responsibility now to understand them." Conscious of this responsibility, he attempts to dispel many deliberate lies about Germany and the American occupation, and in simple and direct language discusses the enormous problems that face the German people and hence the Americans—the destruction of cities, the appalling food situation, the paralysis of industry, and the lack of any adequate personnel for reeducation. The Germans "are not in good moral shape"; neither are they "in good physical shape." It is our responsibility to help them get in shape—morally, by educating them and by giving them some hope for the future; physically, by giving them a chance to live, work, and produce. The Morgenthau plan cannot achieve that goal, as Mr. Bach ably demonstrates, unless America is willing to feed twenty million Germans for an indefinite period or else to starve them to death. Yet it is doubtful that the problem can be solved by the advocated internationalization of the industrial Ruhr, on the basis of the production quota permitted in 1932. Such a plan would perpetuate the pre-Hitler crisis which swept National Socialism into power.

By and large, according to Bach, American occupation authorities have done quite well; but in one respect we have failed altogether—we have not yet succeeded in convincing the Germans of their collective guilt. He disposes of the problem with an off-hand "getting seventy million people to go around saying, 'I am a German, I am a criminal,' would be a miracle."

But in reality not only the Communists, whose "keen sense of responsibility" wins from Bach patronizing praise, are willing to recognize collective responsibility. A conference of high Protestant church dignitaries has acknowledged guilt; so has Pastor Niemöller in his lecture to the Erlangen University students; so have many articles in German newspapers published in the American zone. It is true that many anti-Nazi Germans who have never ceased to oppose Hitler and who have suffered for their convictions fail to see why they should feel any more guilty for the war and the crimes of the Nazis than persons in the rest of the world who, up to the bitter end, thought it was perfectly all right to do

business with Hitler. In all fairness, is it so difficult to see their point?

Bach says that so far the Werewolf has not proved either a danger or a nuisance to our occupation troops; but it would have been advisable to indicate the undeniable chances of a possible Nazi underground movement, especially in connection with the returning young prisoners of war, whose ideological development usually has not kept pace with that of the mass of their compatriots who experienced war and defeat in their homeland. They are latent material for a revived Nazi movement and need careful watching. But it is certainly true that, as Bach believes with more optimism than Padover, the hope for a democratic Germany rests with the working class. Consequently it is necessary to discuss the relationship of the two German labor parties. The German Communists act, of course, on behalf of the Soviet Union when they insist on merging the two parties immediately, in both the eastern and western zones. Russia has understood better than the other three occupation powers that having a firm grip on a unified and dependent labor party means having a tentative hold on the future of the whole of Germany. And the future of Germany might decide the future of the European continent.

Despite some minor mistakes and the indicated shortcomings, both "Experiment in Germany" and "America's Germany" are good and necessary books, and should be recommended as honest attempts to give as dispassionate an account as possible of the German problem in all its intricacy.

HERMANN EBELING



H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

**"CRUX ANSATA—An Indictment
of the Roman Catholic Church"**

An historical summary of the Catholic Church's
political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the
Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis. Cloth Binding \$1.75

Also get a copy of


"BEHIND THE DICTATORS" by L. H. Lehmann
A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist
collaboration. Cloth Binding \$1.75

**COMBINATION
OFFER**

Both Cloth Bound Books \$3.00

New Pamphlet
**"VATICAN POLICY
IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"**

48 pages of Documented Facts 25¢

 Free to those who return this ad with their order
for the above books

Order From:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. T-551
229 WEST 48TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

The Process and Reality of France

FRANCE—A SHORT HISTORY. By Albert Guérard.
W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.

ALBERT GUERARD has succeeded admirably in a most difficult task. His short history of France is both stimulating and sound, dense and leisurely, brilliantly written—the sprightly narrative and thoughtful essay of the born historian, of one who has spent a lifetime studying his native land.

His chief aim is "to present that very active reality, the France of today, as it was slowly created by the obstinate will of the centuries." A wise and witty guide, he follows the stream of history, at each fork pointing out changing vistas but always stressing the continuity, the purposeful unfolding of events. The Origins of France, the Middle Ages, the Classical Age, the Bourgeois Liberal Revolution, and Modern France appear as units, but each unit is part of a whole. History is made alive by sharp sketches, *bons mots*, significant episodes, penetrating comments.

Thus after dismissing the "lurid legend" and the "golden legend" of the Middle Ages, Mr. Guérard gives the period its proper place in the process of evolution: "There is hardly a puzzling trait of medieval psychology that is not found in the children of today. Trust and effusive affection, with streaks of cruelty, selfishness, violence; vagueness in essentials coupled with painful literalness and formalism; implicit faith in authority with outbursts of fierce rebellion; and, above all, no capacity, no desire to draw a sharp line

between sober fact and make-believe." The balance is shrewdly kept between the economic and social and the intellectual factors of evolution. If, in the eighteenth century, the essential factor was the increasing force of the money-making class, new ideas played the part of "signposts and traffic rules" and accelerated the process of change. Throughout the nineteenth century the three-cornered contest between aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and people was duplicated in the realm of ideas and largely influenced by the competing ideologies.

In the perspective of many centuries the author's optimism concerning France's future seems justified. Even decadence—for the French a sophisticated paradox that is taken too literally by foreigners—appears as a moment in the process of growth, as a factor of progress: "There was decadence in the Dark Ages; but the magnificent medieval synthesis was being prepared. There was a decadence of the feudal age in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but it was the seedling time of the Renaissance. There was a decadence of Bourbon absolutism under Louis XV; but it was also the Enlightenment, dispelling chaos. There has been in our lifetime a decadence of that sturdy if unlovely conception of life called bourgeois liberalism. It is being dissolved into something incomparably richer."

What makes this book so satisfying is, more than its intelligence, balance, or wit, the patriotic flame that lights it throughout. It is a profession of faith. But Albert Guérard's patriotism is the very antithesis of nationalism. France is "not to be identified with a race, a climate, or a set of institutions." It is both a symbol and a guardian of human values. Lanfrey's remark on the unprejudiced historian applies well to Professor Guérard: "His patriotism is simply love of truth. He is not a man of any particular race or of any particular country. He is a citizen of all countries, and he speaks in the name of all civilizations." Albert Guérard speaks in the name of Western civilization, of which France was and is the laboratory and the outpost, "the most alert of the watchmen." She has played and still has to play a major part in the growth of human culture. "France is a collective and age-long striving for human values. She is most French when she is most universal. For her the world commonwealth of tomorrow will mean not abdication but fulfilment."

CHARLES A. MICAUD

You may again buy BOOKS through The Nation

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

BRIEFER COMMENT

Ideals and Purposes

RALPH BARTON PERRY'S THESIS in "One World in the Making" (Current Books, \$3), the need for "a morally unified mankind on a physically unified earth," is one of those facile formulations philosophers enjoy. Like so much philosophy, it is a belated attempt to reunite things that ought not to have been separated in the first place, in this case morality and the needs and purposes it is required to serve; the sterility of philosophy consists in the very considerable extent to which it is a correction, with no empirical increment, of its previous mistakes. This is a self-consuming enterprise, and Professor Perry is sufficiently steeped in his subject to be

aware of its limitations. His wisdom is attested, possibly, by the fact that he is not embarrassed by them.

Yet it is wisdom that this book really lacks. Wisdom is not the ability to formulate ideals but to apply them, for in applying them some reasonable claim is always abrogated. The condition of integrity tends to be aloofness, or inaction, as the revival of various philosophies of quietism has recently reminded us. Professor Perry refuses in this volume to grapple with the obvious fact that ideals are right, or acceptable, in proportion as they are vague. The vagueness of his argument is an aspect of its cogency. The book is a compendium of platitudes to the effect that unity must be built on justice, justice on disinterestedness, and federation on a certain degree of cultural uniformity. What degree? And how is it to be attained?

The book raises the whole tragic question of the relation of human purpose to human destiny. One of the most discouraging things about behavior is that it is often self-defeating in proportion as it is purposeful. Culture in the most general and therefore most significant sense is obviously an involuntary achievement. The core of culture is sensibility, and the modern sensibility thrives on disunity, on conflict, irony, relativism, anxiety. In that sense it is a true index of our

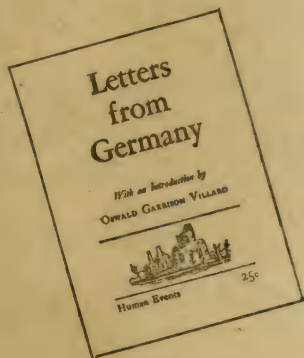
competitive society, for irony is the emotion of people who are trying rather to outdo each other than to excel. In any case, Professor Perry's commendable determination to be idealistic at all costs makes one wonder whether the highest and most significant human ideals aren't the least optimistic ones.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

Problems in Palestine

IN RECENT YEARS THERE have been a number of good books on the Palestine problem, one of which, Dr. Lowdermilk's "Palestine, Land of Promise" (1944), contained an able and optimistic discussion of agricultural achievements and potentials. The layman, however, has been ill provided with competent literature on other economic elements which are of equal if not greater importance. Nor has there been available any able, politically sophisticated survey of the whole system of Palestinian economy. That is now provided in "Palestine, Problem and Promise," by Robert R. Nathan, Oscar Gass, and Daniel Creamer (Public Affairs Press, \$5), of which Part II contains a thoroughly documented analysis under the headings of Agriculture, Transport, Manufactures, International Trade, Labor Organ-

The first uncensored word from Germany after twelve years of Nazism and one year of Allied-imposed blackout.



These moving letters sent by ordinary Germans of all walks of life to friends and relatives in this country — nearly all of them through the kindness of American soldiers — tell simply and directly what dictatorship, war, defeat, and foreign occupation have meant to men, women, and children.

We are inclined to think only of states and nations, forgetting that it is individuals who suffer from the catastrophe of war, and individuals, in all countries, who now face the task of building a new world.

An authentic, human picture of present-day life in Germany.

Send 25¢ to

HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

608 S. Dearborn Street • Chicago 5, Illinois

Sold at **BRENTANOS**

ization, Finance, Housing and Water, Fuel and Power. Part III, Palestine in the Next Decade, does not present a blueprint of the future society but attempts to define perspectives, particularly as they are restricted by the potentials of immigration. This impressive discussion is realistic, sophisticated, and entirely free from political illusion. It is clear that governmental policies, not natural resources, will be the limiting factors in the next decade. The authors of the book are Zionists, but at no point does their conviction distort their analyses.

RALPH BATES

The Plain Man's Plain Solution

"AS A PATRIOT and as a business man, I believe it good common sense for the nations of Europe to take a leaf out of our book of brotherhood and do business with each other, instead of warring one against the other." Of course it is. The great merit of David Silberman's little book, "A United Europe—or Else!" (Richard R. Smith, \$2), is its perfect modesty. It is written "for the small people of the world" by one who, although educated and successful, is not ashamed of our common humanity. The plain man knows the plain solution, and so does the sage: John Doe is at one with William Penn, Kant, and Victor Hugo. Blake urged us "not to be connoisseured out of our senses." We the people should not allow ourselves to be bluffed by the sophisticates who think it smart to follow Richelieu, Metternich, Talleyrand, Bismarck, and Disraeli. "Our destiny," says David Silberman, "is in our hands. The leaders we choose will determine whether war or peace is to be our perpetual fate." Surely it cannot be realistic to keep doing what is manifestly absurd. For the people David Silberman wants to reach, this is a very lucid presentation of a crucial problem. For those who claim to direct our thoughts and actions, it is a useful document. They are our leaders: it is about time they should follow us; and Silberman points to the inevitable way.

ALBERT GUERARD

A Brazilian Inventory

T. LYNN SMITH, in "Brazil: People and Institutions" (Louisiana State University Press, \$6.50), provides the fullest sociological and economic survey of the South American republic yet published in convenient one-volume form. It exceeds in scope and statistical detail the Brazilian section of Preston E. James's "Latin America" (now reissued as a separate book), and while lacking the critical or speculative value of Morris L. Cook's "Brazil on the March," Vera Kelsey's "Seven Keys to Brazil," or Gilberto Freyre's more wishfully abstract "Brazil: an Interpretation," all of which were directed toward political and economic recommendations, it provides the fuller facts on which such recommendations must be based by whoever cares to render them seri-

ously effective. Dr. Smith has written mainly a book of reference. Its chapters fall into divisions devoted to Cultural Diversity, The People, Levels and Standards of Living, Relations of the People to the Land, and Institutions. He presents his method as empirical. He spent a month in Brazil in 1939 and a year in 1942-43. His seventy pages of diary, as studiously impersonal as the severest methodology could desire, indicate the technical spirit of his research and findings.

That he was prepared for the realities of human and social maladjustment in his subject—and thus for problems of urgent national and international importance—is implied by his using as a prefatory index of "serious shortcomings in Brazilian society" the twenty-seven "unfavorable realities" defined by Teixeira de Freitas in the *Revista Nacional de Educaçao* in 1934. These range from "excessive dispersion of population," "moral regression," "the lack, sufficiently general, of urban hygiene," "extreme misery among a part of the agricultural proletariat," and illiteracy among the mass of rural and urban population, through such persistent handicaps as "great confusion in weights and measures," "deficient means of communication and transportation," and "lack of the most rudimentary knowledge of practical life among most social classes," to "the injurious development of gambling," "blind, wasteful . . . devastation of the forests," "frequent . . . outbreaks of banditry," "the worst sanitary conditions in some zones," and "the exercise with impunity, in all parts, of the pernicious quackery of fetish doctors and charlatans." This index offers a wide range of opportunity to legal, economic, and social reformers, and to their necessary if chronically discouraged instruments, the enlightened political minority. Neither twelve years of the Estado Novo of Vargas nor the influx of Good Neighbor money and techniques have materially reduced Teixeira's "realities" or the need of the most persistent attention to their potential dangers. Dr. Smith's scanty treatment of education may be justified on the score of existing facilities but not by existing needs, though here, admittedly, temperamental, psychological, and traditional factors with which his method is unprepared to cope would be involved in fruitful research.

His "conclusion" occupies only 7 of his 800 pages. Too brief to be anything but suggestive, it is valuable in what it says on "cultural lag," on needed changes in agrarian, immigration, and hygienic policies, and on necessary reforms in landholding, property tenure, social legislation, and trade and municipal systems. He is sound when he says that "Brazil would be wise to double, double again, and then redouble the number of students it is sending to study in foreign universities," though here one must correct his preference of "scientific training" to "training in the humanities," the latter being nowhere so necessary as where the former combines the lure of novelty with the chance of reckless commercial exploitation. But in these few pages Dr. Smith adds to his monumental encyclopedia of facts a clue to some of the measures for "valorizing its people" whereby the physically largest among the American republics might bring its size into some favorable ratio to its nationalistic ambitions, its latent potentialities, and its importance to the economic and military strategy of the Western Hemisphere.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

INFLATION IS COMING, by Ralph Borsodi—

a practical post-war plan that tells what you can do to save your family from the worst financial disaster in history. Send \$1.00 to Downtown Book Bazaar, 212 Broadway, New York City 7.

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Musio by Book & Lyrics by Directed by Danos by
 Richard Rodgers • Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Rouben Mamoulian • Agnes de Mille
 with John Reitt • Iva Wilbers
 Jean Darling • Eric Mattoon • Christine Johnson • Jean Casto
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
 Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
 Musio by Book & Lyrics by Directed by Danos by
 Richard Rodgers • Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Rouben Mamoulian • Agnes de Mille
 Harold Keel • Joseph Suleff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
 Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A Gag-Happy-
 Meaning-
 ful New Hit"
 —Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
 LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4258
 Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times
 Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
 In JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
 with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4638
 Evgs. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of The Nation's
 Special Class Room Rate—

25¢

Monthly per Student

for orders of ten or
 more copies to be sent
 to one address — Desk
 copy is supplied free.

ADDRESS YOUR ORDER TO

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
 ALHAMBRA
 COLISEUM
 81st ST.
 58th ST.
 near Lex.
 HAMILTON
 125th ST.
 REGENT
 RIVERSIDE
 23rd ST.

Bronx
 CASTLE HILL
 CHESTER
 FORDHAM
 FRANKLIN
 MARBLE
 HILL
 PELHAM
 ROYAL

Westchester
 MT. VERNON
 NEW ROCH.
 WH. PLAINS
 YONKERS

Brooklyn
 BUSHWICK
 DYKER
 GREENPOINT
 KENMORE
 MADISON
 ORPHEUM
 PROSPECT
 REPUBLIC
 TILYU
 Coney Island

Queens
 ALDEN
 Jamaica
 Keith's
 FLUSHING
 Keith's
 RICH. HILL
 STRAND
 Far Rockaway

RIKO NOW

John Maureen William
 PAYNE • O'HARA • BENDIX

'SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY'

Based on a Story by NELIA GARDNER WHITE

— AND —

'BEHIND GREEN LIGHTS' Carol Landis
Wm. Gargan

'Best thriller in a long time.'—Life Magazine

Dorothy George Ethel
 MCGUIRE • BRENT • BARRYMORE

'The SPIRAL STAIRCASE'

Based on the novel, "Some Must Watch"

By ETHEL LENA WHITE

— AND —

'RIVERBOAT RHYTHM' Leon Errol
Glenn Vernon

OWEN WISTERS

'THE VIRGINIAN'

In 1946 Technicolor

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE STARRING

BRIAN

DONLEVY

JOEL

McCREA

with

BARBARA BRITTON

SONNY

TUFTS

— IN PERSON —

Paramount Comedy Star

EDDIE

BRACKEN

plus

BOB EBERLY

plus

THE ACROMANIACS

EXTRA!

Johnny LONG

AND HIS BAND

NOW PARAMOUNT TIMES SQUARE

The

New Statesman and Nation

England's Leading Weekly Review

may now be obtained through

THE Nation

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Yearly subscription \$6.50 including postage
 SPECIMEN copy on request

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

GAUGUIN ranks with Cézanne and Van Gogh as a founding father of modern art. But the sharpness of his break with impressionism, like that of the other two masters, can be exaggerated. In his epoch-making "Déjeuner sur l'Herbe" Manet anticipates what Gauguin only isolates and emphasizes: the large, sharply silhouetted areas of flat, uniform color, the abrupt contrasts of hue, the suppression of accidents of light or detail, the simplified, open rhythms. It remained only for atmospheric impressionism to release the bright, silky color by which Gauguin most particularly proves himself a genius.

Granted to the full his genius, his revolutionary accomplishment, and the major influence he exerted on later painters—these still do not suffice to make Gauguin a great artist. As, during the last few decades, we have recovered from the first pleasurable shock of frankly decorative painting, Gauguin's reputation has suffered a decline—a decline so great that Somerset Maugham now has the temerity to write in his short foreword to the catalogue of the present Gauguin exhibition at Wildenstein's (through May 4): "I should not say that Gauguin was a great painter."

Whether Gauguin can be judged fairly on the basis of the fifty-six oils and twenty-odd drawings in this show is doubtful. It seems that art dealers were, until lately at least, able to foist the lesser works of the impressionists and post-impressionists on American collectors with lamentable regularity. It is likely, therefore, that the bulk of Gauguin's best painting remains in Europe. Nevertheless, the consistency with which most of the work of his that I have seen reveals the same weaknesses encourages me to draw conclusions that I do not think future experience will refute.

Like "socialism" in Russia, Gauguin is a case of premature and uneven development. He would, perhaps, have realized himself more fully had he stayed closer to the spirit of impressionism. Renoir, Pissarro, and Monet may have become flaccid at times, but they never suffered from the divided aims that hurt so much of Gauguin's painting. Gauguin's instinct seems to have agreed with the pictorial unity that the impressionists imposed on their open

forms by dabs of variegated paint much more than it did with the unity required of a picture composed of flat silhouettes. That he was premature in proposing himself the latter problem appears demonstrated, not only by the fact that the problem had to await the arrival of Matisse for solution, but also by the fact that the best picture at Wildenstein's is the earliest one shown—a small impressionistic head of a woman painted in 1886 with a nervous, loose touch quite unlike the flat handling that became the foundation of Gauguin's later style.

In his other canvases, save for a self-portrait executed in 1898, Gauguin either too drastically simplifies the large, central masses or complicates excessively the distribution of the smaller, subsidiary spots of color. Frequently he commits both errors in the same picture. Hence they tend to be noisy; the brilliant hues and the spectacular contours strike us at their own will, so to speak, without coherence or dramatic unity. And frankly, Gauguin does not draw well enough. In adjusting a contour to the "negative" space between it and the next contour or the edge of the canvas, he seems to rely upon automatic stylization rather than upon intuition.

The "mystical literature" that Pissarro accused Gauguin of trying to inject into modern art and the romanticism of the primitive and the exotic that subsequently replaced it are the sources of this stylization, which is the encompassing fault of Gauguin's later painting—and the inevitable expression of his failure to let himself comprehend the world he lived in. For he did not understand that his dissatisfaction with Europe could not be relieved by transporting himself elsewhere in space and culture, that he remained in the nineteenth century wherever he went. Instead of criticizing and revealing the world of which he was an ineluctable part, as the impressionists and Cézanne and even Van Gogh did—with a pertinence, an insight, and a "healthy" materialism possible only because largely unconscious—Gauguin tried to find an immediate alternative. He was misled, as many a later artist has been, into thinking that certain resemblances between his own and primitive art meant an affinity of intention and consciousness. Renouncing the beneficent criticism that he could get only from the milieu that had formed him as an artist, he engaged himself in a forced and feverish effort to realize that insubstantial affinity. The result is something partly artificial,

something that lacks reality, however much of genius it shows.

Surrealist influence has within the last few years loosened the painter Arshile Gorky's attachment to Picasso and convinced him that charm is not always reprehensible. There was a time when it seemed that he would succumb completely to the surrealist version of charm, and I expressed this fear in a review I wrote a year ago. However, Gorky's present show of eleven oils at Julien Levy's (through May 4) provides not only reassurance but also some of the best modern painting ever turned out by an American.

In lowering his aim and surrendering his ambition to create an art of historical dimensions, Gorky has finally succeeded in discovering himself for what he is—not an artist of epochal stature, no epic poet, but a lyrical, personal painter with an elegant, felicitous, and genuine delivery. What he lacks in invention and boldness he makes up for by a true sophistication that transcends the merely charming and exploits to the maximum the painterly instinct, the ability to think and feel paint that is Gorky's greatest asset. He has now produced four or five paintings in which the influences are completely digested and which add something no one else could have said to that which Picasso and Miró have already said.

Gorky has taken his point of departure from the most interesting canvas of his last year's show, the large white "Island," continuing to paint thin—he abandoned his customary heavy, flat impasto some years ago—and to rely on the draftsmanship that has become his most powerful and original instrument. The majority of the pictures on view are essentially tinted drawings—which does not make them any the less important. Thin black lines, tracing what seem to be hidden landscapes and figures, wind and dip against transparent washes of primary color that declare the flatness of the canvas. Several of the paintings are in monochrome or almost so, and these demonstrate best the phenomenal sensitivity and sensuousness of Gorky's calligraphy; but the strongest, except for the white "Delicate Game," are two more chromatic pictures, "Hugging" and "Impatience," whose charm is solid and whose quick spontaneity—which only the superficial eye could mistake for sketchiness—is the result of a great deal of preliminary thought.

Gorky's art does not yet constitute an eruption into the mainstream of con-

temporary painting, as I think Jackson Pollock's does. On occasion he still relapses into dependence on Miró, though these relapses are no longer frequent or helpless enough to be compromising. Nevertheless, his self-confidence still fails to extend to invention. Yet the chances are, now that he has discovered what he is and is willing to admit it, that Gorky will soon acquire the integral arrogance that his talent entitles him to. When he does acquire that kind of arrogance, it is possible that he will begin to paint pictures so original that they will look ugly at first.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

OUTSTANDING among the rest of Victor's April releases is the record (11-9114; \$1) with two Mozart arias—*Ach, ich fühl's* from "The Magic Flute" and *Batti, batti, o bel Masetto* from "Don Giovanni"—beautifully sung by Steber with accompaniments by an orchestra under Leinsdorf. Steber's singing easily holds its own with Lemnitz's in the complete "Magic Flute" and Mildmay's in the complete "Don Giovanni"; what one does not hear is the beautifully integrated and finished performance of singer and orchestra that is achieved by Beecham in the one and Busch in the other. There is, I have come to believe, a special department set up in opera, broadcasting, and record companies to contrive the senseless things they do—such as having *Ach, ich fühl's* sung in English and *Batti, batti* in Italian. If one believes, mistakenly, that *Ach, ich fühl's* should be sung in English in order that its words may be understood, one must believe the same thing of *Batti, batti*; if one believes, correctly, that the sound of the original Italian words should be preserved in *Batti, batti* one must believe the same thing of the German words of *Ach, ich fühl's*. And if I call the belief in opera in English mistaken it is because even at the close range provided by recording the English words are mostly as unintelligible as they are in the opera house, and there is therefore no reason for sacrificing the sound of the original words.

In a volume entitled "Sacred Songs" (Set 1043; \$3.85) Dorothy Maynor sings *Hear ye, Israel!* from Mendelssohn's "Elijah," and *How beautiful are the feet* from Handel's "Messiah" (11-9106); *Alleluia* from Mozart's Motet

K. 165 "Exsultate," and *Blute nur, du liebes Herz* from Bach's St. Matthew Passion (11-9107); and *Laudamus te* from Bach's B minor Mass, and a chorale from Bach's Cantata "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme" in an arrangement by Charles O'Connell for solo voice and orchestra that carries it to an interpolated climax of high notes and sonorous orchestral chords (11-9108). The chorale is sung with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy, and was therefore recorded at least four years ago, and more probably even earlier at the same time as the arias from "Louise" and "L'Enfant prodigue"; the other pieces were recorded recently with an orchestra under Sylvan Levin. In the chorale, then, one hears the voice with the lusciousness that it had and no longer has; in the others one hears it as it is today: hard and dry, so to speak, but with clarity and power that make it a superb dramatic soprano; and one is aware of the technical control of it that makes possible its admirable deployment in long phrases. Two of the performances—the *Hear ye* and *Laudamus te*—stand out above the others; on the other hand the *Alleluia* is hurried, tense, and shrill, and its florid passages are not clear. The various recorded sounds of the performances are further evidence of the lack of standardization in recording practice: the *Laudamus te* sounds too close to the microphone, the *Blute nur* either too far away or recorded at too low a volume-level; the *Alleluia* is loud and brash; the *Hear ye* and the chorale are—though in different ways—excellent. And finally, *Blute nur* and the chorale are sung in mostly unintelligible English—under the titles *Only bleed and break,*

thou loving heart and *Now let every tongue adore Thee*.

Some of the music in D'Indy's "Istar" Variations is pleasant to the ear; some of it, including the theme that is revealed at the end, is contortedly arid—the whole work reminding one of Casella's witty title for his musical take-off on D'Indy: "Prelude à l'après-midi d'un ascète." It is well performed by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony, and well-recorded (Set SP-16; \$2.25). The worthless paper "album" for which Victor charges the extra quarter contains a variation-by-variation description of the work which merely translates the Babylonian poem about Istar from Apthorp's English into record-album gush that will not help anyone to discover what variation he is listening to when, and that doesn't even tell him on which record-sides the variations occur.

Harold Bauer's performances of Liszt's "Waldeesrauschen" and Etude in D flat are competent; their sound on the record is dull and weak in treble (11-9113; \$1). Albanese's singing of *O mio babbino caro* from Puccini's "Gianni Schicchi" and *Vissi d'arte* from his "Tosca" is lovely in sound but full of the mannerisms of Italian sopranos singing this tripe (11-9115; \$1).

I heard De Luca a great deal in his first years at the Metropolitan, and again in 1934-5, if I remember correctly; and I retain sharp recollections of his beautiful voice and of his art in its production and manipulation. That art was again in evidence, at his recent New York recital, in his employment of the voice it had helped to preserve: it produced astonishingly spun-out sequences not only of tones in the lower range that

A Bible for the Liberal

Edited by DAGOBERT D. RUNES, Ph. D.
with a Foreword by LIN YUTANG



PRINCIPLES of ethics judiciously selected from biblical literature, including the Hebrew Books of Wisdom and the Apocrypha, but minus the mythological and ritualistic overtones. The essence of true Christianity and Judaism for liberals.

"There is here a freshness of approach and a good antidote for those who separate religions too sharply from each other."—Prof. Vergilius Ferm,
President, American Theological Society

Just Published

Limited Edition, \$3.50 Order from Your Bookseller or

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, Publishers

15 East 40th Street, Dept. H

New York 16, N. Y.

still retained some of their beauty, but of high tones that were dry and perilously thin. It was a vocal art that he exhibited in his singing, rather than a musical one—an art in singing, not in musical phrasing; an art which occasionally as it spun out a legato sequence produced a beautiful musical phrase, but occasionally pulled the phrase out of shape. And the phrases of the aria *Aprite un po' quegli occhi* from the last act of "The Marriage of Figaro" were made hash of by an experienced singing actor's art in pointing them up for laughs.

This provides an occasion to speak of Caruso, who is rightly thought of as a great artist, but whose art also was a vocal, not a musical one. When Caruso was, as he put it, "emotionated" his emotion did not express itself in inflection of the musical phrase that employed his voice, but in manipulation of his voice that sometimes produced a beautiful legato phrase and sometimes tore the phrase to pieces. The flow of lovely sound in the first phrases of *O Paradiso!* is musical perfection; its climactic B flat which Caruso holds and expands from *pp* to the splendor of *ff* is a breathtaking bit of vocal manipulation—but it causes him to break the phrase; whereas Björling, who is a superb musical as well as vocal artist, makes the B flat part of a continuous phrase-line. So with *Parmi veder le lagrime*: Jan Peerce's recent record caused me to listen to Caruso's, which shocked me with the way his exuberance in his vocal style distorts phrases and robs them of the musical sense and power they have as Peerce sings them. And so with the *Una furtiva lagrima* on the reverse side of Caruso's *Parmi veder* record: even the vocal splendors that produce its musical excesses lose their impressiveness when I listen to the flawless vocal art in the service of beautiful musical art in the performance by John McCormack.

Caruso, of course, had no patience with such distinctions. Of one of the reviews of a Montreal concert—"not so nice like everyone else"—he wrote his wife: "Imagine, this said that I, as a concert singer, am lower of Gogorza and Julia Culp! Bravo the idiot!"

★ BUY BONDS ★
FOR KEEPS

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Frontal Attack in Canada

Dear Sirs: As a reader of *The Nation* for many years, I was somewhat taken aback by the cursory manner in which you referred to a matter which in the opinion of many Canadians is a most serious frontal attack on the ancient and fundamental right of habeas corpus.

Introduced clandestinely in October, 1945, without the knowledge or consent of Parliament, the order-in-council was roundly denounced by Canada's parties, Conservative to CCF. The result has been that the government has bowed to public opinion and revoked the order. But—and this is the rub—the damage caused by the reintroduction in peace time of arbitrary detention has set a precedent which can only give comfort to and encourage reaction everywhere.

It goes without saying that no case can be made for those who may be found guilty of betraying their country. In fact, the entire business of espionage and counter-espionage is, at best, a sad commentary on the present state of international political morality. What is of interest to libertarians is the extent to which habeas corpus has become the object of concerted attack because of its alleged inadequacy in time of war, of imminent war, and now after the war.

It is, I submit, of vital concern to your readers when such a fundamental prerogative is attacked in any country which has as its basic law the common law of England. Arrest without court warrant, holding the accused incommunicado and without benefit of counsel, trial in secret without the right of cross-examination—these are not the ordinary procedures of the common-law tradition. The Official Secrets Act and the Canadian criminal code offer manifold opportunity of prosecution; yet bureaucrats tend to adopt the easier but dangerous path of suspension of the common-law writs by orders-in-council and the same inquisitorial systems of authoritarian law which we condemn.

Condonation by silence can only result in the reintroduction of these practices by willing students in reactionary climes. Already the Quebec government has decided to reintroduce the infamous Padlock law, and no doubt others in your country will take keen note of the methods adopted and explanations invoked to circumscribe the great funda-

mental rights enunciated by the common law and accepted as a basis of our political democracy. The revocation of the order-in-council demonstrates the salutary force of Canadian public opinion when aroused.

N. T. NEMETZ

Vancouver, B. C., April 12

[Mr. Nemetz's point is well taken, and is discussed at some length in B. K. Sandwell's article on page 536.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Arab Collaboration

Dear Sirs: In answer to a letter published in the April 6 issue of *The Nation* from Khalil Totah, executive director of the Institute of Arab American Affairs, I should like to point out that Mr. Totah, in acknowledging that "some Arab leaders accepted German assistance in their mortal struggle with Zionism," adopts a new line. Until now Arab official sources, in spite of overwhelming proof to the contrary, have denied the hard fact of Arab collaboration with the Axis.

In his effort to justify Arab collaboration with the Nazis Mr. Totah draws a comparison between the nefarious activities of the Mufti and his associates and the alignment of Jefferson and Franklin with the Bourbons. Mr. Totah, however, neglects one rather essential point in making the analogy: namely, that while Jefferson and Franklin were inspired by the highest humanitarian motives in their struggle for liberty, the Mufti, Jamal Hussein, and the other Arab collaborators voluntarily identified themselves with the establishment of a regime of tyranny and slavery.

Mr. Totah goes on to challenge my reference to the Arab masses, "to whom slogans of Nazi philosophy made an infinitely stronger appeal than the British policy of appeasement," by stating that "the Arabs on the contrary are extremely democratic." How extreme the democracy of the Arabs is may be inferred from an article printed in the most prominent and widely circulated Arab newspaper published in Palestine. In describing the Nürnberg trials the article says: "Nazism is after all a principle of life, like socialism and democracy. Trying their [the Nazis'] men is really a trial of the principles of free thinking. If we take the Laval and

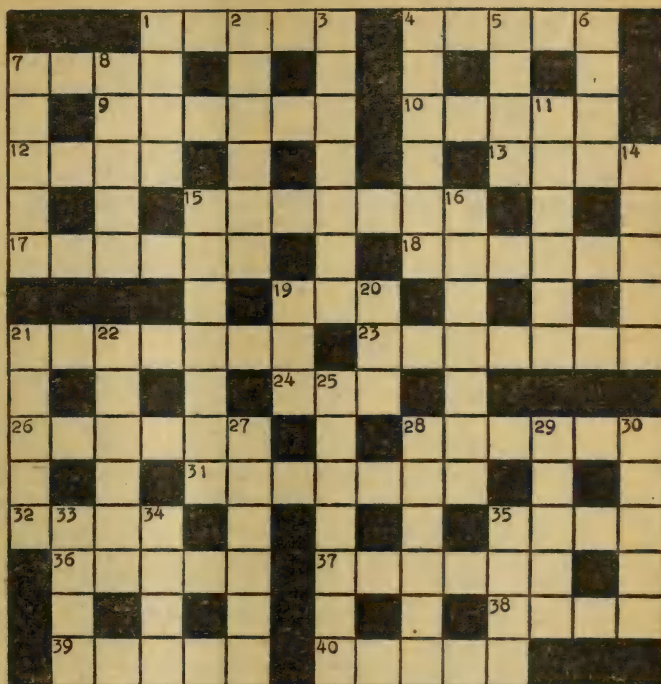
May 4, 1946

Pétain trials as an example of legal justice we will find it is nothing but a screen for the spirit of vengeance and spite which the present political bodies in Europe harbor for the previous leaders of Europe. It looks as though the revengeful spirit which characterized the Pétain and Laval trials is going to characterize the trials of Hess, Göring, and the rest of the army generals who had to fulfil their military duty in the war as soldiers defending their most sacred possession—their homeland" (*Falastin*, November 2, 1945).

While reading Mr. Totah's letter one wonders not only at the astonishing arguments of the author but at the fact that the Mufti, Jamal Hussein, and their colleagues are enjoying freedom and are steadily being restored to their former positions in Arab public life in Palestine and elsewhere. In Great Britain, France, Holland, and Norway short shrift has been made of those who, in whatever measure, gave help or comfort to the Nazis. Yet not the slightest compunction was felt about receiving evidence before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry from those who for three long years let loose on Pales-

Crossword Puzzle No. 159

By JACK BARRETT



A New Improved

NEW MASSES

Only

Marxist Cultural-Political Weekly in U.S.A.

Among recent contributors:

Howard Fast, Albert Maltz, B. A. Botkin, Richard O. Boyer, William Z. Foster, Carlos Bulosan, Meridel Le Sueur, Ben Field, John Howard Lawson, Albert E. Kahn.

Two Exclusive Series:

The Atom's Future

—by Paul Miller

I Investigate Rankin

—by Virginia Gardner

A weekly short story • Art work by Gropper, Evergood, Gwathmey, Refregier, etc.

SUBSCRIBE NOW

Subscription . . 1 year - \$6.00

Trial Offer . . 10 weeks - \$1.00

On Newsstands Every Thursday

NEW MASSES

104 EAST 9th STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Tel.: GRamercy 3-5146

ACROSS

- 1 Such power sustains life, and such injury ends it
- 4 Solid squares
- 7 Oh, Mona ----
- 9 Customers for back collar studs
- 10 Not a Highland dance, but one in the vales
- 12 He is here today and here tomorrow
- 13 Aladdin managed to rub along with one
- 15 They know that a stitch in time saves nine
- 17 Village immortalized by Goldsmith (probably Lissoy, in Ireland)
- 18 Not included in Sir Joseph Porter's retinue of relatives
- 19 A free pass to the next round
- 21 Many thanks
- 23 Not the voice of the turtle-dove
- 24 Comes in powder or shell
- 26 Unrelated
- 28 To stretch this will not make it any less short
- 31 Glorified stoats
- 32 Unusual sound in Kilkenny
- 35 The "arm" of the law
- 36 Palms yield something to make a song of
- 37 Ducked
- 38 Result of some canvassing
- 39 One over the eights
- 40 Not a suitable name for a white-headed boy
- 5 He gives an account of himself
- 6 Sharp end of the ship
- 7 N. African battleground of 1943
- 8 Curbs (anag.)
- 11 Don Quixote's squire, surnamed Panza
- 14 Very deaf, but the means of our hearing from others
- 15 Never comes like this, they say
- 16 Serpentine
- 19 A social worker
- 20 "---- and points to yonder glade" (hidden)
- 21 Fat needed for plum pie
- 22 Amphibious operations are nothing new to them
- 25 Medieval trade union subscription?
- 27 Shakespeare wrote thirty-four in all
- 28 A buffer can take it
- 29 She is just married, or just about to be
- 30 A mechanical genius
- 33 Two prepositions in a third one
- 34 Came down in slanting lines, in the poem
- 35 Suffers

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 158

ACROSS:—1 PALAVER; 5 COWHAND; 9 JAVELIN; 10 NOTICES; 11 MORON; 12 GUNNEVERE; 14 LION; 15 SOFTIES; 18 MRS.; 20 TOE; 21 ARCHERS; 23 SURE; 26 ANTITOXIN; 28 WAYER; 29 RELIEVED; 30 BRAILLE; 31 PASTER; 32 RISING.

DOWN:—1 PAJAMA; 2 LOVERS; 3 VALENTINE; 4 RONTGEN; 5 CANDIES; 6 WITHE; 7 ACCREDIT; 8 DISPENSE; 13 ERR; 16 FORSWEARS; 17 EON; 18 MALAPROP; 19 SCUTTLES; 22 SIXTEEN; 23 SAND BUR; 24 AVALON; 25 GREEKS; 27 THERE.

DOWN

- 1 A depressed area?
- 2 Comes to a head in the East
- 3 Allegiance
- 4 Carven in rock

MEETING

THE
BROOKLYN PROFESSIONAL COMMITTEE
FOR A DEMOCRATIC CHINA
presents a report of the
**"WIN THE PEACE
CONFERENCE"**

- Rev. J. Howard Melish, Chairman
- J. Raymond Walsh
- W. Alphaeus Hutton
- Frederick V. Field
- Elie Siegmeister

MAY 6, 1946, 8:30 P.M.
at the

HOTEL GRANADA
Asland Pl. & Lafayette Ave.
Brooklyn

Tickets at JEFFERSON BOOK SHOP, 44th ST.
BOOK FAIR and at the Door, \$1.20, Tax included.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

GOOD 8-room house; two baths; steam heat; 3 acre lawn; splendid trees; tenant house with bath. All for \$6,000. Immediate. Phone evenings collect Berkshire Farm Agency, Chatham, N. Y., for appointment.

LEASE

FOR LONG TERM lease with option to purchase. 55,000 square feet; two brick and stone, sprinklered buildings, 4 stories and basement; formerly textile mills; elevators. 16 acres land, at Stuyvesant Falls near Hudson, N. Y. with perpetual use of 400 h.p. included in rental. Suitable for textiles, plastics, chemicals. L. N. Rosenbaum, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

LANGUAGES

STUDY EASILY and quickly all languages by phonograph records. Also rentals. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17. MU. 3-1093.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR MAGAZINES simply by asking me for them! Any number in one order; pay after I bill at publisher's lowest prices, club rates, etc. Catalog NA free. Institutional accounts expedited. John Crehore, Box 2329-N, Washington 13, D. C.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.40 per carton, postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

PUBLICATION

BEST YEARS. By and for the older person. Pocket-sized Quarterly \$1.00 per year. Smithtown Branch, New York.

WANTED

PROFESSIONAL couple with two children desperate for seaside or farm vacation home now. Privacy, 60 miles from New York, swimming. Pay up to \$600 or exchange 3½-room furnished Manhattan apartment. Best references. Box 1602, c/o The Nation.

FOR SALE

ANTIQUE JEWELRY
Old Pieces Matched—Skillful Repairing
Old Pieces Bought
Also Rose-cut and Old Mine Diamonds
ANSELMA FRIEL
87 NASSAU ST. NEW YORK CITY CO. 7-5652

HELP WANTED

ATTENTION—challenging, unique opportunity offered by a Jewish organization which is seeking a man for a responsible resident position abroad. A knowledge of the European Jewish communities as well as of the general European political scene essential. Good administrative experience desirable. Box 1600, c/o The Nation.

SITUATION WANTED

RESEARCH: Political Science or Economics. College graduate, young, acute, methodical, excellent background. Highest references. Box 1601, c/o The Nation.

SUMMER BOARD WANTED

CULTURED lady desires board private farm 2-3 summer months. Could help with chickens, children, garden, typing, tutoring languages. Box 1598, c/o The Nation.

SUMMER HOME WANTED

CAN ASSURE excellent care of property to someone who'd rather prefer small clean refined family, at modest rental. Bathing, commuting preferred. Box 1599, c/o The Nation.

SUMMER RENTAL

TWO large rooms, furnished, sublet for 3 months. Brooklyn, Eastern Parkway section. Elevator. References required. PR 2-1681.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

62c a line (six words)

Minimum 3 lines

\$6.16 per inch

Attractive discounts for
multiple insertions

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N.Y.

BARclay 7-1066

tine murder upon murder, who at the most critical stage of the war joined the enemies of the Allies in stirring up revolts, and who after the failure of Rashid Ali's revolt in Iraq proceeded directly to the enemies' capitals.

Whether or not Mr. Totah has "to thank the British and the Zionists" for the Mufti's association with the Nazis is irrelevant. No allowances were made for motivations in the parallel cases of Quisling and Laval. One may therefore say that the courts have already given their answer to this last argument of Mr. Totah.

ELIAHU EPSTEIN

Washington, D. C., April 11

The Lilienthal Report

Dear Sirs: Mr. Stone's comments on the Lilienthal report lead me to believe that he is a man with his head in the clouds and his feet firmly planted on thin air. He has twice opposed in your columns the provision in the Lilienthal report which deals with America's disposition of its atomic secrets. I should like to make two points in reply.

1. The four steps recommended by the report for the release of American atomic secrets are based on the necessity, at the time, of these secrets to the international control board. Their release is so designed that, should the work of this board be interrupted, the nations of the world would be in the same relative position as regards atomic power as they are now. Foreign nations may object to this provision, but I am sure that their desire for some control of atomic energy (and the Lilienthal report provides for something better than the term "any control" would connote) will override antipathy to a proposal which maintains the present international atomic-power balance for the next ten years.

2. Does Mr. Stone believe it possible that an American Congress which approves of the May-Johnson bill and the Vandenberg amendment to the McMahon bill and which revises its opinion on these measures only in the face of public wrath in an election year will indorse a measure providing for immediate publication of our atomic secrets? In this complex world our little men in Congress are too concerned with "security" to approve any such measure. The Lilienthal report, as it stands, will not have too much difficulty obtaining Congressional indorsement. With the revisions Mr. Stone has in mind, an essentially progressive measure will be blocked.

HOWARD B. LORD

Chevy Chase, Md., April 15

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 11, 1946

NUMBER 19

No Peace in Paris

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

Paris, May 5

THE other day M. Bidault and Mr. Byrnes agreed that the Foreign Ministers' sessions were "getting nowhere"; so the four Ministers unanimously decided to substitute a formal morning meeting and an informal—meaning small and secret—afternoon meeting for the two formal ones previously held. This drastic reform seems to have had the effects of enabling the conference to get almost nowhere about twice as fast as before. The Russians' well-publicized amiability at the start of the sessions has progressively diminished as the discussions have moved into crucial areas; today it looks as if Trieste were to be the pay-off, since the German question as a whole is not likely to be dealt with. But the big fact behind every specific dispute is that no basis for any fundamental agreement now exists. The fate of Trieste as between Italy and Yugoslavia is unimportant in itself. What is important is the fate of Europe, which is symbolized by the deadlock over Trieste.

This fact cannot be explicitly faced by the Ministers meeting in Paris, and the real issues will not be decided by them. It will be decided by shifts in the balance of power among the nations themselves.

Let me give a few examples of what I mean. Last week Mr. Byrnes, who is playing an energetic role here in contrast to his performance in London last winter, proposed his plan for the future control of Germany. It was undoubtedly designed to provide the necessary underpinning of confidence which would make possible a compromise between the French and British positions on the Ruhr. I have seen the full text of the Byrnes plan which was not released here to the press, and I must say that it struck me as surprisingly radical. Such a far-reaching commitment is without precedent in American history, and only the unqualified support of Mr. Vandenberg inclines me to think it could conceivably pass the Senate. But the proposal was received coldly, almost indifferently, by every French newspaper.

This attitude was reflected in leading articles in the Paris press, which, taken together, made these points: France cannot rely on American occupation of Germany lasting twenty-five years. Perhaps American isolationism is dead, at least in its extreme form, but there remains

a definite repugnance to any policy which involves intervention in other continents, particularly in Europe. Certainly the situation is not such as to incline any European power to repose full confidence in a scheme like that of Mr. Byrnes. This, say the French, is the fundamental objection. Technically the idea is quite acceptable. Control of Germany through a four-power commission would work well as long as the major Allied nations remained in agreement on policy toward Germany. Unfortunately no such agreement exists even now. If after 1919 the rearmament of the Reich was not prevented, it was not because the machinery provided in the Treaty of Versailles was inadequate but because the victors—especially Britain and France—were divided in their views on Germany. With agreement among the Allies, the Byrnes plan would be workable; without it a far better plan would be useless. Any convention signed in these circumstances would become less binding with each year that passed, and this process of weakening would in itself tend to multiply the disputes that divide the powers, with the result that isolationist tendencies in the United States would increase and new voices would raise the old cry that the country should withdraw from Europe.

Behind this skeptical French approach is a realistic understanding, first, that Germany is today the focal center of the Russian-Western conflict of interest, and, second, that the coming elections in the United States may wipe out the small and uncertain majority favoring American participation in maintaining peace.

Other issues have similar political overtones. Take Trieste as the most immediate and difficult. Shall Tito or Italy get the city and port and the area behind them? The ministers may go through the motions of studying the experts' reports and comparing ethnic lines. They may discuss plans of international control. Molotov may appeal to Yugoslavia's great services in the war and the need of righting historic wrongs; Bevin to the wishes of the people who live on that disputed piece of earth. But the issue is elsewhere, and the decision will measure the advance of Russian power westward to the Adriatic or the success of Britain, backed by the United States, in checking that advance. And so with other problems. The latest British plan for the Ruhr has not yet been laid before the Ministers, but French and British officials are discussing it here in Paris. The proposal provides that the Ruhr and Rhineland shall be under Allied

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

No Peace in Paris <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	557
The Shape of Things	559
Wilful Men at Work	560
What Did We Fight For?	561

ARTICLES

The Palestine Report <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	562
Leftism in the Atomic Age <i>by Norman Angell</i>	564
OPA—Round Two <i>by Tris Coffin</i>	567
Browder's Mission to Moscow <i>by Robert Bendiner</i>	568
Czechoslovakia's Rebirth—II <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	570
A Plea for Puerto Rico <i>by Luis Munoz Marin</i>	571
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	573

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

By the Rivers of Babylon <i>by Sterling A. Brown</i>	574
Soap, Soap, Toujours Soap <i>by Jerry Spingarn</i>	575
Briefer Comment	576
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	578
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	580
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	580

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 582

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 160 583

by Jack Barrett

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington *Editor* Literary *Editor*
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 19, 1979, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

control as far as the industries are concerned but that the region shall remain under a central German government, although it will have a special status after the termination of Allied occupation of Germany as a whole. No further details are known, but the Manchester Guardian reports that Mr. Bevin has full power to bring the plan before the conference. It suggests that Britain will favor "large-scale nationalization of German industry under international control so that it will never again become a potential source of war." Such a plan will be opposed by the French government, which is unalterably committed to the political separation of the Ruhr from Germany. But French opinion is divided. The Communists support the government position—which Russia backs for its own reasons—while the Socialists might easily accept something quite close to the British plan. The Continental edition of the *Daily Mail* says casually today: "Final negotiations [between Britain and France] are not likely to take place till after the French elections." Here again considerations of security or economic stability must wait upon political developments.

The role of the United States in this play of forces is ambiguous. Our power is looked upon as a monstrous factor necessary to placate but impossible to gauge. Specific proposals such as that put forward by Byrnes are set against a confused background of isolationism, imperialism, aggressive support of free enterprise, and exclusive possession of a growing supply of atomic bombs. We could be the most powerful ally of the forces working for democratic survival in Europe; by many European democrats we are looked upon as its chief enemy.

But little is gained by looking for villains in the Luxembourg Palace. There are no villains. There are immense forces crystallizing, coalescing, dividing, meeting in conflict. Peace is not going to be made in a room. If peace is made at all, it will be by people fighting their way out of a desolation of suffering and ruin toward new forms of social and political control. One can learn more about the sort of Europe that is taking shape by studying the results of today's referendum in France than by listening to all the "fill-ins" provided by Mr. MacDermott after the meetings of the Ministers.

For the vote on the constitution, taken together with the general elections on June 2, will indicate what forces are likely to control the future of France. The referendum has aroused strong feelings on both sides. It is supported by the Socialists and Communists and some groups farther to the right. It is opposed by the conservatives and also by certain left and liberal elements which object to specific provisions. Therefore it cannot be considered a clear-cut left-right plebiscite, although the Communists, perhaps unwisely, have consistently played it up as one. But it is true that a big majority either way would announce a basic test of power in

France that would have a direct bearing on the foreign policy of the French government.

May 6

Referendum returns are in. The constitution is lost and with it many months of intense effort. It is too early to analyze the results in detail. *L'Aurore*, representing the extreme right, this morning headlined the referendum story "France Rejects the Communist Constitution," and goes on to say that the French people have said no to dictatorship and to control by the U. S. S. R. It is not as simple as that. A better analysis is presented by Daniel Mayer, general secretary of the Socialist Party, in *Le Populaire*. He believes the vote reflects the preoccupation of the people with unsettled and uncomfortable conditions and, even more, the exaggerated propaganda of the right, which steadily harped on the alleged threat to personal liberties and private property lurking behind the democratic phrases of the proposed constitution. Above all, he believes the fear of outright Communist control influenced the voters, and he chides the Communist Party for providing the reactionaries with a useful weapon in the slogan "*Thorez ou pouvoir*." In any case the vote is not a sweeping decision nor does it prove that France has suddenly switched to the right. What it seems to indicate is a regrouping of forces. The right is reemerging into the political light of day; party lines are being more clearly drawn; but the real issue will be joined on June 2. Any prediction of a left defeat on that day would be premature and very risky.

The Shape of Things

WITH STOCKS OF COAL RAPIDLY NEARING exhaustion for railroads, public utilities, and industrial plants throughout the country, it is apparent that some action must come soon in the five-weeks-old coal strike. If the public is utterly confused over the issues of the strike, the responsibility rests squarely on John L. Lewis. Apart from insisting that the employers recognize his claims to a levy of 10 cents a ton for a union-controlled health and welfare fund, Lewis has made no specific demands on the companies. He has intimated that he expects a better wage settlement than the C. I. O. steel and automobile workers received but has set no figure. The operators, as usual, have made no move to meet the miners' legitimate complaints, hoping that public opinion will ultimately turn so decisively against Lewis that they will escape with a moderate wage increase. Since both Lewis and the operators have shown, both on this occasion and frequently in the past, that they have no sense of public responsibility, a national disaster can be avoided only if the government forces a settlement. While experience has shown that taking over the mines will not automatically bring the miners back into the

pits, it has also shown that until the government does control the mines, neither side is likely to get down to serious bargaining.

✱

THE PROSPECT FOR A NEW COMPROMISE IN China has brightened despite the Kuomintang's rejection of General Marshall's initial proposals for a Manchurian truce. Both factions appear to have accepted, in principle, the extension of the military truce to include Manchuria, and the differences in recent negotiations have concerned the exact line of demarcation between Communist and Kuomintang zones of influence. The Communists' success in taking over Changchun, Harbin, and Tsitsihar, Manchuria's three chief cities, has undoubtedly greatly increased their bargaining power. The Kuomintang's crack American-equipped armies have proved disappointing in action and have made comparatively little headway against the strong local guerrilla forces which have joined the Communists. An indication of the Communists' improved bargaining position is found in the report that General Ho Ying-chin, leader of the Kuomintang's ultra-reactionary right wing, is to be relieved of his position as chief of staff and sent out of China on a military mission. Democratic leaders in China have always contended that no basic political settlement holding the promise of democratic progress could be achieved as long as Ho Ying-chin occupied a strategic post in the military administration.

✱

SOME OF THE SENATORS WHO HAD BEEN intent on completing the knifing job done on OPA by the House appear to be having second thoughts. As Tris Coffin explains on another page, a deluge of mail from irate voters has reminded them that in November victims of inflation might be reaching for a hatchet. Consumer pressure has been fortified by a rallying of more far-sighted business men to the defense of continued controls. Eric Johnston, retiring President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, told the annual convention of that body that business was heading for a permanent stay in the doghouse if it insisted on an unrestricted opportunity to cash in on the current shortage of goods. The National Association of Manufacturers, however, is incorrigible. As a counter-blast to the growing consumer campaign it has broadcast another of those full-page advertisements to finance which it appears to have an inexhaustible supply of funds. Seductively headed "Would you like some BUTTER or a ROAST of BEEF" it alleges that OPA "controls" have discouraged the production of butter and driven meat into the black market. "It's the same thing," it continues, "with other things you want: men's suits, underwear, socks, work gloves, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, electric irons, toasters, women's low-priced dresses, moderate and low-priced textiles, lumber and other building materials, furniture." The OPA has held up production of these things and "failed com-

pletely to stop the modern bootleggers and racketeers who prey upon us all." What the N. A. M. doesn't tell us is how all the goods we cannot buy in the stores get into the hands of the racketeers. There seems to be only one possible explanation—that many manufacturers of such articles are diverting supplies into illegitimate channels. By inference the advertisement is a tremendous indictment of American business.

✱

WHEN DR. HJALMAR SCHACHT, ON TRIAL AS a war criminal, told the Nürnberg court that "Hitler deceived the world, Germany and me," one felt he was placing the victims in ascending order of importance. The arrogant former head of the Reichsbank has always regarded himself as the most superior member of a superior race. It was as a Pan-German, anxious to enhance his country's power, that he supported Hitler thinking he could use him. He admitted on the witness stand that he approved the original Nazi program, apart from its anti-Semitic features—an objection he did not press to the point of refusing to sign decrees for the seizure of Jewish property. He admitted, also, responsibility for financing the rearmament program and in fact, for all actions of the Nazi Cabinet up to 1937 when Goering, whom he despises, manipulated his removal as Minister of Economy. But he suggested, the Court ought to overlook this record in view of the fact that he turned against Hitler in 1939, supplied Allied representatives with warnings and information, and even took part in the 1944 assassination plot. The evidence he produced in support of these claims was not, however, very conclusive. No doubt, supreme egotist that he is, he decided that a regime which had dispensed with his services was doomed and looked for a line of personal retreat. But, having also a healthy regard for his own skin, he covered his tracks so carefully that, even in 1944, he was arrested only on suspicion, or perhaps by arrangement. After all a few months as a specially privileged prisoner was a small premium to pay for the opportunity to depict himself in court as a Nazi victim.

Wilful Men at Work

IT IS estimated that if the Anglo-American Financial Agreement, which includes the \$3¾ billion loan to Britain, could be brought to a vote in the Senate it would be ratified by a majority of twelve or eighteen. Debate has now been going on for three weeks, and every member has had ample opportunity to express his views, but a semi-filibuster conducted by the bi-partisan opposition is holding up action. An effort is now being made to limit debate but it seems improbable that such a motion can obtain a two-thirds majority. In spite of the firm stand taken by majority leader Barkley there is grave danger that the British loan will be sidetracked for an indefinite period. As a result the whole international eco-

nomic program of the Administration is being put in jeopardy. The world, listening intently to the debate, is beginning to wonder whether the United States, despite all protestations that it has abandoned isolationism forever, has in fact learned nothing and forgotten everything.

One of the most depressing aspects of the Senate proceedings is the feeble grasp of many of the participants on political and economic realities. Even some of the supporters of the loan leaned heavily on the irrelevant and explosive argument that it was a necessary means of bolstering a future ally against Russia. By sticking the label of power politics on financial aid to Britain, supporters of the loan have gratuitously handed Moscow a new cause for suspicion. The real political importance of the loan is not that it binds or buys an ally but that its denial would inevitably open a rift between America and Britain and lead to a new era of economic warfare.

Among the opponents of the bill Senator McFarland of Arizona has been prominent with an alternative proposal to make the loan conditional on the cession by Britain of the islands where the United States now has naval bases on ninety-nine-year leases. This plan commands considerable support, particularly, it seems, in quarters ready to attack British imperialism at the drop of a hat. Isn't it about time that we learned that British colonies are not under the absolute control of Westminster, that their peoples have constitutional rights and cannot be shifted to another sovereignty without their consent. An essential preliminary to the transfer of any Caribbean island to the United States would be a plebiscite, and we are prepared to give any Senator odds that the West Indians would vote for British imperialism in preference to American.

An objection to the loan raised by several Senators, inspired apparently by Jesse Jones, is that there is no arrangement which will earmark all of it for expenditure in this country. Of course, it does not actually make any difference to us whether Britain spends the dollars it receives for Brazilian coffee or for American wheat. The Brazilians may use those dollars to buy textile machinery here or ball-bearings in Sweden, but however many hands they pass through they will eventually find their way back to this country to be exchanged for American goods. The only other thing temporary foreign holders could do with these dollars would be to hoard them, and in a world clamoring for a chance to buy American goods this does not seem very likely to happen. It is strange that one has to spell out such elementary facts about the mechanism of international trade, particularly when America is leading a crusade against bilateral deals and discrimination. It ought to be obvious that a tied loan, whose terms dictate where it is to be spent, is just as much discriminatory as a trade deal in which the buyer limits the seller in the disposal of the proceeds of the sale.

A revision of the loan's terms so as to obtain greater real or fancied benefits for this country would, of course, mean a renegotiation of the whole agreement and an indefinite postponement of the aid Britain so sorely needs. So far the British government, having secured prompt ratification of the agreement by Parliament, has behaved as if the loan would eventually be made available. It has maintained its war-time exchange controls, but it has not tightened them as it will certainly be compelled to do if the loan is withheld. But every month's delay in Congress means a further drain on its resources of gold and dollars and adds to the difficulties it will have in carrying out its obligations under the agreement. And until our policy is fixed Britain and the many countries with which it has close commercial ties cannot lay any long-term plans. Once again a handful of wilful men, by an irresponsible exercise of their prerogative to talk endlessly, are undermining America's influence in the world and endangering its international relations.

What Did We Fight For?

WE ARE grateful to Sir Norman Angell for contributing to the current *Nation* an article bound to provoke discussion. We would urge our readers to read Leftism in the Atomic Age before they give their attention to our comment below.

With the main thesis—that ideological differences are today building up conflicts threatening to destroy the United Nations—we are in essential agreement. We have frequently stated that the outstanding problem in international affairs is to bridge the gulf of misunderstanding between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union. Nor have we ever suggested that the problem can be solved simply by saying "yes" to all Russia's demands and proposals and so achieving "unity." It is as disastrous to assume with the Stalinists that all dissenting positions of the democracies are further evidence of the anti-Soviet conspiracy as it is to assume with our civilian and military reactionaries that war with Russia must come and we had better get ready. We believe that larger fields of common action must be explored, and marginal areas of friction, where spheres of influence impinge on one another, should be brought soon under U. N. control. We do not believe that "it is the purpose of the future world authority to uphold the true doctrine in matters of political, economic, and social faith." We believe, rather, that its purpose is to build a world order in which peoples are free to live under governments and forms of society of their own choice, provided these governments and societies carry no menace to the peace and security of the world. In this broad liberal creed we find ourselves in general agreement with Sir Norman Angell.

But if this new order allows for wide divergence in economic and political patterns, it also has certain characteristics which set it off from the pre-war order. In the minds of millions of the men who fought it and of many of the war leaders the war was, in fact, "the midwife of a new order." At the outset it was a war against the fascist and Nazi systems, against the fascist and Nazi way of life, which led inevitably to war. The men who fought the war fought not merely to destroy the fascist armies but to eliminate the fascist state. (That is why they have a continuing interest in the future of Franco Spain.) But they also fought so that their hopes of a free life, held back by inveterate feudal reaction or frustrated by fascist oppression, might come to fulfillment. These positive war aims were stated in such great documents as the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the Four Freedoms and they were summed up in the phrase, One World. They became flesh and blood in the underground liberation movements. Sometimes their revolutionary content took a violent form against primitive feudal reaction in Eastern Europe. Where the democratic tradition was highly developed, as in France and England, it expressed itself in a new socialist government or a revitalized left.

Whether this movement toward a new freedom is stated in liberal or socialist terms is not very important. The liberal Beveridge today, with his comprehensive plan for social security and full employment, is much closer to the Socialist Laski than to those diehard free enterprisers who would undo all forms of economic control in our society. Laski at *The Nation* dinner may have been hard on "the business man," but the spectacle in Washington during the last few weeks, where the official representatives of big business have been killing OPA by slow torture and turning a deaf ear to the cries of starving people, has made us more sympathetic to his blast. For here we have the same frenetic drive for profits, the same callous disregard of human rights, the same impatience of social controls, the same isolationist indifference to the needs of other nations that, in the twenties, laid the ground for World War II.

We wonder, that Sir Norman should forget the boom and the crash, the worldwide economic collapse brought on by the planless nature of our capitalist order; that he should forget the despair of the unemployed, the disillusionment with democracy, the rise of extremist reactionaries, and eventually the emergence of militaristic Nazism, flaunting the new Germanic dream of world domination in the face of the "decadent democracies" and Soviet communism. It was this latter slogan which appealed to the Tories. Pressed by socialist forces at home, they viewed with some complacency—in some cases with outspoken approval—a nationalist movement that had proclaimed an international crusade against bolshevism. It was these Tories—in England, France, and

America—who initiated the fatal non-intervention policy in Franco Spain, where Hitler fought and won his important first round. It was they who made Munich. It was they who realized only after Hitler had invaded Poland that the line of their own vital defenses had been reached and they would have to fight. (This was pointed out very brilliantly by Sir Norman Angell in an article in *The Nation* for July 5, 1941.)

The other events Sir Norman lists—the Russo-Nazi pact, the suicidal policy of the Communist parties in opposing the war as "imperialist" and thus weakening the democracies whose aid Russia was to need so desperately, the Churchill and Roosevelt policies of aid to Russia—all these were strategic or tactical operations of a military

or semi-military character. They do not alter a whit the essentially anti-fascist character of the war and its essentially revolutionary objectives. If what Sir Norman challenges is a doctrinaire interpretation, or an ideological inflexibility which does not permit of compromise, we have no quarrel with him. But if he would reduce the war to a mere struggle for survival and international arrangements to pure expediency, then we think he is dangerously close to that myopic opportunism he has so valiantly battled these many long years. For survival today depends on the realization of a new order built not merely upon the fear of atomic destruction but upon the insistent demands for a free life for the common people of the world.

The Palestine Report

BY I. F. STONE

THE main body of the report made by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine is an extremely able document—thorough, comprehensive, sympathetic, and fair. It does not compare unfavorably with that classic exposition of the Palestinian question, the 1937 report of the Royal Commission headed by Lord Peel. This new report deserves to be widely read, for it provides an authoritative survey of the Jewish tragedy in Europe and the present situation in Palestine. The most dreadful exhibit is Appendix III, a table showing country by country the decimation of the Jewish people. The committee estimates that at least 5,000,000 Jews lost their lives during the war; European Jewry was thus proportionately by far the largest sufferer in World War II. In dealing with the survivors the committee did not confine itself to statistics. It provides a vivid picture of the Jewish D. P.'s in the camps of Germany and Austria, "around them Germans living a family life in their own homes . . . outwardly little affected by the war," while the Jews still feel themselves "outcasts and unwanted."

There are few families left. In the rubble of the Warsaw ghetto, among the "pits containing human ash and human bones," the committee caught a glimpse of "Jews who came searching, so often in vain, for any trace of their dear ones." They undertake "long journeys on hearing a rumor that one has been seen in another part of the country or in another center." The committee began to understand how these survivors felt in Germany and Poland, where "a Jew may see in the face of any man he looks upon the murderer of his family." To General Morgan's obtuse and unfeeling charges of last winter the committee replied, "The existence of an organization deliberately facilitating emigration was not established." But it saw nothing strange in "the intense desire

. . . to depart from localities so full of . . . poignant memories."

Everywhere the committee found that efforts by Jews to enforce their rights to restitution of property were creating ill-feeling. Anti-Semitism has grown stronger, and the only countries in which the committee reported no evidence of it were Italy, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria; of Greece the committee says that "fundamentally" there is no anti-Semitism there but that efforts of surviving Jews to regain their property "may complicate relations." Except in these countries and the Czech provinces the committee obviously felt that there was little future for the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. It estimated that "as many as 500,000 may wish or be impelled to emigrate from Europe." Only of the Hungarian Jews does the committee report that the United States "appears to be the first choice for immigration." Elsewhere, especially in the D. P. camps, emigration to Palestine seems to the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe "the only real chance of rebuilding their shattered lives and of becoming normal men and women again."

In Palestine the committee found a willingness to receive the homeless at the cost of a lower standard of living for the whole Jewish community. The report pays tribute to what the Yishuv has done, calling it "a miracle both of physical achievement and of spiritual endeavor." It says that "as pioneers in Palestine" the Jews "have a record of which they can be proud." In contrast to similar colonizing by Western peoples in backward areas, "there has been no expulsion of the indigenous population, and exploitation of cheap Arab labor has been vigorously opposed as inconsistent with Zionism." The committee was impressed with the democratic character of the community and with the fact that "the new Jewish colonization has assumed more and more the character of

a socialist experiment." The committee's criticism is that the Jews have been too exclusive. The reason is understandable—"the Jews feel they have enough to do defending their own position without taking on the Arab problem as well." But the committee is right when it says that the application of Jewish funds and energies directly to the task of raising Arab standards "might be quite as important for the growth and security of the National Home as the draining of swamp lands or the creation of Jewish industry."

The Arab community in Palestine is portrayed as a quasi-feudal society. Civilization is based on the clan. Power resides in "a small group of influential families." It is "almost impossible for the son of an Arab fellah to rise to a position of wealth and political influence." While the democratically elected Jewish Agency has become a state within a state, the Arab leaders "have refused to develop a self-governing community parallel to that of the Jews." The reason is that they have not been "prepared to see their position called in question by such democratic forms as elections for the Arab Higher Committee or the formation of popularly based political parties." This basic anti-democratic tendency explains why the Arab community has yet to assume, as the committee thinks it should, "the same responsibility with regard to education as the Jewish." The rich effendi has no great desire to tax himself to educate the fellah.

Alongside the "deep political antagonism" between the Arab and Jewish communities the committee noted the "friendliness which indubitably exists" in the everyday life of town and village. It "observed with pleasure" the cooperation achieved between the two peoples in the Haifa municipal government and in the joint Arab-Jewish trade unions on the railways and in the potash industry. It says, however, that such examples are much too rare. Perhaps they would be less rare if the Palestine government fostered self-governing institutions at least on the local level, as the committee suggests, especially in the country districts, where "a spirit of good neighborliness exists among the common people, Arabs and Jews." But much too little has been done in this direction by the mandatory power, and the committee declares that Palestine today is governed without the consent of Jews or Arabs by an administration depending almost solely upon force for the maintenance of a precarious authority."

The Peel Commission recommended the partition of Palestine between the two peoples. The Anglo-American Committee suggests a bi-national solution. The latter seems to me far wiser; Jews and Arabs must learn to live together. With the principle of non-domination set down by the committee I agree, as I do with the proposition that the future Palestine needs a constitution in which neither people will fear the ascendancy of the other. The struggle for "a numerical majority . . . must

be made purposeless by the constitution itself." Within that framework I think there is ample room for unlimited Jewish immigration, and even with unlimited Jewish immigration the Jews are unlikely to become much more than roughly equal in number to the Arabs, for the Arab birth rate is higher.

But when we turn from the main body of the report to the "Recommendations and Comment" we find ourselves in much less satisfactory territory; here we are aware of bitter dispute, unpalatable compromise, disheartening double-talk, and hidden pitfalls. In recommending that the gates of Palestine be opened at once to 100,000 Jewish refugees, the committee would take care of those most in need—the D. P.'s in the camps of Germany and Austria; for so much we should be grateful. By its recommendations on future immigration and the land laws, the committee would scrap the White Paper of 1939. But a hostile British administration of Palestine would not find it difficult to utilize other recommendations and qualifications in the report to restrict further Jewish immigration, land purchase, and development.

It is clear that the American members of the committee had to make important concessions to the British in order to win the recommendation for the admission of the 100,000. Most serious of all is the absence of any concrete proposal to implement the report's bi-nationalist principles, to make any change looking toward the development of self-government on the basis of Arab-Jewish cooperation. On the contrary, Arab-Jewish political differences are seized upon, as in the past, to excuse the continuance of a form of government for Palestine suited only to the most backward parts of Africa. That government, as the committee itself describes it, is one in which "neither Jews nor Arabs have been included in the higher ranks," and in which British officials exercise "as much authority as in a country where the mass of the inhabitants are in a primitive stage of civilization."

This is bound to infuriate the Arabs, who want at least the beginnings of self-government for the country. It is bound to infuriate the Jews, because there is no assurance of enough immigration after admission of the 100,000 to make the abandonment of the idea of a Jewish state acceptable. Crown Colony government by largely unsympathetic Colonial Office officials would be continued and given new powers over Jewish education and the Jewish community. At the same time these officials would have the power to restrict future Jewish immigration as they pleased on the ground that "it is the right of every independent nation to determine . . . the number of immigrants to be admitted to its lands." Hypocrisy was never more unabashed. Most infuriating of all is the fact that under Recommendation 6 these officials could open Palestine's gates to anti-Semitic and reactionary Poles loyal to the late government in exile. They might

also use some very oily language about the religious interest of Christendom in Palestine to justify interfering with such schemes as the Jordan Valley Authority.

Prime Minister Attlee's statement in the Commons makes the whole affair seem a kind of cruel tease. That the British government should want the assurance of American help in implementing the recommendations is thoroughly understandable. To establish a second condition, an impossible condition rejected by the committee, is to bring the good faith of the British government into question. What Mr. Attlee wants in effect is American help in disarming the Jews of Palestine. Why he wants to disarm the Jews at a time when Britain declares itself

fearful of an Arab uprising is a question the reader will have to answer for himself. Mr. Truman, to whose insistence we owe the recommendation on the 100,000, may yet save the day by pressing for admission of the 100,000 while offering American aid in settling them and in making it clear to the Arabs that America stands firmly behind Britain. I still think the key to the future lies in rehabilitation of the whole Middle Eastern area, including the Jordan Valley, in a way which will benefit both Jews and Arabs. America has the capital if Britain has the vision. All the fine words and constructive possibilities in this new report will go down the drain of history unless Mr. Truman and Mr. Attlee get together.

Leftism in the Atomic Age

BY NORMAN ANGELL

Author of "The Great Illusion," "Let the People Know," and other books; recipient in 1933 of the Nobel Peace Prize

IN THE discussions of the atomic bomb the most fundamental considerations seem to get the least attention. Little consideration, for instance, seems to have been given in this context to the truth that men, particularly in political matters, are not guided by the facts but by their opinions about the facts, opinions which can so readily, by common emotional processes, become the kind held by millions of educated Germans who were passionately convinced that the war was caused by Jews, or by the tens of millions of intelligent Americans who believed after the First World War that it had been caused by armament makers or by bankers used as tools by British capitalists bent on swollen profits (like those, presumably, which British capitalists are now enjoying)—ideas voiced by all Communists and some Socialists during the first two years of the war just ended.

The history of every revolution which devours its children, of every religion which sets up inquisitions to rack and burn the heretic for the greater glory of God, should warn us that we are far more likely to throw the bomb at each other quarreling over rival doctrines than quarreling over conflicting interests. Interests we can compromise with no sense of sin; ideologies must be held inviolate, and passionate conviction, or fanaticism, becomes a virtue.

But it is a virtue which in the atomic age may destroy us. We know from repeated experience that two men of differing social doctrine might travel together over Russia, witness exactly the same things, and return with conflicting accounts and diametrically opposed conclusions. Access to the facts, though indispensable, is not enough. With it must go a realization of the need to discipline doctrinal prepossessions which distort inter-

pretation of the facts. If in 1920 the American public rejected Wilson and his policy, embraced isolationism, and after a decade and a half of discussion sanctioned the Neutrality Act—which had its part in bringing on World War II—it was not because in all those years the facts were unavailable. The trouble, as in the British acceptance of appeasement as the road to peace, was the mood and temper in which the facts were selected and interpreted. The temper of nationalism has heretofore been the main mischief. That has now been largely replaced, or perhaps reinforced, by the rancorous partisanship of social and economic doctrine, which can be just as intolerant and blinding, and even more dangerous.

WORLD AUTHORITY FOR WHAT PURPOSE?

Assuming such habits of the human mind are encouraged, what chance has a world parliament of agreeing upon the ultimate purpose of power in the international society of the future? Yet that is the purpose upon which we must agree if world authority is both to control the bomb and to preserve the freedoms we fought for in two world wars. If "peace" alone, whatever its price in freedom, is our aim, we could have had it by submission to Hitler or the Japanese.

Whether or not we achieve freedom as well as peace will depend upon our answer to this question: Is the purpose of the future world authority to uphold the true doctrine in matters of political, economic, and social faith, or is it to uphold the right to challenge the doctrine laid down by authority, to criticize and discuss it and reject it? More and more of late the left has drifted away from this latter position of freedom toward the position that power must be used to enforce the true

doctrine. This tendency endangers the basic principle upon which modern free societies have grown up.

Under leftist influences the clear and simple purpose with which the war began has not merely been changed; it has been reversed, or stands in obvious danger of so being. The war began as the assertion of the right of each nation to be free from external coercion as to the social or political system under which it preferred to live, the assertion of the right of each to his own way of life so long as that did not threaten others. When Britain and France faced what they knew would be the almost annihilating cost of a second war within a quarter-century in order to defend Poland, it was not because they regarded Poland as a model state, or liked its methods, but because the first of all national rights, the right to exist, had to be defended if nations—including the British and French nations—were to retain that right. The right of each to choose its system was implicit in the action of the Western democracies. The effect of America's entrance into the war, for instance, was to make sure that Russia should have the right to remain Communist, just as the effect of Russia's entrance was to help America retain capitalism, or free enterprise. This "right to choose" represents the one completely common interest of all nations, overriding doctrinal or ideological differences—a common purpose upon which peace and freedom may be built. If as a condition precedent to cooperation in the war Russia had had to renounce Communism, or America capitalism, there would have been no cooperation, even for war. And cooperation for peace is much more difficult.

Soon after the war began, its original purpose of defending the right of each nation to its own mode of life free of foreign subjugation was repudiated by much of the left. "Mere" national survival was not, we were told, the real purpose of the war. Its purpose was to bring about a revolutionary social and political change the world over. It was to be the midwife of a new social order, as a common expression put it. It was, in other words, to bring in socialism, though there is nothing upon which Socialists differ so bitterly as on what socialism really is and what measures are necessary for its success—as witness the successive changes of party line in Russia, the differences which led to the purges, the fact that Moscow is in much deeper conflict with a Socialist British government than it was with a Tory one, as Molotov himself avowed.

• DOES SOCIALISM "MEAN PEACE"?

Professor Harold Laski, discussing the bomb in what he seemed to regard as the appropriate spirit, and speaking in this country while the loan asked for by the Labor government from capitalist America was still undecided, insisted that the danger of atomic war lies, not in the nature of the public mind, not in tendencies within all

of us that have come down from age-old tribal conflict and need discipline, but in the presence in Western society of "the business man." On no account, he said, should there be any compromise with this "capitalist class." Understanding and adjustment are out of the question. The capitalist order must be utterly abolished and a completely new civilization erected. He assured us that Nazism—which happens to be short for National Socialism—was "the culmination of a society built upon the anarchy of free enterprise." He added: "There is no middle way. Free enterprise and the market economy mean war; socialism and the planned economy mean peace. All attempts to find a compromise are a satanic illusion."

Earlier, Laski had assured us in *The Nation* that the present is "no time for half measures," that "liberal democracy has broken down . . . it belongs to an age that has passed." Note the implications. Retention of any vestige of capitalism means war, which means atomic war, which means annihilation. Taken at its face value, the proposition justifies the extreme crusading form of Russian policy, since safety from the utter physical destruction of atomic warfare depends on complete liquidation of capitalism everywhere and the substitution for it of pure, unqualified socialism. But apart from the bitter disagreements among Socialists as to what true socialism is, we know that for a very long time there are likely to remain in the United States and perhaps in England features of economic life which the purist would condemn as belonging to the fatal system of "free enterprise and the market economy"; just as recently some leftist purists have excommunicated Switzerland and Sweden as fascist states.

Our concern at the moment is how to establish with Russia the same sort of confidence about the use of atomic weapons that already exists between Britain and the United States. No one in the United States is really disturbed by the fact that Britain possesses the bomb secret and Canada its raw material. The confidence exists despite much raucous ill-feeling over the loan, Palestine, Greece, Java, Siam, India. Why, then, misgiving in the case of Russia? Hatred of socialism? But success of the British form of socialism is likely to be more disturbing to the American capitalist than anything Russia has produced in the last thirty years. The reason for the greater misgiving concerning Russia's possession of the bomb lies in political facts which so much of the left insists are of secondary importance. To put it bluntly, many in the West fear what might be done with atomic armaments by a dictator—who tomorrow may not be Stalin—or a small committee not subject to free public criticism, lacking the mental and moral discipline which comes from criticism, not subject to parliamentary check or removal, as was even such an able and popular leader as Churchill in the West.

On the Russian side there are equally deep fears of the West. For a quarter of a century the Russian people have been indoctrinated with the official theology that peace and capitalism are incompatible, that the West can never be trusted so long as it retains its present economic system, that Western democracy is a sham since power rests in the hands of a capitalist class ready to seize any opportunity to weaken Russia and undermine its security. Much of this has been recently reaffirmed by Stalin himself, who reasserted, undiluted, all the slogans, all the incantations. Obviously so long as such a view is dominant in Russia relations with the West will be extremely difficult. And much of our left is at pains to assure Moscow that the Russian view is entirely sound and Russian suspicions entirely justified—which is hardly a good beginning for understanding, unless it is assumed that the West will accept the Russian system and the Russian way of life. It is the more tragic because if the simple facts of experience instead of abstract doctrine and rival ideologies governed policy, a basis of cooperation for peace could assuredly be found. But, once more, fact and doctrine are in amazing conflict, as events reveal.

LEFTIST THEORY VS. THE FACTS

In the inter-war years the left was insistent that the capitalist West was bent upon alliance with Germany to crush socialist Russia, that the impending war would be along the lines of the Marxist "class conflict." This theory and forecast can now be judged by the event, the facts, which are these: (1) When a Tory-capitalist government in Britain declared war it was not against socialist Russia but against fascist Germany. (2) It was Communist Russia, not the capitalist West, which formed a pact with fascist Germany, a pact which, the probabilities indicate, enabled Germany to begin the war before the Western democracies were ready. (3) Communist parties everywhere for nearly two years aided, not the Western democracies, but Germany, by moral and sometimes material sabotage of the Allied war effort. (4) When Hitler offered Britain peace on the condition that, in return for keeping its empire, it remain neutral while Germany crushed Russia, it was a Tory-imperialist-capitalist Prime Minister of a direly harassed Britain who refused the offer and became instead the ally of socialist Russia. (5) The resources of the greatest capitalist power in the world, America, were freely given to insure the victory of Communist Russia and enable it to become the greatest military power in the world.

These are the facts. They invalidate a great part of the leftist thesis of the last twenty years. If they were faced instead of being systematically distorted they would be recognized as furnishing a basis for peaceful cooperation between Russia and the West.

If the purpose of international cooperation is to enable each nation to live free from outside dictation under

the particular social, political, and economic system which it prefers and for which its background and circumstances fit it, we know that the thing can be done, because we did it during the war. When Churchill, on that fateful Sunday morning of June, 1941, offered Russia Britain's fullest aid in the fight against aggression, he did not exact that in the future Russia must abandon communism. He realized that the two nations had a common interest which transcended ideological or economic differences. No one believed then that the Allies were fighting for some particular kind of socialism not yet defined or agreed upon, some kind which must, presumably, be agreeable to Moscow. Does anyone really believe now that peace or freedom lies along the road of making international power the instrument of some particular economic, or social, or political creed, as once the church so mistakenly attempted to make force the instrument of its religious creed, establishing its Gestapo or N. K. V. D. in the shape of the Inquisition?

The task of a Russian government compelled to ask heavy sacrifices of its people will of course be greatly facilitated if it can paint a picture of a hostile world ready to pounce upon the socialist fatherland and can quote leaders and learned professors of the West in support of that picture. The nationalism to which every government at times appeals is immensely reinforced by the Marxist theology. And any foreign office would rejoice to possess such agents and allies in every country of the world as Russia possesses in the Communist parties of the world and in their fellow-traveling allies. But since power is, for any government or nation, a heady wine, we do not add to the chances of peace by deliberately, through our own action, making the power of one particular nation completely overwhelming, especially a nation persuaded by its government that it is menaced by the very existence of the form of society prevailing outside its borders.

DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES OR VIOLENT CHANGE?

The issue is not one between socialism and capitalism. There is not a capitalist nation in the world which is not accepting increasing degrees of socialism. The issue is whether social development shall be carried out by the democratic processes, with agreement of the groups concerned achieved by open, fair, and decent discussion, or shall be imposed by the "dictatorship of the proletariat," which means the violence, both moral and physical, of small, tightly organized parties forming a new privileged class prepared to abolish the older political freedoms.

The issue is essentially political, not economic; at bottom, like most political issues, it is psychological—the desire of one party or sect to dominate its rivals, a human impulse now rationalized by a pretentious and misleading philosophy of historical necessity.

OPA—Round Two

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting Company

Washington, May 2

A CLUMSY remark blurted out by Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson has slowed the drive for a strong price-control bill in the Senate.

Anderson sat down at the Senate Banking Committee table last Wednesday with the avowed purpose of supporting price controls. Facing him was an uncommonly large number of

Senators, twelve.

The rest of the room was filled by the big bluff men who represent the farm lobbies in Washington.

The Secretary, a tall, easygoing man, started out by reading his prepared statement. It began positively: "As long as the present inflationary pressures exist, strong price-control measures are the first essen-

tial toward preventing disastrous farm depression." It ended much more feebly: "As the situation now stands, the only safe course is to renew price-control legislation." Even the House of Representatives would go along on that.

Under questioning by the Senators Anderson grew a little uneasy, and not quite so sure about price controls. Alben Barkley, the Democratic majority leader, told of a stockman who normally slaughters seven thousand cattle a week and is now cut down to five hundred. Anderson shook his head sadly. Yes, that was common. That was why the Department of Agriculture reluctantly established new quotas—to channel cattle back to the legitimate slaughterers. He hoped this would work, but he added gloomily that the packers were not very hopeful.

Senator Bankhead, an old Southern Democrat and no friend of the OPA, pricked up his ears. He asked, "Suppose this slaughter quota does not work?"

The Secretary then blurted out, "We would have to try something else. One way would be to take off price controls on meat." He caught himself, and added hastily, "Of course, we wouldn't want to do that."

But the deed had been done. Senator Bankhead kept

after him: "How long should the controls be tried until they are given up?" Anderson guessed about ninety days. He admitted, in answer to another question, that if meat controls were lifted, pork would go up to 70 cents a pound. But he airily dismissed rising food prices by saying, "The people aren't worrying about food prices. Why some people don't mind paying \$1 a pound for butter."

The Secretary of Agriculture gave aid and comfort to the enemies of price control in another exchange. Senator Taft drily suggested that the OPA deliberately took controls off citrus fruits because it knew supplies were short and prices would fly up. Anderson blithely said yes, citrus growers did want ceilings off but did not want them taken off "at the time." Taft nodded his head grimly. Later he told reporters that the testimony of the Secretary of Agriculture was "very significant."

That same afternoon, Wednesday, the publicity men in the Department of Agriculture were busily trying to "clarify" the position of the Secretary. His words had been misconstrued.

Before this incident the drive to keep strong controls was steadily gaining momentum. All the desks and filing cabinets in one small room in the Senate Office Building are overflowing with postcards, letters, and telegrams. These are part of the avalanche of mail that has fallen on Capitol Hill since the wild night of April 17, when the House of Representatives went berserk on the OPA bill. In one week, April 21 to 27, the clerks in the office of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee counted 30,000 pieces of mail on the OPA. This was mail addressed just to the committee, not to individual members. The outpouring of grass-roots sentiment has been running about 98 per cent for and 2 per cent against the OPA.

In the long, dignified room next door the Senators on the committee are not unaware of the deluge of mail. There has been a subtle change in the way they ask questions of witnesses.

Even Senator Capehart of Indiana, who looks like a somewhat rundown, beaten-up kewpie doll, with a red curl at the top of his forehead, is no longer heckling the pro-OPA witnesses with such reckless abandon as he showed ten days ago. In those good old days the Senator used to smile nastily at the friends of the OPA and suggest that they were enemies of free enterprise. But the other day, after the mailman began dropping OPA letters in his office, Senator Capehart made a practically



Senator Taft

revolutionary statement, for him. He lightly said the House amendments were not all that could be desired, and suggested that perhaps price controls might stay until production of the items affected reached 200 per cent of the pre-war level.

Senator Millikin, another Republican who has had his little fun with the folks who want price control, would not even go as far as Capehart in fixing a definite percentage for ending controls. Millikin rebuked Capehart, saying, "I don't think you can de-control according to any numerical formula . . . but rather on current facts." Millikin politely asked William Green, of the A. F. of L., the witness of the moment, if he had any suggestions about how the price line could be held.

Even Taft, who seemed two weeks ago to have a confirmed distaste for all price controls, has remarked somewhat imperiously that the House went too far. He is not for all the amendments tacked on in the House.

The Republicans on the Senate committee are on a very hot seat. The House Republicans, led by Joe Martin, went down the line for the crippling amendments. (There were some notable exceptions.) The Senate

Republicans are trying to absolve the party of blame for the night of April 17 while not completely repudiating their brethren in the House. Involved and delicate negotiations are made necessary by the even number of the year. Elections are coming.

Senators Taft and Millikin have taken the lead in searching for a compromise. They would like some magic figure that could be written into the bill and that would appear when price controls were no longer needed—or popular. Chester Bowles could then dissolve the OPA with salaams toward Congress.

The Republicans would like to get the credit for saving price controls in the Senate and for hastening the liquidation of OPA. At every hearing Taft and Millikin have been sounding out witnesses on some formula for removing controls.

The Administration Senators—until the Clinton Anderson testimony—have been sitting back with quiet smiles on their faces. They have privately advised Chester Bowles and Paul Porter not to back down an inch. But the gangling, pleasant Secretary of Agriculture has thrown a small monkey wrench into their plans.

Browder's Mission to Moscow

BY ROBERT BENDINER

BEFORE me is a document, until now confined strictly to Communist Party circles, that throws into sharp relief Earl Browder's mission to Moscow. This paper, in the light of which Browder's journey should be considered, is the full text of his defense against the accusations of his erstwhile comrades. It is a cautious plea, the defense of a man who, though bitter toward the leadership that has cast him into the pit of the damned, is far from ready to acknowledge the permanence of his interment. He is careful to preserve intact every tenet of the "line" that he carried out with zeal in the days of his power, and he clearly hopes that this same line will once again be operative.

It is this hope, in fact, that gives Browder's trip an importance far transcending both his personal fate and the factional rowing of the Communists, which normally would be their own concern and of small interest to the heathen. For Browder's hope can only be realized as part of a much larger change—a change in the Kremlin itself from a policy of lone-wolf defensiveness and suspicion of the Western capitalist powers to one of determined collaboration, involving the free give-and-take, the willingness to compromise, that characterizes the conduct of nations genuinely bent on subordinating differences for the sake of a broad objective.

Browder's visit—"to study political life" in the Soviet Union, as he puts it—implies at least the possibility of such a switch. It is unthinkable that Duclos, of the French Communist Party, would have launched the bitter attack that resulted in Browder's expulsion without the support, and probably even the instigation, of powerful figures in the Political Bureau of the party's Central Committee. It is equally naive to believe that without similarly lofty sanction the Soviet Union, fanatically cautious about admitting routine journalists, tourists, and salesmen, would accept into the country a man outlawed by the American Communist Party as "a social-imperialist," an "unreconstructed revisionist," a "renegade" given to "rotten liberal attitudes," and similar high crimes and misdemeanors.

The only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the Browder visit, therefore, is either that a major shift in policy has already been decided upon—and there is no indication whatever that such is the case—or that for the first time in a decade a major difference of opinion is now being threshed out within the walls of the Kremlin. The resolution of such a difference, hinted at by more than one competent observer, might well find its first expression in the success or failure of the Browder mission. With this acute possibility in mind, it is profitable

to examine the Browder defense, which the party has managed to keep to itself and which Browder himself has rigidly refused to make public.

Eight months after his fall from the leadership of the party Browder was called before the Yonkers Club, presumably his local unit, to discuss his "relations with the party." On this occasion, February 1, 1946, Browder submitted a lengthy reply to charges brought up a month earlier at a Westchester County membership meeting. The accusations included political passivity, non-attendance at meetings, and the advancement and stubborn maintenance of "Keynesian ideas." To these charges the National Board subsequently added the accusations that Browder had "continuously resisted the program and decision of the convention," that "by refusing to accept any assignment from the party" he had "violated party discipline," that he had "carried on factional activity," that he had "adopted an equivocal attitude" at the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities," that he entertained an "enemy-class ideology," that he had become an "adviser to big business," and that he had dropped his "political passivity" only to embark on "attempts to involve certain comrades"—presumably in his Keynesian heresy—and to "broaden his contacts with individual members and sympathizers."

Much of the defense is hardly of general concern, though it is not lacking in human interest. To the charge of "political passivity," for example, Browder argued that having "received no invitation to participate in any form of political activity from the party leadership," he feared "to take any personal initiative in the matter, knowing that any such move . . . would bring charges of factionalism." But, the once lionized leader admitted:

It is further true that I heard of a proposal by a member of the National Board that I should be given a job scrubbing floors in the National Office. If there had been any evidence that there existed a real need for my services in this capacity, I would gladly have given them. However, since the proposal was rather one of granting pension to a needy but worthless former employee, I did not see fit to take this suggestion seriously.

To the graver accusation of Keynesian heresy, Browder pleaded insufficient acquaintance with the writings of the British economist "to pass upon the question definitively," and contented himself with pointing out that "even Lenin found many points of agreement with bourgeois writers on imperialism, particularly Hobson." But he denied that he had "advanced and stubbornly maintained any ideas whatsoever, either Keynesian or otherwise, since the last party convention, except the decision of that convention." The characterization of his views as "enemy-class ideology" he scorned as "preposterous babbling, a parrot-like repetition of the formula by which the Trotskyites were condemned in the Soviet Union," though in their case, he pointed out, carefully preserving

his status as a Stalinist in good standing, the formula was justly applied "after years of patient and thorough refutation of all their views, and after they had plunged into violent sabotage, armed rebellion, and conspiracy with the fascist enemy abroad."

Passing over the purely intramural aspects of the defense, we come to the real core of the matter, to wit, Browder's insistence that, far from having violated the decisions adopted by the last party convention, he was attempting to preserve them from the onslaught of William Z. Foster and his followers. The principal decision, Browder says, was "that the American people resolutely support every effort of the Truman Administration to carry forward the policies of the Roosevelt-labor-Democratic coalition."

Again and again he reverts to this theme:

The only charge that might lie against me in relation to the convention decisions is that I failed to speak up to criticize and oppose the steps taken by Foster, supported by his associates in the leadership, to withdraw from the Roosevelt-labor-Democratic coalition and to break up the Truman Administration *at a moment when it was improving its implementation of Roosevelt's foreign policy* and aligning itself with labor in the biggest inner political struggle since 1944. . . .

What has happened to these . . . key decisions given to the party by its national convention? They have been completely abandoned, and in their place there has been developed in practice, in life, the opposite strategy of *breaking up the Roosevelt-labor-Democratic coalition, dealing with the Truman Administration as the chief enemy* instead of as the governmental expression of the coalition of which we are part and support. Has this right-about-face by the Communist Party, revising the convention resolution, been forced upon us because the other parties to the coalition have broken it up or because the Truman Administration has gone over to the reactionaries? *No, the Communist Party is the only group of serious importance to leave the coalition, and the Truman Administration is under the sharpest assault from the reactionaries without shirking the issues which keep it at the head of an ever-more-consolidated Roosevelt-labor-Democratic coalition.* [Italics mine.]

Wedded to the belief that the war-time alliance can be prolonged through the years of reconstruction and wholly opposed to the Duclos program of militant intransigence on all fronts, Browder bitterly attacks Foster for having "called upon Wallace and Ickes to resign from Truman's Cabinet, knowing that such a development would wreck the Administration and with it all prospects for the most favorable outcome of the strike movement, *as well as wrecking the favorable trend of international relations*" (my italics).

There is the essence of the matter—the cleavage that Browder's trip to Moscow indicates has now extended to the Kremlin itself: long-term collaboration between the

Soviets and the capitalist governments of the West, or a continuation of the present cycle of suspicion, truculence, distrust, and still deeper suspicion. The Truman Administration, I believe, genuinely wants to see that cycle broken, and it does not seem too far-fetched to read

that desire in the ease with which Browder obtained a passport valid for the Soviet Union. After all, it is not a routine matter to grant this privilege to a man with a prison record—especially when that record was acquired precisely for violation of passport regulations.

Czechoslovakia's Rebirth

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

II

Paris, April 30

ON HIS return from Moscow, where he had signed a trade treaty with the Soviet Union, Dr. Ripka, the Minister for Foreign Trade, was able to give his colleagues in the Cabinet convincing assurances about Russia's attitude toward his country. At no time did Dr. Ripka detect any sign of Soviet desire to interfere in Czechoslovak politics, either domestic or international. The treaty took into account the reciprocal interests of both countries; it was not a settlement dictated by a great power to a small power. The industries of Czechoslovakia, which already are beginning to struggle with the problem of markets, can now plan their production in such a way as to send the Soviet Union many products of which it is short. The opportunities are great, and the doors stand wide open. In order to improve transport the Russians will return to Czechoslovakia for use on the Danube all the vessels seized during the war. Prices of goods exchanged will meet world price levels when these are available; on unquoted goods the prices will be fixed by mutual agreement. The financial clauses are extraordinarily elastic, combining the advantages of clearing with that of payment through the foreign exchanges. But even more than the positive advantages achieved by the treaty, it was the spirit in which it was negotiated that led Dr. Ripka, one of the most conservative members of the Cabinet, to say in a press conference: "Certain Western circles seem not to understand how present economic developments naturally lead to close collaboration with the Soviet Union. It is sheer misinterpretation of the actual relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union if it is presumed that Czechoslovak foreign trade is under the control of the Soviet Union. I wish that everywhere and in all circumstances our trade were respected to the extent it is in Moscow."

Ripka had a long talk with Stalin. He reported the Soviet leader in good physical shape and "full of realistic optimism regarding Russian reconstruction and confident that the obstacles to international cooperation will be overcome." Concerning Czechoslovakia Ripka reinforced the view expressed to me by other high Czech officials and even some foreign diplomats. It really looks as if

Moscow accepted President Benes's view of Czechoslovakia as a kind of bridge between Eastern and Western Europe—a role that can be filled only if Prague remains independent. I know that in many European diplomatic circles the President's conviction is considered naive, and he is even ridiculed for imagining himself able to escape Russian domination. But certain facts cannot be denied. In neighboring countries the Soviet occupation armies remain at almost their original strength, while in Czechoslovakia the four hundred thousand Russian soldiers who were left at the end of the war have been reduced to two thousand, according to figures given me by Foreign Minister Masaryk. Already this places Czechoslovakia in a privileged position. It is not only that the withdrawal of the Russian forces has relieved the national budget of an almost unbearable burden; what is more important, it has removed the ill feeling that the presence of an occupation army always creates.

The trade treaty with Moscow has also placed Czechoslovakia in a comfortable financial position. When I talked to Prime Minister Fierlinger about the possibility of a loan from the United States, he reacted coolly to the idea of following other European countries on their pilgrimage to Washington in search of money. He did not seem particularly interested in getting a loan which might result in an attempt, direct or indirect, to interfere with Czechoslovakia's socialist program. Not that his government intends to push the nationalization policy through without considering legitimate foreign interests, but the Czechs prefer to do this of their own accord as part of their traditional policy of fulfilling international obligations, not as an act of submission in exchange for credits or loans. They are firm in their belief that only by moving toward a socialist economy can the country secure a better future for all the people; they will allow none to interfere with this purpose.

On the other hand, Czechoslovakia will resist any effort to make it go faster or farther than it wants to go. The social revolution finds here its natural frontier in the field of individual liberty. Apparently that fact is accepted by Moscow as well as by the Czech Communists. It was the most prominent Communist member of the government, Vice-Premier Gottwald, who told me that there is not now the slightest censorship of the press,

that freedom of assembly is even more complete than before the war, that, as I could see from the election posters hanging all over Prague, every political party has its own personality and the right to express its own point of view. To an amazing degree Czechoslovakia is putting into practice the doctrine so long preached by progressives of the necessity to harmonize wide social reform with respect for the individual.

The job which confronted Benes when he came back to his country was not an easy one. It was particularly difficult in the domain of foreign policy. Here Jan Masaryk shares with the President the credit for creating a situation of reciprocal confidence with Russia while maintaining the old ties with the West. Before I left Prague I attended a dinner given by the French embassy for Léon Jouhaux, who had come to participate in the trade-union congress. Many important Czechoslovak labor leaders took part. It was the first real sign since the war of renewed French-Czech friendship. Jouhaux spoke with great sincerity, admitting all the reasons from 1938 on

for Czech distrust of the West but explaining at the same time what France stands for and how it feels today.

The Czech trade-union leader, Zapotocky, replied with equal frankness. He said that if the France of 1938 had survived the war there could be no hope of good relations; with the new France which had emerged from the liberation, purged of the corruption and reaction that produced Munich, there must be not only friendship but the closest cooperation. No one can expect Czechoslovakia to become anti-Russian or allow itself to be used for anti-Russian intrigue. The Soviet power is too great; and also the feeling of kinship and gratitude is too strong. Russia had no share in Munich, and Russia freed Czechoslovakia. These things will never be forgotten. But close relations with Russia, the Czechs believe, should not prove an obstacle to genuine collaboration with the West in the supreme task of securing Europe against a repetition of the catastrophes of 1914 and 1939.

[The first part of Mr. del Vayo's report on Czechoslovakia appeared last week.]

A Plea for Puerto Rico

BY LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

Writer, editor, and president of the Puerto Rican senate

SHALL Puerto Rico be free—free to live, not to die in an economic vacuum? Shall the United States continue to be classified as a colonial empire because it insists, for no good reason, on continuing a colonial system of government in Puerto Rico? These are two questions on which Puerto Rico and the United States constantly clash; and yet their basic interests are identical. Puerto Rico does not want to be a colony. The United States would benefit from not having colonies. It is time for this agreement to be expressed in common action. The undeniable economic fact that Puerto Rico cannot survive without a free market in the United States should not be used as a reason for thwarting the desire of both parties to liquidate Puerto Rico's colonial status. If that is the reality, let us exercise some creative statesmanship to solve the problem by recognizing that reality. If the United States says to Puerto Rico, "We give you liberty and death," it will be choosing against its own interests to leave the problem unsolved.

Puerto Rico today is facing three major tasks which it hopes to be able to accomplish in accordance with the democratic principles for which eighty thousand Puerto Ricans gave service in the war. These tasks are to improve the basic economic situation, to settle the island's future political status, and to consider who shall be its next governor, after Rexford Tugwell retires in July.

The economic situation is the result of economic injustices, poor natural resources, and a large and growing population. Only half of the island's 3,500 square miles are tillable. So far as is known, the subsoil holds no resources of value. The population of 2,100,000—580 per square mile—is increasing at the rate of 55,000 a year. By 1960 the particularly hard-working stork assigned to Puerto Rico, aided by a declining death rate, will have filled the island with three million human beings.

For a long time Puerto Rico's population and production increased together. Then, in 1934, production stopped increasing, while the population continued to grow. In 1934 we had 1,600,000 inhabitants. Now we have half a million more, with about the same production. How do we get along? Artificial federal aid and war expenditures, coinciding with a more liberal attitude in Washington, have helped. Moreover, since 1940 Puerto Rico has had a people's government—ratified by huge majorities in 1944—which has passed legislation designed both to increase production and to distribute more equitably what is produced. During these past five years we have had no more political power than we had before, but the liberal views of President Roosevelt and now of President Truman have allowed us to take certain vigorous measures to improve economic conditions.

Since we must look forward to having a population of

three million in 1960, the hard but by no means impossible task before us is to increase production, under conditions of fair distribution, not only to the point where the present unemployment can be absorbed but to the point where the constant increase in population can be supported. And further, to the point where no federal aid is needed. And finally, to the point where the minimum annual income per family reaches about \$700, which in Puerto Rico is the level where the stork becomes careful, the birth rate declines, and the stabilization of population begins. This hard job calls for intensive use of the land and for industrialization. Quite possibly we cannot reach our goal by 1960. But we feel confident that given sufficient time we can do it. The present government is working constantly toward this end.

The problem of our political status must be solved because the Puerto Ricans are too proud and politically too mature to be governed any longer as a colony. It must be solved also because we have had the political authority to tackle our economic problem in recent years only through the tolerance of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations and the magnificent spirit of Governor Tugwell. We have no right to risk our future, the very life of our people, on such fortuitous circumstances. Nor has the United States the right.

The American people clearly have no interest in holding Puerto Rico as a colony—at least they have no intelligent interest in so doing. Possession of Puerto Rico may benefit a few absentee American companies, but it certainly does not affect the standard of living of the American people. (I assume that the United States will always have military and naval bases wherever they are necessary for national and hemispheric security.) On the other hand, if Puerto Rico is held as a colony, the United States must be classified as a colonial empire, which is certainly a liability for a nation whose world policy can be so greatly aided by the affection and confidence of dependent peoples.

There is, of course, more than one way of abolishing Puerto Rico's colonial status; the most obvious would be the granting of independence. But no political set-up can endure in Puerto Rico if it prevents the economic development that is necessary to overcome the existing poverty and safeguard our people from collapse. This means that for many years—as many as are needed for intensive industrial development—free trade relations with the United States must continue. It means that for a shorter period, until industrial development has reached a certain level, the federal aid on which our people have become dependent must be continued, diminishing as production increases. I believe the United States should do this because for forty-seven years it has been responsible for economic conditions here and has allowed the people of Puerto Rico no real political control. Apart from that, it would be eminently wise for the United

States, for its own sake, to set an example in the treatment of a dependent people.

When Puerto Ricans present this point of view, they frequently receive the shortsighted answer that if they get political control they will be deprived of economic support, and if they keep the economic support they will not have political independence. Aside from the responsibility the United States has incurred and aside from its intelligent interest in abolishing the colonial system in Puerto Rico, the chaos that would result if independence were granted without the economic relations indicated should influence the United States Congress not to place insurmountable obstacles in the way of solving the problem of political status.

As for the governorship, the appointment of a man unsympathetic to the policies voted for by the Puerto Rican people would create incalculable confusion. In the last elections in Puerto Rico Governor Tugwell received a two-to-one indorsement against the most virulent opposition ever encountered by an insular administration. Our people want Governor Tugwell to stay. But if his post becomes vacant, as now appears probable, we hold that Puerto Rico is too mature politically to be ruled by a governor appointed out of a clear sky—or a clouded one—by influences completely alien to Puerto Rican democracy. Nor are we to be flattered by the mere appointment of a man born in Puerto Rico. We would rather have a Chinese with a policy supported by the people than a Puerto Rican with a policy repudiated by the people. We are interested in Puerto Rican democracy, in Puerto Rican well-being, not in the accident of Puerto Rican birth. This being our attitude toward a Puerto Rican *qua* Puerto Rican, it is unquestionably also our attitude towards a continental *qua* continental.

Our legislature has passed a bill calling for a vote of the whole Puerto Rican electorate on the question of whom they wish to recommend to the President of the United States as the next governor, in case the vacancy occurs before the status problem is definitely settled. If influential American Senators, organizations, and committees can make recommendations to the President regarding the governor of Puerto Rico, it seems logical that the people of Puerto Rico themselves should have a chance to express themselves on a matter of such vital importance to them.

Before the question of status is settled, it must be determined under what economic conditions Puerto Rican civilization can survive. It should then be agreed that such economic conditions will be established, whatever political status the people of Puerto Rico may vote for. Then the United States would not be in the dubious position of offering Puerto Rico liberty and death. Don't give us a tombstone with the inscription "Here lies the corpse of a free man." Give us a banner that says, "Here lives a free man, forever a friend of the American people."



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



"Something for Silver"

THE Congressional delegations from the seven mountain states, however varied their political composition, can always be relied upon to do "something for silver." This is, perhaps, the only subject on which Senator Murray of Montana, one of the most progressive men on Capitol Hill, is likely to find himself in accord with Senator Johnson of Colorado, one of the most reactionary. I am not quite sure whether a purely economic interpretation of this phenomenon is adequate. Of course the twenty-five big corporations which control 80 per cent of the silver output in the seven states, their employees, and the small operators and prospectors do swing considerable political influence. But silver provides a relatively small proportion of the income of the area; in Nevada, for instance, the divorce industry plays a much larger part in the economy. So perhaps we should conclude that the fervor of the silver bloc reflects not only material considerations but also that *mystique* which has attached itself to the precious metals from time immemorial.

Whether or not this explains the emotion which silver arouses, it certainly does not justify the privileged position which pressure tactics have secured for it. In 1934 the Silver Purchase Act directed the Treasury to buy silver until its holdings were equivalent to 25 per cent of United States monetary reserves or until the price reached \$1.29 an ounce. As a result of this legislation the world price of the metal rose, production was stimulated, hoards were released in Asia, and silver poured into Washington from all directions. Even the length of the Treasury's purse was not sufficient to support the price in the face of the increasing supplies available. The world price, which had risen from an average of 34 cents an ounce during 1933 to one of 64 cents during 1935, thereafter fell rapidly, reaching a low point of 38 cents in 1940.

American producers, however, were fully protected. After the passage of the Silver Purchase Act the price paid by the Treasury for domestic metal was raised to 77 cents an ounce, and it remained at this level until the end of 1937. It was then dropped to 64 cents, which still left it far above the world price. However, the silver bloc, feeling that any relapse was a mortal insult to an immortal metal, went to work and in 1939 succeeded in passing a new measure setting a statutory price for silver of 71 cents an ounce, or practically double the free-market quotation at the time. At this level it has remained ever since.

During the war the industrial demand for silver expanded very considerably. It was found that a small amount could replace a much larger proportion of scarce tin in solders, and it was also used for aircraft electrical installations. At the same time enlarged incomes created a bigger demand for silverware and jewelry. Manufacturers, however, could only buy foreign silver, since the domestic output all gravitated to the Treasury, and available supplies proved inadequate.

By order of the WPB imports were reserved exclusively for war production, leaving non-essential manufacturers wholly dependent on remelted metal. To remedy this situation the Green act was passed, not without much opposition from the silver bloc, permitting the sale of silver from the Treasury's free reserves at 71 cents an ounce for a limited period. This compared with an OPA ceiling on foreign silver of 45 cents.

Everybody was fairly satisfied until last August, when all controls on the metal were lifted, starting a terrific scramble for 45-cent silver, supplies of which were quite unequal to the demand. Consequently the OPA was compelled to lift the ceiling on foreign silver to 71 cents an ounce. Then at the end of 1945 the Green act expired, and consuming industries once again found themselves being squeezed. The demand for their products was terrific. In 1945 they absorbed 145,000,000 ounces—nearly five times as much as in a good pre-war year—and 1946 promised to be better if only they could buy the metal. But 1945 production in the Americas was only 127,300,000 ounces, of which United States output, absorbed wholly by the Treasury, accounted for 28,300,000. Nor was all the remainder available, for foreign owners of silver, not surprisingly, held on to their stocks in the confident hope of a new rise in prices.

Since the beginning of the year industrial users of silver have been agitating for renewal of the Green act so that idle Treasury reserves of unmonetized silver, amounting to some 245,000,000 ounces, could again be purchased. The silver bloc took a strong stand on this proposal. With a straight face Senator Johnson of Colorado charged the silversmiths "with raiding the Treasury," and the president of the Sunshine Mining Corporation, one of the largest silver producers, declared that "the profit which may inure to the Treasury [by monetizing on the basis of \$1.29 silver bought at 71 cents an ounce] . . . should not be used as a subsidy to benefit a relatively small group engaged in the manufacture and sale of luxury items." Considering the way the silver interests have battered on the Treasury, the statement shows a breath-taking gall.

But it is a very profitable variety of gall, for after a long fight behind the scenes a compromise has apparently been reached in the form of a proposed amendment to the Treasury-Post Office supply bill ordering the Treasury to pay silver producers 90 cents an ounce and sell to manufacturers at the same price, plus charges. This is to continue for two years, after which the full monetary value of \$1.29 is to be paid to the mines. As Senator McCarran of Nevada put it, "This does not mean the end of the long fight which began with 'the crime of 1873' [when the silver dollar ceased to be legal tender], but it brings the end of that fight in sight." One would like to know at just what point the silver bloc will consider its work finished. After all, an effective price of \$1.29 represents merely the sacred 16-to-1 ratio with gold at its pre-devaluation figure of \$20.67. With gold at \$35 an ounce, the ratio calls for a silver price of \$2.19! That no doubt is the ultimate, if at present unavowed, goal toward which the silver bloc will proceed unless the public, growing tired of the whole precious nonsense, insists that in the future silver must stand on its own feet as a useful but secular commodity.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS and the ARTS

By the Rivers of Babylon

LAY MY BURDEN DOWN. A Folk History of Slavery.

Edited by B. A. Botkin. University of Chicago Press.

\$3.50.

LAY MY BURDEN DOWN" is another of the fine legacies of the short-lived Federal Writers' Project. Over two thousand ex-slave narratives collected by Project interviewers were collated and arranged in seventeen volumes by the Library of Congress Project under the direction of B. A. Botkin. From this vast store, of prime interest to historian, sociologist, folklorist, and creative writer, Dr. Botkin has prepared for the general reader a selected "folk history of slavery," concentrating on oral, literary, and narrative values. The editor of *Folk-Say*, the regional annual that appeared in the thirties, and of the best-selling "Treasury of American Folklore" has chalked up another success in creative selection and integration.

The book is a new thing. It is unlike the reminiscences of ex-slaves that glutted the market with their imitations of Thomas Nelson Page's popular aunties and uncles, who alternated spirituals of adoration for old marse and missis with the blues of freedom. Slave loyalty and gratefulness are here, of course, since these many narratives include so many kinds of people, white and black. But they are by no means the ex-slave's chief concerns, and their opposites are here in plenty. Dr. Botkin is aware that in spite of instructions against editing and censorship, narratives were retouched; that the interviewers could yield to personal prejudices; that the informant, though nominally free, generally lived in a shadow of slavery where canniness pays off better than candor. Interviewers found the quick jump-back, the thrust and parry, the shocker stated with utmost blandness. One old man philosophized: "Lots of old slaves closes the door before they tell the truth about their days of slavery. When the door is open, they tell how kind their masters was and how rosy it all was. You can't blame them for this, because they had plenty of early discipline making them cautious."

The compulsion of the defender of the Old South to enumerate kind masters and that of the attacker to enumerate mean ones are not imperative here. "Lay My Burden Down" is no series of atrocities and certainly no idyl. If a few ex-slaves preen themselves on their easy life with quality white folks, the ease and quality run thin before the tale goes far. Miss Cornelia, for instance, "the finest woman in the world," would "throw dimes to the nigger children just like feeding chickens" on Sunday mornings; her finest act, it seemed, was to give out bread and butter between meals. One "bold, driving, pushing master but not a hard-hearted one" deliberately shot a slave woman in the cotton field. Probably more effective in conveying the tragedy of slavery than the inevitable accounts of sadism is the normal callous barbarity, casually administered and casually received. "Like I say, my master was a preacher and a kind man, but he had been taught that they was just like his work hosses, and if they act like his hosses they git along all right."

"Does I 'member much 'bout the slavery times? Well, there is no way for me to disremember unless I die." The men and women who throng these remembrances are not walking allegories: the whites are not the old-stock gentlemen or the crinolined belles of the legend; the slaves are not the grinning, shuffling half-wits or the corpulent embodiments of loyalty and self-forgetfulness. We hear of slaves who cringed and of others who would never "take low." Slaves were always running off to the woods; one Alabama slave even hoped to meet up with "that Harriet Tubman woman." Few of the joys are described that made one critic of the plantation tradition liken the Old South to a perpetual Mardi Gras. The workaday world comes clear; the tanning, knitting, carding, spinning, cloth-dyeing, shoemaking, blacksmithing, plowing, hoeing, clearing of new land, the cultivating of tobacco, cotton, rice, and indigo, and the cooking of the famed diet of Dixie—all are specifically here. House servants are jostled by field hands, skilled artisans, and hired-out slaves whose income bolstered the pretensions of the gentlefolk. Large plantations are infrequent in this book; here instead are the not-so-big houses sheltering hard-pressed, pestered middle-class people on the make. We see the Southern frontier moving from the upland hills to Texas and the Indian Territory; we have records of masters as various as F. F. V.'s and Creek Indians. Hunting, fishing, church-going, preaching, politicking, gambling, dramming, wenching, making a living, wasting a living; life in the backwoods, the colonnaded mansions, the city houses, the slave quarters, the slave pens—all are recalled. And suddenly across the workaday fabric will flash the bright colors of melodrama—quarrels, fights, and murders. A slave boy in revenge for punishment reveals his mistress's clandestine love affair to the enraged master; a bitter woman rails because the children of the seamstress look so much like her husband; a black giant "not scared of nothing" is shot down "with a hole in his chest as big as your fist."

Unglamorized but gratefully remembered is the coming of the Yankees; the freedom they brought overcame the crude propaganda against them. Pictures of corncribs and ginhouses burning, of stock being driven away, of proud masters and mistresses humbled, are repeated. Hearing that the Negroes were free, some masters got sick unto death; one "bent himself over and never did straighten his body no more." A few slaves are remembered as staying on, "but the rest was just like birds, they just flew." Hard times did not end with the war, however, for the Ku Kluxers, peonage, and share-cropping took up where the hated "patterollers" and slavery left off. The insults and indignities of the present occasionally make the past more attractive. Some ex-slaves wish by-gones to be by-gones. "Most of 'em is dead and gone now. No matter whether they were Southern white folks or Northern white folks they is dead now." Others share the belief that "God is punishing some of them old suckers and their children right now for the way they use to treat us." A surprising number, considering their age and section, sympathize with the young folks who are hunting a better place

and more freedom: "The first war was 'bout freedom and the war right after it was equalization." And to the question that is too often asked, one slave recognizes the "worriment" of the present, and admits that in slavery he had no worriment. "But I takes the freedom," he says. Almost all the ex-slaves, contrary to the legend, are of his mind. "They done seed both sides."

If a few of the reminiscences pull the long bow, or are jumpy and incoherent, or ingratiating, or told with tongue in cheek, still the total impact of "Lay My Burden Down" is one of convincing reality. Several of the tragic anecdotes have an elemental starkness; the comic yarns have a folk humor that minstrelsy has sadly corrupted. The dialect is simplified, stressing truth to cadence and idiom instead of sprinkled "wuzes," "oves," "disses," "dats," and inverted commas. It is salty, pungent folksay, beside which Joel Chandler Harris and Paul Laurence Dunbar seem too sweet and arch. Together with the fine photographs—the one on the jacket evokes the tragic reality of slavery as much as any picture can—the speech helps to restore human dignity to people whose history was nearly ruined by sentimentality and condescension and downright lying.

STERLING A. BROWN

Soap, Soap, Toujours Soap

RADIO'S SECOND CHANCE. By Charles A. Siepmann. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.

THE public, sitting beside its radios, is learning not to feel like a small boy getting a free peek at a ball game through a hole in the fence. It is beginning to realize that it is a king at a command performance. For it owns the air waves; it invests \$25 in receiving sets to every \$1 that is invested in transmitting equipment; and it gives away—free—three-year broadcasting licenses to applicants selected for their ability and their pledge to serve the public. These licensees reap, on the average, an annual profit of \$2.23 for every \$1 of investment value. In return, it is not impolite to ask for decent programs. Parents are tired of seeing the work of home and school undone by radio. Women's clubs are trying to impress the networks with the high literacy rate in the United States. Soldiers who have returned from abroad have been spoiled by good programs served up without commercials. (The hypochondriac groans that we hear from pill salesmen every morning would probably have sent a good part of the army out on sick call. In fact, that very technique was used in German- and Japanese-language programs beamed to the enemy to encourage malingering.)

The whole sad story of the program trends of recent years has recently been told by the Federal Communications Commission in a copiously documented little blue book entitled "Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees." Whether that report will become the basis upon which future station grants will be made, or whether it will merely become another praiseworthy addition to the National Archives, depends entirely upon the amount of interest which the public exhibits.

"Radio's Second Chance," by Charles A. Siepmann, will

5 men who shaped the ideas of nations

Out of myths of the past and dreams of the future, national prophets have created ideal fatherlands. No matter how unreal historically or politically, these dream nations shape the policies of real nations and provide the emotional fervor which leads men to fight and die. In his new book, Professor Kohn discusses five nineteenth-century men whose thinking helped to form the national ideals of their peoples. They are:

JOHN STUART MILL, prophet of English liberalism

MICHELET, fervent apostle of the French Revolution

MAZZINI, who created the Italian nation from a vague hope in the hearts of men

TREITSCHKE, founder of the cult of the hero in Germany

DOSTOEVSKY, who roused Russian faith in a semi-Asiatic autocracy

Hans Kohn is also the author of *The Idea of Nationalism*, which the *New York Times* called "the most brilliant, all-inclusive and incisive analysis of the ideological origins of nationalism which has yet appeared in any language."

Prophets and Peoples By HANS KOHN

\$2.50 at your bookstore

MACMILLAN

be an effective catalyst to such interest. In the main it is a more forceful and colorful rewriting of the blue book itself, using adjectives and revealing names in a manner that would be indecorous in a government report. In addition, Siepmann discusses several subjects not covered in the report, most notably the politics of radio regulation. He makes some acute observations about the strong pressures which buffet the FCC, which he describes as "Washington's No. 1 whipping boy" complete with fear neuroses.

Mr. Siepmann bluntly accuses the broadcasters of a "betrayal of trust" for having "abdicated their prime responsibility to regulate the number and distribution of sponsored programs so as to insure . . . a diversity of programs." The station licensee is primarily responsible to the public, but he often ignores his own community, plugs into a network, and forgets the program problem. The network in turn yields its program-production functions to advertising agencies, which now not only write the commercials but fill in the entire hour. Since advertising agencies have no pledge to the public to fulfil and are by their very nature interested in selling goods rather than in providing public service, the presentation of a well-balanced broadcast schedule becomes a mere by-product of a peddling operation. If an advertiser thinks his best customers are morons with low sales resistance, as the soapmakers do, then he will prefer a program that will attract five morons to one that will attract ten more critical listeners. Siepmann also points out that some agencies have grown so powerful that networks fear to offend them by rejecting a proffered program, even though they would rather not have it. The pledge to the public is locked up in a safe in the legal department. The situation is summed up in a wisecrack that has gone around Radio City. A—B—, a brilliant radio director who managed army radio stations in the South Pacific, recently returned to his old job at NBC but threw it up after a month. "Hell," he said, "all NBC does these days is ring the chimes every fifteen minutes."

JERRY SPINGARN

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Pure and Threadbare Theseus

ANDRE GIDE goes back to the formula of his old "Prométhée Mal Enchaîné (which he oddly called a *sotie*)—ancient myth in ancient garb—but with a style so wilfully modern that the effect is keenly ironical. In his brief "Thésée" (Pantheon Books, \$2), the hero relates his fabulous adventures in the even tones of *un vieux Monsieur très bien*. Yet this veil of conventional elegance is shimmering. Behind it we feel rather than see the primitive and the timeless.

Shades of Racine! Ariadne, who inspired the marvelous couplet: "Ariane, ma sœur! de quel amour blessée/Vous mourutes aux bords ou vous futes laissée!"—Ariadne becomes an amusing literary snob, with whom Theseus discusses subtle points of prosody. The book, I take it, is *pure* art, gratuitous, uncontaminated with purpose, intention, or meaning. All resemblances between the author's remarks and a philosophical system are purely coincidental. Perhaps with the exception of the seventh and eighth chapters: in

these the symbols—Daedalus and Icarus—are obvious, and expressed with power.

Gide will not be tied to the reader by Ariadne's thread. In the serene evening of a long career, which had its hours of anguish, he still wants to remain untamed, *disponible*, ready for any trick of fame or fate. ALBERT GUERARD

Knight-Errant-on-Call

"MAN-EATERS OF KUMAON" (Oxford, \$2) may turn out to be one of the classics in the not overcrowded field of hunting literature; and its author, Jim Corbett, appears to be something of a museum piece himself. Though he served as a major in the British army he seems to have spent most of his life acting as a sort of knight-errant-on-call, ever ready to answer the summons of any remote Indian village and, in the grand manner, to rid it of the local terror. Man-eating tigers are so real a scourge that one is known to have killed more than four hundred persons before being disposed of; but Corbett very carefully preserves his amateur standing, with the result that his accounts are full of all the quaint punctilios of the sportsman and are in other ways also very *pukka sahib*. A former viceroy who vouches for the author recommends the book "to any genuine sportsman who wishes to earn by his own efforts the credit of shooting a tiger" as contrasted with "the so-called sportsman who feels some pride in killing a tiger when all that he has done is to fire from a safe position"; Corbett himself, before undertaking his first major adventure, made it a condition that the offer of a reward be withdrawn so that he might escape the danger of being regarded as a reward hunter. What makes the book really remarkable, however, is the straightforward, vigorous, unadorned narrative of the sort that most simple soldier men would like to write but that very few can. If, as is by no means certain, Major Corbett is a readin' man as well as a shootin' man, his favorite book may well be something in the All-Gaul-is-divided-into-three-parts style.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Agricultural Maladjustments

THEODORE W. SCHULTZ is one of our ablest and most liberal agricultural economists. His present book, "Agriculture in an Unstable Economy" (McGraw-Hill, \$2.75), prepared for the Committee for Economic Development, seeks a new basis for farm policy and in so doing makes an important contribution to our thinking on one of the nation's major economic and social problems.

Mr Schultz argues that it is not enough to correct the maladjustments within agriculture; that it is important to recognize the maladjustments between farming and the rest of society. The difference in pace and in production cycles and the instability of the business and industrial economy tend to complicate the modern farm situation, and require an agricultural policy that will serve the national interest and place the welfare of farm people on the same footing as the welfare of other groups. Such a policy would recognize that a large share of population replacement comes from the country, that American commercial agriculture has tended to overproduction in certain commodities, to under-supply in

others, and away from diversification. It would seek a revised pricing system to correct this basic situation and thus to eliminate the twin difficulties of overproduction and underemployment which lie at the heart of agriculture's problem. Mr. Schultz contends that continuing the present parity-price policy, which is so vigorously fought for by the staple crop interests in the farm bloc, will cause an over-supply in staples like cotton, wheat, and perhaps fats after we get out of the immediate post-war period of scarcities. He would substitute as a long-term measure the forward support-price system used during the war. Accurate price expectations would thus help stabilize agriculture and direct production as needed.

"Agriculture in an Unstable Economy" is definitely a challenge to thinking about an important social problem. We should not go on tolerating a situation in which the effort of farmers earns far less, relatively, than human effort earns in other parts of our economy. Mr. Schultz is clear on this, and his book should contribute much to the making of future national policy.

P. ALSTON WARING

The Atomic Economist

WHAT DOLLARS WILL BE WORTH in the coming atomic age, according to Dr. Virgil Jordan, will depend "hardly at all on labor." A reader who pays \$1.50 for this book of seventy pages (large type) will feel that this is already true. Dr. Jordan's little "Manifesto for the Atomic Age" (Rutgers, \$1.50) touches ever so briefly on several curious and sometimes conflicting themes: to wit, that the machine liberated men from feudalism but that the atomic age, which flowed out of that initiative, will carry men right back to feudalism in the form of subservience to the absolute state; that the abundance to be afforded by our new alchemy will kill us with sheer boredom; that "unlimited government has emerged as the universal victor in this war"—note the full-employment bill; that men may seek compensation for the "boredom of a push-button world in the contemplation or pursuit of some hereafter"; and that the "new age of alchemy" has already "substituted government for God." Dr. Jordan, who is president of the National Industrial Conference Board, turns a rich alliterative phrase—for example, "the process of compulsory collective consumption of the produce poured out by the atomic alchemy of the American cornucopia." The book may be read in thirty minutes and forgotten in half of that.

ROBERT BENDINER

Drums in the Fanatic Heart

THIS THIRD INSTALMENT of Sean O'Casey's autobiographical memoir "Drums Under the Windows" (Macmillan, \$4.50) covers the period from the time when the author began to do a man's work as a laborer through the days of the Easter Rising. Impressionistic, expressionistic, this chronicle has more life than sense, and more vigor and vividness than coherence, especially when its exuberance ravel out, or splurges on, into a rather shameless imitation of the manner of "Finnegans Wake." Forthright in praise and blame, the author leaves no doubt, for instance, that he despised the Countess Markiewitz and Douglass Hyde, and admired Dr. Michael O'Hickey and the Reverend E. M.

What does Russia want?

What is the background of Soviet policy toward China, Iran, Turkey, the Balkans?

Is Soviet Communism a "threat to Christian civilization" and an irreconcilable enemy of democracy?

Is an American-Russian conflict inevitable?

Can the Big Three keep the Peace?

SOVIET POLITICS

AT HOME AND ABROAD

by *Frederick L.
Schuman*

is the only book which supplies answers to these and many other burning questions of the hour—all with full documentation and a challenging interpretation of the Soviet State and its relation, past and prospective, with the Atlantic democracies.

Again in stock. At all bookshops, \$4.00

ALFRED · A · KNOPF



Griffin. O'Casey is no trimmer or hedger; whatever the latest rumors and allegations of his political conversion, an uneasy convert he must be, surely, with that rebel and fanatic heart! But who wants an Irishman with control?

Clean daft they are, every mother's son of them; but God send us more such madmen, and our sober counselors their gift of speech, the high style of the language-loving poor.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

FICTION IN REVIEW

I FIND it difficult to determine how much of my distaste for Eudora Welty's new book, "Delta Wedding" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.75), is dislike of its literary manner and how much is resistance to the culture out of which it grows and which it describes so fondly. But actually, I think, Miss Welty's style and her cultural attitude are not to be separated. It is impossible for me to conceive of a Northern or Western or, for that matter, a European or an Australian or an African scene that could provoke an exacerbation of poeticism to equal Miss Welty's in this novel. Compared to Miss Welty's sensibility, the sensibility of a Katherine Mansfield, a Sylvia Townsend Warner, a Christina Stead, or an Edith Morris—to name some of the writers, all of them women, notable in our time for the delicacy of their intensities—presents itself as a crude, corporeal thing indeed. Dolls' houses, birds, moonlight, snow, the minutiae of vulnerable young life and the sudden revelations of nature may have their distressingly persistent way of agitating the modern female literary psyche in whatever climate or social context; but it seems to me that only on a Southern plantation could the chance remark of a gardener to the effect that he wished there "wouldn't be a rose in de world" set the lady of the house to "trembling . . . as at some impudence."

It is out of tremulousnesses like this, as a matter of fact, that the whole of Miss Welty's novel is built. Dramatically speaking, nothing happens in "Delta Wedding." Miss Welty is telling the story of seven days in the life of the Fairchild family of Mississippi: it is the week in which Dabney, the seventeen-year-old daughter of the house, is being married to her father's overseer. Relatives pay calls and are called upon; meals are eaten; gifts arrive; people dance; servants rally in the established plantation fashion. Domestic bustle and a spattering of family reminiscences are all the narrative structure Miss Welty needs to house her treasures of sensibility.

And yet one suspects that, for all its tenuousness, "Delta Wedding" says precisely what it intends to say. Among evocative novelists Miss Welty is extraordinarily gifted; and if one finishes her book with a strong sense of confusion as to Miss Welty's own judgment upon certain aspects of Delta life, one has no reason to feel that it is because Miss Welty lacks the ability to communicate any content she wants to. For instance, in common with most of our talented Southern writers, Miss Welty is frank to acknowledge the possible blemishes on the surface of the society she so much adores; she specifies snobbery, xenophobia, "mindlessness"—the kindly euphemism, we gather, for idiocy or insanity—and

others of the distractions and sorrows that we have so often been told are part of the price the South pays for its heritage of pride. Yet this much honest revelation of Southern fact can in no way be interpreted as an adverse criticism of the Fairchild way of life. Quite the contrary, it must rather be interpreted as a test of Miss Welty's love for it—a love so strong that it can not only admit these failings but even cherish them. For just as the Fairchild women have always loved the large indolences which they see as the other side of the coin of the large generousities of their men, so Miss Welty would seem to love the Fairchild meannesses and arrogances and weaknesses as the inevitable other side of the coin of their aristocratic grace and charm. She leaves her honest cultural observations in rosy poetic solution exactly because she does not wish to precipitate them as moral judgment.

Now obviously in asking for moral judgment I am asking only for moral discrimination, and not for what usually passes for it—moralizing hostility; even more than other forms of growth, art flourishes in affection. And I would not wish to dismiss as without worth or good meaning all the elements in the Fairchild culture that Miss Welty finds so beguiling. Certainly the careless abundance of Fairchild life—the abundance of children, of visitors, of fondness, of hams, beaten biscuit, iced lemonade, cocoanut layer cakes, even of indulgence of a daughter's wilfulness when she selects a socially undesirable husband—is something to be cherished; and I for one would not wish to replace it with the brittle and meager domestic ideal of much of our "progressive" Northern literature. As I say, it is where "Delta Wedding" implies—and the implication is pervasive—that the parochialism and snobbery of the Fairchild clan is the condition of the Fairchild kind of relaxation and charm, or that the Fairchild grace has a necessary source in a life of embattled pride, that I must deeply oppose its values.

In writing about Miss Welty's last book, "The Wide Net," I spoke of the self-consciousness of her developing style, of the narcissistic dream quality of the stories in that volume as compared to her earlier work. In the light of her present novel one begins to see the connection between this style and Miss Welty's relation to traditional Southern culture. For in the best of her stories, and they were the earliest ones, Miss Welty gave us what was really a new view of the South, indeed a new kind of realism about the South; and for this she used, not a dance prose, but a prose that walked on its feet in the world of reality. But increasingly Miss Welty has turned away from the lower-middle-class milieu of, say, *The Petrified Man*, to that part of the Southern scene which is most available to myth and celebrative legend and, in general, to the narcissistic Southern fantasy; and for this her prose has risen more and more on tiptoe. As a result, one of our most promising young writers gives signs of becoming, instead of the trenchant and objective commentator we hoped she would be, just another if more ingenious dreamer on the Southern past.

DIANA TRILLING

★ BUY BONDS ★

MOTION PICTURES

Lucille BALL • Clifton WEBB
William BENDIX • Mark STEVENS

THE DARK CORNER

Directed by HENRY HATHAWAY • Produced by FRED KOHLMAR
A TWENTIETH CENTURY-FOX PICTURE

— ON STAGE • IN PERSON —

GEORGE JESSEL

MERRY MACS

EXTRA I

ROSARIO & ANTONIO

Now Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at 50th Street

PARAMOUNT Presents

ALAN LADD
VERONICA LAKE
WILLIAM BENDIX
IN

'THE BLUE DAHLIA'

A GEORGE MARSHALL Production
Directed by GEORGE MARSHALL

NOW **PARAMOUNT** TIMES SQUARE

— IN PERSON —

DUKE ELLINGTON
AND HIS ORCHESTRA
Plus

STUMP & STUMPY

Plus

THE CLARK BROTHERS

EXTRA I

THE MILLS BROTHERS

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
88th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW

"A dramatic and entertaining piece."—N. Y. Sun.
Claudette Colbert • Orson Welles • George Brent

'TOMORROW IS FOREVER'

From the Novel by GWEN EUSTON

— AND —

'DARK ALIBI' SIDNEY TOLER

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
Kelt's
FLUSHING
Kelt's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

John Payne • Maureen O'Hara • William Bendix

'SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY'

Based on a Story by NELIA GARDNER WHITE

— AND —

'BEHIND GREEN LIGHTS' Carol Landis Wm. Gargan

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
with John Raitt • Eva Withers
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Jean Caste
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A Gag-Happy-
Meaning-
ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4036.
Evgs. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

You may again buy BOOKS through *The Nation*

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

FIRST there were the advertisements with their quotations from newspaper reviews of Maryla Jonas's recital, and in particular the *Herald Tribune's* "finest woman pianist since Teresa Carreño." Then there were the newspaper stories about that sensational first recital of a completely unknown pianist, attended by a handful of public and a few second-string reviewers who had expected the usual debut recital and had been electrified by what they heard. It seemed like something one ought to hear; and so I went to the second recital.

Carnegie Hall was filled this time when Mme Jonas appeared, seated herself at the piano, waited for the audience to become quiet, and then slowly lowered her head until it was about six inches from the hands that began to produce a barely audible *pppp* for the opening arpeggios of Mozart's D minor Fantasia. After this introduction the first melodic passage was played with continuing ostentatious intentness on the production of non-legato sounds with exaggerated arm movements, and on the continuing exaggerated quiet—to the point where suddenly all of Mme Jonas stiffened in the evident intensity of purpose with which she poised her right arm over the keyboard and then struck it a blow that hurt one's ears with the jangling *ffff*. And this over-dramatic alternation of the utmost extremes of soft and loud, produced with these visual theatricalisms, constituted the total sum of the interpretative resources that were employed in the presentation of Mozart's Fantasia, a Beethoven Rondo, and Bach's D major Toccata. Only with the beginning of Schubert's Impromptu Opus 90 No. 3 was there the beginning of normal, unaffected piano-playing that was quite lovely; but it did not continue throughout the piece. And in Chopin's Polonaise Opus 71 No. 2 there was a return to the alternation of dynamic extremes—a passage being first hammered out, then repeated in a whisper, all with exaggeration of the mannered style that is considered proper for Chopin. At that point I thought I knew how Mme Jonas played music on the piano, and left.

Olin Downes, the next day, informed his *Times* readers that he had entered Carnegie Hall as Mme Jonas was playing Bach's Toccata—at a point, it ap-

peared later, of "self-communing" in the music, when "the piano spoke, in a way that with a whisper of tone commanded and held the attention in the spaces of Carnegie Hall"; and that "he came to the immediate conclusion that he was listening to a poet and master of her instrument." On the other hand the concluding fugue—as assaulted and battered by Mme Jonas—impressed Mr. Downes with the "bold announcement of the subject, the clearness, and energy, and power of its development." It would seem hardly remarkable that a pianist should play Schubert's Impromptu and Chopin's Polonaise differently; but for Mr. Downes this became a significant "complete distinction between the lyricism of Schubert and the lyricism of Chopin," which revealed an understanding, rarely encountered in pianists, of the nature of both composers, of the "naivete" of Schubert and the "more complex psychology and far greater sophistication of Chopin"—Schubert, apparently, being in Mr. Downes's mind only the naive composer of the Impromptu Opus 90 No. 3, not the psychologically complex composer of the later piano sonatas. "Never exaggerating," for Mr. Downes's ears, Mme Jonas "proved that she has the secret, not shared by many, of Chopin's 'rubato'"—in performances in which "she caught with intuition each fluctuation of color, tempo, and mood." And more of same.

In *PM*, a couple of days later, Robert A. Hague turned out to have heard the "meticulous concentration on detail and nuance of tone," which was "a little wearing," and the "little bursts of dramatic emphasis and general fussiness she displayed in Mozart's D minor Fantasia and Beethoven's C major Rondo." But he also, evidently, had seen the lowered head of "a pure musician and a selfless interpreter, completely submerging her own personality in an uncompromising devotion to the music in hand." And he had heard "fine quality of tone, dynamic variety, shape, breadth, and profound understanding in her performance of the Bach Toccata; "deep insight, flawless technique, and remarkable beauty of tone" in performances which "fully revealed the romantic poetry, the shifting moods and colors of Chopin."

I found no review in the *Herald Tribune*; and instead of looking for any others I hunted up the *Herald Tribune* review of the first recital. It turned out to have been written by—of all people

—Jerome D. Bohm; and I say "of all people" because a man whose stern ears could not concede even qualified recognition of the outstanding musical and pianistic competence of a Webster Aitken or a Franz Rupp is the last one I would expect to describe a Maryla Jonas as "a musician with a remarkable command of style . . . mastery of the tonal resources of the piano . . . a widespread, variegated coloristic gamut . . ." including a "loudest fortissimo" that "remained pithy and round," and to find in her a player "in the grand manner . . . [that] one has become accustomed to thinking moribund," who provided heartening knowledge that "the great tradition is safe in her hands." But turned around it becomes entirely understandable: the man who is impressed by the ham acting and playing of a Maryla Jonas will be deaf to the art of an Aitken or a Rupp.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

THE POSTMAN ALWAYS RINGS TWICE" is mainly a terrible misfortune from start to finish. I except chiefly the shrewd performances of Hume Cronyn and Leon Ames, as lawyers. I say it with all respect for the director, Tay Garnett, and with all sympathy for the stars, Lana Turner and John Garfield. It looks to have been made in a depth of seriousness incompatible with the material, complicated by a paralysis of fear of the front office. It is, however, very interesting for just those reasons—it is what can happen, especially in Hollywood, if you are forced to try both to eat your cake and have it, and don't realize that it is, after all, only good pumpernickel. It is also interesting as the third current movie—the others are "From This Day Forward" and "Deadline at Dawn"—which represents the Law as an invincibly corrupt and terrifying force before which mere victims, whether innocent or guilty, can only stand helpless and aghast. Of course this could at a moment's notice shift over to the one about the state being far greater than the individual, because stronger, smarter, and more inscrutable; and I suppose that before we know it, if not sooner, we shall have it that way. But so far the attitude is almost 100 per cent contemptuous of organized justice and is accepted as such, with evident pleasure, by the audience. I could almost believe

that this indicates a Trend. I hope so.

"Hymn of the Nations" is a film record of Toscanini, conducting also another work of Verdi's, the overture to "La Forza del Destino." Much of the time the camera shows Toscanini close to. I could not hear the voice, though it is visibly at work in many parts of the performance, but the face is as good a record of human existence somewhere near its utmost as we are likely to see.

"Days and Nights" is about as close as Russian movies get to Hollywood; which is too close for anybody's comfort. There are, however, some excellent and well-arranged shots of the siege of Stalingrad; the girl is very sweet; most of the men are admirable. I didn't read the novel, but to judge by the movie it was apotheosized by the Book of the Month Club for more than merely courteous reasons.

"Portrait of a Woman" presents Françoise Rosay in four roles, all directed by her husband, Jacques Feyder. She is good in all of them, and the picture is obviously controlled by a man of talent and high principles; but the story is like a Frenchified drugstore version of a Samuel French Co. play, and there is a pathetic, marking-time seediness about the whole film which made me both like it and want to forget it.

I have almost never mentioned, much less written, movie news here; but I think a few things are worth calling to your attention.

Chaplin will start shooting his comedy about Landru this summer; this I regard as the best piece of news in some time.

David O. Selznick has "registered" the titles of seven (7) plays by Shakespeare; which, unless I overestimate the power of law, means that nobody else in this country can make movies of them before he does. No comment.

A French film, "The Virtuous Vivi," has been banned by the New York censors. Since it is played straight down the censors' throats, in reckless amusement over their kind, that was only to be expected. It is in spots cruel, and questionable—I don't entirely like making fun of an imbecile, even in fun; it also tends, as I think they say, to undermine morals. For that reason, and because it is very funny, touching, and skilful, I urge everyone to protest the ban, whether it does any good or not.

John Huston's "Let There Be Light," a fine, terrible, valuable non-fiction film about psychoneurotic soldiers, has been forbidden civilian circulation by the War Department. I don't know what is

necessary to reverse this disgraceful decision, but if dynamite is required, then dynamite is indicated.

CONTRIBUTORS

STERLING A. BROWN, formerly visiting professor at Vassar College, is professor of English at Howard University. He is the author of "Southern Road" and "The Negro in American Fiction," and one of the editors of "The Negro Caravan."

JERRY SPINGARN is an expert on radio law formerly employed by the FCC.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of "Literature and Society," "Art for Art's Sake," "The France of Tomorrow," "The Future of Paris," a book on city planning, "Napoleon," and "Europe Free and United." His latest book is "France, a Short History."

P. ALSTON WARING is a Pennsylvania farmer, and co-author of a book on the small farm called "Roots in the Earth." He has recently completed a book on the relations between farmers and industrial workers to be published in the fall.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of several books of verse, including "The Summer Landscape" and "Out of the Jewel." He has published a translation of Lorca's poems and edited the Spanish Loyalist anthology, "And Spain Sings."

In forthcoming issues of The Nation

Bill Mauldin will review
Ernie Pyle's "The Last Chapter."

Hans Reichenbach will review
Charles Morris's "Signs, Language, and Behavior."

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., will review
Harry Butcher's "My Three Years with Eisenhower."

Paul Tillich will review
George Santayana's "The Idea of Christ in the Gospels."

Wylie Sypher will review
George Orwell's "Dickens, Dali, and Others."

Isaac Rosenfeld will review
Ignazio Silone's "And He Hid Himself."



LANGUAGE IS POWER

... Forge ahead, win special assignments, promotion, better job in global peace time opportunities through ability to speak a foreign language.

MASTER A NEW LANGUAGE QUICKLY, EASILY, CORRECTLY BY LINGUAPHONE

The world-famous Linguaphone Conversational Method brings voices of native teachers INTO YOUR OWN HOME. You learn the new language by LISTENING. It's amazingly simple; thousands have succeeded. ♦ 29 LANGUAGES
Send for Free book, Call for Free demonstration
LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
81 RCA Bldg., New York 20 • Circle 7-0830

"The resolution of conflict in self is like the resolution of opposites in art."

THE AESTHETIC METHOD IN SELF-CONFLICT

by ELI SIEGEL

Author of "Hot Afternoons Have Been in Montana" (Nation Poetry Prize)

Aesthetic Analysis, not being psycho-analysis or current psychiatry, deals with conflict in mind, or neurosis, as a problem akin, deeply, to the artistic problem. The present publication shows that the essential solution of division of mind, or "nervousness," must be aesthetic.

Published by Aesthetic Analysis. For copies, write to Martha Baird, 67 Jane Street, New York City. Paper, 50¢.

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of

The Nation's

Special Class Room Rate --

25¢

Monthly per Student

for orders of ten or more

copies to be sent to one

address — Desk copy is
supplied free.

Address your order to

THE NATION

20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.

Letters to the Editors

Justified but Inappropriate

Dear Sirs: It seems to me that the criticism contained in I. F. Stone's article *Atomic Pie in the Sky*, in your issue of April 6, is justified and of a constructive character. On the one side it is to be highly appreciated that official authorities—even from army quarters—have openly recognized that security can be reached only on the basis of world government. On the other side, however, it seems to me that the proposed measures for the interim period are not quite appropriate to bring us nearer to the goal or to induce the confidence of other nations in the loyal intentions of our foreign policy.

ALBERT EINSTEIN

Princeton, N. J., April 9

What's in a Myth?

Dear Sirs: Dr. Guérard's criticism of Dr. Niebuhr's article *The Myth of World Government* (*The Nation*, March 16) is based on a point of divergence which is largely speculative. While Dr. Niebuhr finds that the small and organic community is actually primary to the large community, Dr. Guérard considers the consciousness of the worldwide community fundamental, cutting across the borderlines of ethnically and otherwise limited units of society. From this point of view the small units appear as distortions of the true human society, maintained artificially and with the help of "superstition."

On the basis of this, Dr. Guérard proceeds to make Dr. Niebuhr out as a thoroughgoing social nominalist, to whose mind only the small particular social unit is real, while the universal community is a completely synthetic idea, artificial although necessary. This certainly is not Dr. Niebuhr's contention as I understand it from this article or from any of his writings, sermons, or lectures on the subject. In Dr. Niebuhr's analysis both the small organic community and the worldwide community are real, although the latter has not been materialized so far and never may be, in an absolute sense. This is not to say that it cannot be achieved to the degree in which we shall create and practice it.

If Dr. Niebuhr concentrates on pointing out the opposing and retarding forces of an unethical and technical

kind, he does so precisely because he believes in the ethical and technical imperative of a world community. His sense of honesty, however, forbids him to embark on the road toward this goal by "ostrich politics."

Calling the world community or its instrument, the world government, a "myth" does not mark it as a delusion but as an image of perfection, binding in principle and a standard for action, to which we are committed morally as well as by sober necessity, and whose realization we must pursue even if we may not achieve it in an absolute sense.

I definitely agree with Dr. Niebuhr.

HERTA PAULY

New York, April 26

Azerbaijan and Panama

Dear Sirs: It has puzzled me why Russian apologists for the recognition of Azerbaijan as a move for a Russian share of Iranian oil and perhaps a step toward a warm-water outlet on the Persian Gulf have not made mention of the United States and the building of the Panama Canal. Both nations favored a secessionist government as easier to influence.

Russian rottenness looks a good deal like American shrewdness. Let us use charity in judging either.

JOHN BUCHANAN

Berwick, N. S., March 30

A Farmer Protests

Dear Sirs: For some time I have felt *The Nation* should carry an article on agriculture, its situation and operating conditions. The issue of March 23 had such an article by Carey McWilliams.

I am a ranch operator on the fringe of what Mr. McWilliams calls "large-scale commercial farms." My crops are beef cattle, hay, and grain; I employ one man the year round, and from two to five "seasonal workers."

Why does McWilliams operate with statistics going only up to 1941 and, in some cases, 1943, when later data are available? How can he say that "there was a vast surplus of seasonal farm workers"; that "while some wage rates did increase between 1940 and 1945, no general gains were recorded"; that "by such stratagems [employment of prisoners of war, soldiers, Mexicans] the large growers avoided . . . competing with industry for workers"; that, to top it all

off, "agriculture suffered no real manpower shortage during the war"?

In 1941 wages for seasonal farm workers were around \$45 a month plus board, or \$2.50 a day; in 1945 they had advanced to \$125 a month or \$5 a day. Irrigators have come up from \$60 to \$180 and more; stackers from \$4 to \$10. But—beef cattle have only gone up from 6 cents to 12 cents a pound; hay from \$8 to \$12 a ton. And workers' productivity has declined in the same ratio as their wages have increased.

If it had not been for Mexican workers' you in the cities would have had nothing to eat. Their wages were the same as those for American hands, although they were totally unfamiliar with our machines; and if some Mexicans were short-changed, such conditions were not general.

Articles like McWilliams's, giving an entirely wrong picture of a situation, lead to nothing but unnecessary trouble. The seasonal agricultural worker is a necessity because we cannot change nature's way. We have to work at least ten hours a day, and sometimes more, because you cannot tell a cow to calf only between eight and four, or cattle not to break through a fence after hours, or the sun to wait around until it suits somebody to wake up.

We have to compete with industrial wages; we can afford to do it if labor gives its best. The longer hours always will be necessary, but work in the open is much less monotonous than in a factory. The food the men get could not be bought in any restaurant for double the price.

Agriculture cannot operate on the same basis as mass-production industry, where wages can be raised, to a certain point, without increasing the price of the product. If industrial products increase in price—and they have gone up considerably as you must be well aware—and industrial wages keep on advancing, agricultural wages will rise too and so will our products unless we have bumper crops. This means an increased cost of living all around. We should look at what happened in France, for instance, during the '30's.

Labor did have grievances and in many cases undoubtedly still has; there is room for improvement all around. But if labor continues at the present rate, it will "cook its own goose." The line is not very far off—in my branch of

agriculture, at least—where it will become unprofitable to continue operations.

WALTER B. HILLER

Livingston, Mont., April 14

Freedom from Fear

Dear Sirs: Ex-Justice Owen J. Roberts, Clarence Streit, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Albert Guérard approach a common objective—that of world government—from slightly varying angles. May I be permitted to approach it from that of the smaller democracies of Europe, which are finding it so hard to recover from the death grip of German oppression?

Power politics are again being played by the mighty, while the weaker nations stand helpless on the sidelines shuddering at their impending doom. Democracy has failed to assure them the most important of the four freedoms—freedom from fear; and as long as fear is the keynote of international relations there can be no lasting peace.

At the same time I find excessive stress laid in your columns upon the presumption that any attempt to unite, organize, and strengthen democracy must necessarily be anti-Russian. Surely there is no harm in strength per se, and, conversely, little virtue in lack of unity and weakness. The ideal of a united world is noble and reasonable and should be ceaselessly pursued by men of good-will. In the meantime what is wrong with attempting to unite the Western democracies, which are already bound together by a common ideology?

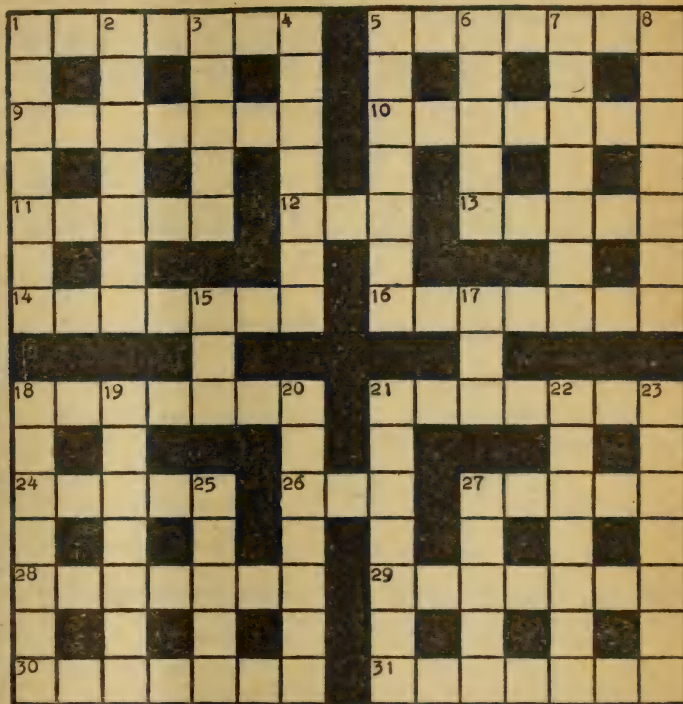
I entirely agree with the terms of Streit's opposition to the Churchill proposal for an alliance, which, he says, would be "limited to military and diplomatic affairs" and could be misinterpreted by powers outside its membership. But a union of democracies—and eventual federation should be the goal—would make democracy unassailable and thus insure freedom from fear to the smaller members of the association. The strength thus accruing to a system of social and political life which is vital to us all would command the respect of Russia; only the ingenuous would aver that Russia does not respect strength. If Russia's plans are non-aggressive, as it proclaims, it should have nothing to fear from a union which, while unassailable, would be non-aggressive, and by reason of its strength could come forward with proposals for a wider association in world government.

ANDRÉ MICHALOPOULOS

New York, April 25

Crossword Puzzle No. 160

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 A country lover
- 5 Would this false step cause you to be blackballed from a dance club? (two words, 4 and 3)
- 9 Goes on board? Just the opposite!
- 10 Nice top (anag.)
- 11 Put out
- 12 "Oh yet we trust that somehow good will be the final goal of ---"
- 13 His *Peg Woffington* and *It's Never Too Late to Mend* pleased the Victorians
- 14 Rather an unflattering sobriquet to give poor old Ethelred
- 16 Jaundiced
- 18 Probably the world's ugliest animal
- 21 French tapestry named after the 15th century family that made it
- 24 Puts to flight
- 26 Went to sea with the Pussy-cat in the Edward Lear rhyme
- 27 Imagine finding amber in a fish!
- 28 A flower without petals
- 29 Rooms with only three sides
- 30 Spectacle of armored cavalry in action
- 31 Vents

DOWN

- 1 An upstart
- 2 Is more palatable with Italian burgundy in it
- 3 Got in a bar
- 4 Give evidence
- 5 Last comes a fishy friend perhaps
- 6 This cut comes from a boxer not a butcher

- 7 In what Arctic port will you find Sam Peto?
- 8 "There is a pleasure in the pathless woods, There is ----- where none intrudes"
- 15 "Oak before ---, only a splash; --- before oak, prepare for a soak"
- 17 What tennis players call a high ball
- 18 It justifies an arrest
- 19 Not paper money exactly, but a roll of coins put up in paper
- 20 A tradesman starts his own business
- 21 Italian pioneer of farsightedness
- 22 It flows the way the wind blows (two words, 3 and 4)
- 23 A vengeful goddess
- 25 He who sups with the devil needs a long one
- 27 Part of the coast eaten away?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 159

ACROSS:—1 VITAL; 4 CUBES; 7 LISA; 8 CLERGY; 10 VALSE; 12 HORE; 13 LAMP; 15 TAILORS; 17 AUBURN; 18 NIECES; 19 RYE; 21 PROFUSE; 23 RAUCOUS; 24 EGG; 26 UNTOLD; 28 RUBBER; 31 ERMINES; 32 PURR; 35 LIMP; 36 PSALM; 37 DOUSED; 38 TENT; 39 NINES; 40 RUFUS.

DOWN:—1 VALE; 2 TURBAN; 3 LOYALTY; 4 CAVERN; 5 BILL; 6 STEM; 7 LIBYA; 8 SCRUB; 11 SANCHE; 14 POSTS; 15 TROUBLE; 16 SINOUS; 19 REB; 20 BRG; 21 PLUMP; 22 OTTERS; 25 GUILDER; 27 DRAMAS; 28 REBUFF; 29 BRIDE; 30 ROBOT; 33 UPON; 34 RAIN; 35 LETS.

FOR SALE

ANTIQUE JEWELRY
Old Pieces Matched—Skillful Repairing
Old Pieces Bought
 Also Rose-cut and Old Mine Diamonds
ANSELMA FRIEL
 87 NASSAU ST. CO. 7-5652
 NEW YORK CITY

FOR LEASE

ABOUT 70,000 square feet (24-foot ceilings) at Bay and Greene Streets, Jersey City, opposite Harborside Terminal. Former Hudson Tubes powerhouse. Ideal for cold storage, warehouse, etc. Building is 143 x 123 feet with additional 136 x 123 feet land; ample railroad sidings. Building very best structurally but will require two inner walls and reconditioning. For long-term lease with option to purchase. L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.

LANGUAGES

STUDY EASILY and quickly all languages by phonograph records. Also rentals. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17. MU. 3-1093.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.40 per carton, postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

SITUATIONS WANTED

MAN in early forties, University, Seminary graduate wishes to find Church or Labor work. Socially, theologically liberal. Interested in forming Peoples church fellowship. Box 1603, c/o The Nation.

WRITER: Manuals, Brochures for Trade Union or Progressive Industrial Organizations, written in zesty and palatable style. Wrote training manuals, histories, travel brochures for units in VIII and IX Air Forces as G. I. Permanent position or free lance acceptable. College background. Box 1604, c/o The Nation.

FOR SALE

PLAN your rural retreat now. Modernized farmhouse, fifty acres brook-watered woodland, paved road, outskirts small village, inland Maine. Ideal for artist, writer or retirement. Will consider sale to congenial people. \$6000. Box 1605, c/o The Nation.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

8-ROOM Cape Cod; slate roof; new paint and shutters; electric; never-failing brook; pool; small orchard; 100 acres. \$4,500. Terms. Berkshire Farm Agency. Chatham, New York.

RESORT

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults. Swimming, boating, fishing, good food. Private baths. June 27th to Labor Day. From \$80.00 weekly double. Box 77, Munsonville, N. H.

BOYS CAMP

BOYS camp beautifully situated lower Adirondacks. All sports, dramatics, nature, arts and crafts, trips, physician, co-religious. Walter Campbell, University of Rochester. Nat Hellenbach, 20 West 43rd Street, New York City.

COURSE

The **ATOM BOMB** swept the New Age into a world fact. Let **TRUTH** sweep from your consciousness all mysticisms, fears and superstitions. Dare to live splendidly. **SCIENTIFIC METAPHYSICS** has blazed the way. It is vividly, forcefully interpreted in the **ONE WORLD EXTENSION COURSE** now offered on a free-will payment plan. For information write **ONE WORLD EXTENSION COURSE** Box 717, Topeka, Kansas. Dept. (A), United Nations.

CLASSIFIED

ADVERTISING RATES

62c a line (six words)

Minimum 3 lines

\$6.16 an inch

Attractive discounts for multiple insertions.

THE *Nation*

20 Vesey St., N. Y. 7, N. Y.

BARclay 7-1066

BUY
 MORE
 WAR
 BONDS

RESORTS

DIANA AND ABE BERMAN

announce

PINECREST in the **BERKSHIRES**



ON THE

HOUSATONIC RIVER

150 acres of Pines and

Hemlocks in a pano-

ramic setting of the

ruined Berkshires.

Comfortable lodge

rooms for two. Bungalows with showers

and fireplace, all facing the Housatonic River.

Boating, Swimming, Fishing, Bicycles,

Pink-Pong, Recordings, and Dancing.

• **OPEN DECORATION DAY** •

Write: Pinecrest, West Cornwall, Conn.

Phones: N. Y. WA 5-787 & Cornwall, Conn. 89-12

The BAILLWICK

OPEN ALL YEAR

Beautiful palatial Estate, situated in the Catskill Mountains, Rip Van Winkle country, luxurious rooms with private baths and fireplaces. Excellent cuisine, superb accommodations for a rest and relaxation, lovely mountain trails, easy access by car and rail.

For information or reservations write or call

Telephone: Palenville 118 F 12

BAILLWICK, Rt. 1, Box 91, Catskill, N. Y.

An Invitation to Maine

Opens June 15

An Ideal Vacation

KIPPEWA LODGE
 on the Maine Lakes

WINTHROP, MAINE

Fishing, Outboard Motors, Swimming, Tennis, Golf, Horseback Riding, etc. Excellent Cuisine

Write John Axelrod, 884 Riverside Dr. New York 32, N. Y. Wadsworth 7-8748

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477

Delightful...Boating and swimming in our

private lake.

Different...The colonial atmosphere.

Delicious...Our unexcelled cuisine.

Diversing...Recordings for listening & dancing.

All this only 53 miles from New York City

A Resort for Adults Only

An ADIRONDACK Adult

Camp; Complete — Modern

Tennis and handball courts;

swimming, boating, etc.

Hotel comforts — camp

formality. All rooms for 2

TWIN PINES

Joseph Saidel, Manager

on Trout Lake P. O. Lake George, N. Y.

BREEZEMONT PARK

ARMONK, N.Y.

35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY

"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills

of Westchester County"

The nearest of all nearby resorts. Exclusive

location. Luxuriously furnished. Dified.

All sport activities. Excellent cuisine.

OPEN ALL YEAR Phone Armonk Village 958

HATHAWAY LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 502-acre Macy estate in the

beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms,

many with open fireplaces and private porches. Windy

Mountain Trails. Delicious food. Easy Transportation.

Special Spring Rates • Make reservations now

For reservations or further information write or call

HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.

Telephone: Tannersville 2-9

- CASA MANOR -

ON BEAUTIFUL

LAKE COSSAYUNA

COSSAYUNA, NEW YORK

Only 20 miles from famed Saratoga 50-past limit to

preserve comfortable, restful, informal atmosphere.

Excellent cuisine. Swimming, boating, fishing, table

tennis, etc. From July First. Write or call.

JACOB M. OLSCHANSKY

83 State Street, Albany, New York. Phone: 5-0363

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 18, 1946

NUMBER 20

The Shape of Things

JOHN LLEWELLYN LEWIS HAS LONG ENJOYED a well-deserved reputation as a master of labor warfare, but like many another victorious general who has allowed success to go to his head, he has tended to overplay a good hand. In the current struggle with the mine operators his broad objectives—higher wages and improved provisions for health and safety—are entirely legitimate. His tactics, however, have submerged these issues. Instead of dramatizing the hard lot of "his miners" he has been dramatizing himself. Anxious to establish himself once and for all as *the* hero of labor, he has overlooked the fact that melodrama requires a palpable and powerful villain and, hogging the lime-light, has kept the national audience from a full view of the operators. Consequently, as the brownout descended, as industries closed down, as railroad services were curtailed, the public, seeking to pin responsibility on someone, could see only the burly figure of Lewis ranting in the center of the stage. Thereupon calls for action against strikes in general and the coal strike in particular began to reach Capitol Hill in the kind of volume that makes Congressmen take notice. The Senate voted to take up the Case bill with an eagerness that boded no good to labor just as Lewis, seeing a danger signal, ordered the miners back to work for two weeks.

✱

IT WILL NOT BE EASY TO ORDER THEM OUT again in the present state of public opinion, and as a result Lewis may not secure as good terms as he might have done had he started to negotiate in earnest before the lack of coal began to get intolerable. What is more serious is the possibility that by his arrogant attempt to substitute dictation for collective bargaining, he has facilitated a general attack on the workers' organizations. Many legislators are ready to jump at an opportunity to crack down on labor, and with some of labor's best friends on the Hill partially disarmed by public pressure, the danger of hasty measures designed to weaken the whole trade-union movement is not to be lightly dismissed. We can only hope that Congress will allow itself a cooling-off period before it takes the advice of the most reactionary newspapers and starts tearing up the Wagner act. That would be a perfectly futile way of dealing with the coal dispute, and it would certainly do nothing to improve labor relations in general. On the

contrary, by encouraging many employers to start a new campaign of union-busting, it would insure an era of more bitter industrial warfare than we have yet known.

✱

THE FACT THAT THE BREAKDOWN OF THE Simla conference was not unexpected does not make it any less depressing. For seven weeks now discussions looking to India's independence have been going on between the British Cabinet mission and the two leading Indian parties. But no way has been found to bridge the gap between the demand of the Congress Party for fundamental Indian unity and the insistence of the Moslem League that Moslem India should be independent. The British mission obviously favors preservation of Indian unity, but it sought for a formula which would provide the Moslem provinces with a large degree of autonomy within a federal constitution. The Congress Party appeared ready to compromise along these lines but only if wider powers were left to the central government than Mohammed Ali Jinnah, leader of the Moslems, was ready to concede. A statement issued after the final meeting of the conference declared, "The Cabinet mission desires to emphasize that no blame can be placed on either party... as both sides did their utmost to come to a settlement." Nor, it appears, can responsibility be put on the British ministers, who with the backing of their government have clearly been making a sincere effort to solve the Indian problem once and for all. Now, for all their anxiety not to impose a solution, they will have to find some way to end the current stalemate. The next step is to set up a provisional government to take the place of the Viceroy's Executive Council, which has resigned. It has been suggested that this government should be wholly Indian and should be given *de facto* responsibility through an undertaking by the Viceroy not to exercise his legal veto power. If such a government were now offered on an all-party basis, it is hard to see how the Moslems could boycott it and leave a clear field for their Congress rivals.

✱

JUDGING FROM THE FIRST STRAWS, THE most hopeful political winds of this election season will be blowing up from the south. Of the four primaries held last week, Indiana's had no political significance

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	585
The Pulitzer Prizes	588
Gloom in Paris	588
Famine Deadline	589

ARTICLES

Line-up on the British Loan <i>by I. F. Stone</i>	590
Is France Swinging to the Right? <i>by George Slocum</i>	591
Real Estate Goes to College <i>by Carey McWilliams</i>	593
The Balance Sheet of War <i>by Jacques Gascuel</i>	594
The Nazis' Biological Warfare <i>by Martin Gumpert</i>	597
Elections Every Sunday <i>by Donald Downes</i>	598
In the Wind	599
Czechoslovakia's Rebirth III <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	600
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	601

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Russian Evolution <i>by Reinhold Niebuhr</i>	602
The Status of Women: What Was It? <i>by Mildred Adams</i>	603
The Witty Martyrs <i>by Hermann Kesten</i>	604
A Faded Violet <i>by Rol'e Humphries</i>	605
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	606
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	609
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	609
Art <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	610

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 161

<i>by Jack Barrett</i>	611
------------------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor	Washington Editor	Literary Editor
J. King Gordon	I. F. Stone	Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1876, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

and Ohio's was a minor setback for the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, which had worked for the Democratic nomination of Marvin C. Harrison. The labor group has nothing against Senator Huffman, who won the nomination, but believed that the more colorful Harrison would stand a better chance against former Governor Bricker, the uncontested choice of the G. O. P. From Alabama and Florida, on the other hand, come reassuring signs that the progressive forces within the Democratic Party are far from spent. Backed by Senator Pepper, perhaps the most uncompromising New Dealer in Congress, former Governor Spessard L. Holland topped three opponents for the seat of the ineffectual Senator Andrews. With the same backing, George Smathers ousted Representative Pat Cannon, who, mistaking his constituency, had boasted of Pepper's opposition. In Alabama's race for the Democratic nomination for governor first place went to James E. Folsom, a labor-backed candidate who had come out flatly against the poll tax. Folsom will have to fight it out in June against Lieutenant Governor Handy Ellis, a hack politician supported by Alabama's money crowd. Representative Luther Patrick, with a good record in Congress, was unfortunately defeated in Birmingham, but another C. I. O.-backed candidate, Representative Albert Rains, had little trouble in downing Joe Starnes, onetime lieutenant of Martin Dies. The results, by and large, have offered sufficient encouragement to the P. A. C. to warrant Sidney Hillman's announcing a list of 33 Congressional campaigns in which the labor group expects to play a major role. In forthcoming issues of *The Nation* these campaigns will be dealt with in detail.

✱

OUR DIFFICULTY IN SEEING OURSELVES AS others see us must account for the fact that few commentators on the draft of the Inter-American Military Cooperation Act, which the President has just submitted to Congress, have realized how much support this move gives to Russian foreign policy. We have looked very much askance at Soviet military missions in Eastern Europe and have freely criticized the plans Moscow is believed to cherish for organizing the countries in its sphere of influence into a strong military bloc. Yet here we go blithely planning the organization of just such a bloc in the Western Hemisphere. In his message to Congress Mr. Truman explained that he wanted legislative authority for the army and navy to continue and extend their collaboration with the armed forces of the American republics, and with Canada also. It was "highly desirable," he said, "to standardize military organization, training methods, and equipment" so as to assist other American countries in assuming their responsibilities under the United Nations Charter and the Act of Chapultepec. Leadership by this country, he suggested, rested

upon its predominance in technical, economic, and military resources. Therefore it was desirable to permit the transfer of military equipment to our partner countries by sale "or other method." No doubt Mr. Truman genuinely believes that this program is "in every way consistent with the wording and spirit of the United Nations Charter," and that most Americans will think so too. Some cynical foreigners, however, are certainly going to regard it as just another example of power politics.

✱

BY ITS DECISION TO WITHDRAW ALL FORCES from Egypt the British Labor government has made a well-considered break in the continuity of foreign policy—a break marked by vigorous but futile Tory opposition. The Tory thesis is that any treaty with Egypt must be made conditional on water-tight guaranties for the defense of the Suez Canal, by which they appear to mean the maintenance in the canal zone of a British garrison as provided by the treaty of 1936. Prime Minister Attlee, on the other hand, asserted that the promise of withdrawal was an essential preliminary to successful negotiations with the Egyptian Government. For sixty years Britain has been occupying Egypt "temporarily," and as Mr. Attlee pointed out, the growth of nationalist sentiment has made the presence of a foreign garrison increasingly irksome. Apart from its importance as a move to dissipate Egyptian suspicions that Britain intended to prolong its stay for another indefinite period, the British gesture might well be justified on the ground that it strengthens Britain's moral position in protesting against the occupation policies of other countries. In particular, as long as it maintains forces in the canal zone against the wishes of the Egyptian government, it is not well placed to oppose Russia's desire to maintain bases on Turkish soil from which to defend the Dardanelles. Another pertinent argument for withdrawal is the need for Britain to cut military commitments according to its man-power cloth. Its population of working age is too small to permit it both to maintain large garrisons all over the world and to carry out plans for reconstruction at home. Mr. Churchill and other opposition leaders who are continually taunting the Labor government about the slowness of demobilization and reconversion are completely illogical in demanding imperial and foreign policies which require the diversion of still more man-power from civilian employments.

✱

IN VOTING \$400,000,000 IN SUBSIDIES TO stimulate the veterans' housing program mapped out by Wilson Wyatt, the House of Representatives in a sensational reversal of an earlier vote has cleared the way for a speedy adoption of the Patman Housing bill. The earlier act of sabotage, it will be recalled, was one

of the series of deadly hatchet jobs performed on the Administration's reconversion campaign by the Republican-Southern Democrat coalition. The unconscionable attack on the OPA and the standard of life of the American people was another. What has brought about this change of heart—if it is a change of heart? The most hopeful interpretation is that the Easter vacation gave many of the members a chance to have a little visit with the home folks. The flood of mail pouring into Washington on housing and OPA has indicated that the home folks have a lot they want to get off their chest. Perhaps the homing members have discovered that their beloved constituents are sharpening up their axes for other than Thanksgiving turkeys in November. If that be the case, then not only housing but OPA may benefit from some contrite and penitent hearts. In any event, the acceptance of subsidies, along with the previous action of the House conferees in backing the Senate proposal to guarantee a market for prefabricated houses and agreeing to the continuation of the government's priorities and allocation powers for the next twelve months, gives us a bill strong enough to provide a vigorous building program in the coming year.

✱

AMONG THE BY-PRODUCTS OF THE ATOMIC bomb, Louis Ridenour pointed out in *The Nation* of March 2, was a tremendous boost for medical research. While learning how to blast Hiroshima into cosmic dust, atomic scientists also opened up new vistas for radiotherapy and radiography, but their findings were covered by the secrecy surrounding the bomb. "Most urgently needed steps," Ridenour wrote, "are the immediate clearance of all . . . medical and biological work and the distribution of artificial radio-elements to the proper agencies." Doctors, laboratories, hospitals, clinics, and the public—the ultimate beneficiary—are still waiting for that clearance. The lag is sharply pointed up in the May issue of *Popular Science*, which carries a detailed article on the benefits "atomic medicine" can produce. The army had provided as illustrations photographs of several non-secret protective devices used at Oak Ridge to prevent over-exposure to radiation. But General Leslie Groves stepped in and said no. The pictures were killed. The magazine replied with a stinging editorial that, dismissing censorship of the pictures as a minor foolishness, goes on to indict Groves's policy as the reason "why there are blank spaces in the record of medical research . . . why radio-iodine, for instance, goes smoking up the stacks of Manhattan Project plants while thyroid cancer patients cost \$10,000 to treat." We concur with the editorial's charge that General Groves, in denying desperately needed medical benefits to the American people, "has convicted himself of a social stupidity that is outstanding even in a military man."

The Pulitzer Prizes

EVEN editorship has its disquieting obligations—for instance, the printing of "Yes, Virginia, There Is a Santa Claus" at Christmas; and that melancholy day has come, the most unnecessary of the year, when every editor must tell his readers what to think of the Pulitzer Prize selections. Someone has said that the crowds in the street are always the same age; in this sense, the same people always win the Pulitzer Prize. There are always some obviously good and some imaginatively bad choices: you can never tell whether the committee has saved its gold star for Homer or for the little boy who used to lead the poet around.

"The Age of Jackson" was an excellent and inescapable choice in history. (Kant said that friendship is the moralist's hobby-horse—this year "The Age of Jackson" has been everybody's hobby-horse, and the nights have been hideous with the hurrahs of the Chowder, Marching, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., societies trudging by.) Hodding Carter's editorials on race relations particularly deserve their award, since they are written with perception and courage—and written, moreover, in the South itself, where their sentiments do not elicit that automatic and sometimes pharisaical approval with which they are received elsewhere. Argentine exposures, some excellent reporting of the war in the Pacific, and William L. Laurence's bright purple passages about the atomic bomb were safe choices, as was "State of the Union"; and approving of the *Scranton Times's* rousing, old-fashioned, fifteen-year campaign for "untainted justice" is as easy as approving of love. No one is likely to object to the choice of a biography of Edwin Muir, a book of that solid sort that is easily respected and hardly read; and the American composer honored this year is sheltered, like most of his kind, by that obscurity which has been called the privilege of young things. But only the congenitally blind and Bruce A. Russell are likely not to object to Mr. Russell's composite cartoon of a bad-tempered bear and snappish eagle—each tattooed, during a period of naval service, with its country's flag—which glare at each other over a gulf into which are settling two scraps of paper marked "Irresponsible Statements" and "Deepening Suspicions."

The committee has timidly shied away from selecting a prize novel—though it might have been encouraged by the reflection that it could not possibly do worse than it often has done in the past; and, for the first time, it has failed to award a prize for poetry. When one considers that Ransom's "Selected Poems" and Auden's "Collected Poems" were published in 1945, and when one remembers that the prize has in bygone years been awarded to a few of the most spectacularly bad poets who ever bought a rhyming dictionary, it is hard to resist the idea that the committee rates a booby prize of its own.



Sewny

The Big Four

Gloom in Paris

UP TO V-E DAY itself preoccupation with military victory in World War II was allowed to obscure the problems of the peace. Now, one year later, those same problems are just as obscured by an unconfessed preoccupation with World War III. To this painful interpretation the most temperate observers are being driven by the mounting succession of suspicions, failures, deadlocks, and recriminations that have marked the relations of the Soviet Union and its Western allies since peace descended on the world in the gentle flames of an atomic bomb. The Big Four conference of foreign ministers in Paris has bogged down badly and there is no shred of evidence to support the hope of Secretary Byrnes that where four powers failed in May twenty-one powers will succeed in June.

It was inevitable that the Paris conference should fail to produce peace treaties for Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland. Not one of these treaties can be considered apart from the pattern to be established for Europe as a whole, and that pattern revolves about the fate of Germany. Yet Germany, sixth on the conference agenda, is precisely the problem that neither the Russians nor the British are prepared to solve jointly and openly, because each has reservations concerning the other's real intentions for the future.

At Potsdam it was assumed that Germany's complete disarmament was a common objective of all the United

Nations, that its reduction at least to military impotence was a common denominator of Allied policy. This can no longer be taken for granted. There is too much evidence that both Britain and the Soviets are beginning to think of a resurgent Germany as a potential ally in a future struggle for Europe. Walter Lippmann, whose political philosophy centers about the indestructible unity of Britain and the United States and who therefore can scarcely be accused of Anglophobia, returns from Europe with the alarming comment that "there is . . . a German army, a large and good one, which surrendered to the British. . . . The story of what happened to that German army after the surrender is still hidden behind a silken curtain."

Mr. Lippman further hints darkly that the German officers captured at Stalingrad may still have their uses. He suggests that just as the British may be returning to the Chamberlain doctrine of turning a revived Germany against Russia, the Soviets, in turn, "are reverting toward the basic conception which produced the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939: that Germany can be turned away from Russia against the West."

Lending at least a strong touch of color to Mr. Lippmann's thesis were the astonishing reactions to Secretary Byrnes's proposal for a twenty-five-year treaty under which Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and France would keep Germany disarmed. One would have thought that a Europe which has repeatedly and rightly accused us of having run out on all our obligations after World War I would rejoice at a commitment so sweeping and unprecedented. The British, on the contrary, were cool, although this may have been only because the sudden announcement was embarrassing to Foreign Minister Bevin, who, sworn to secrecy, had refrained from mentioning the proposal even to his Cabinet colleagues. The Russians, however, were furious, and made no effort to hide the fact. Tass, the official Soviet news agency, led off with a typically diplomatic suggestion that "sometimes new agreements for any more or less long period are proposed by those who are doing everything possible to break existing treaties." And Molotov told the conference that the future disarmament of Germany was of secondary importance compared with its present disarmament. If Mr. Lippmann's thesis is correct, this would be an understandable position for the Russians to take: disarm that German army now hidden behind the "silken curtain" of the British zone and make no commitment for the disarming of a Germany that in the years ahead might serve as an ally against the West.

Similarly, the debate over the Ruhr appears to be geared to future contingencies on the dark side. The French, alarmed over the resurgence of German power, regardless of its role, have consistently urged the detachment of the Ruhr valley from the rest of the Reich, along with the left bank of the Rhine. The British, eager to counter Russian guarantees of German integrity in

return for future support, have opposed this dismemberment. The Americans, still clinging to the hope of a neutral Germany, militarily impotent but economically self-sustaining, have likewise favored German retention of the Ruhr, and the Byrnes disarmament plan has been viewed as a substitute assurance of safety to the French.

We fear that there is too much probability in the Lippmann thesis to put it lightly aside. But the situation is far from frozen. What we have witnessed since Potsdam is perhaps the greatest jockeying for power in the history of the world. The results so far may point to a "two-world" line-up, as many correspondents in Paris gloomily predict. But no nation today can want war and the kind of atomic destruction that rules out victory for either side. Given a measure of security, even the illusory security obtained by this cynical variety of diplomacy, the great powers may still be able to stop short of an irreparable break. There is no inevitability of a clash between Russia and the West, because there is still no fundamental reason for them to make war.

Famine Deadline

WITH tremendous food resources at our disposal we are permitting thousands of people all over the world to die of starvation. During April, while Europe and Asia slid toward the ultimate depth of famine, our food exports limped along at less than half of the extremely low quota set for the month. This month started off no better; unless drastic steps are taken we shall again fall short in May and June—the months in which the famine will reach its most critical stage.

Why have we failed? The American people are not gluttons. They have accepted with a minimum of complaint the inconveniences visited on them by food-conservation orders. But they have complacently imagined that the government is doing all it can and that supplying a million tons of food a month during May and June will enable the hungry millions abroad to pull through.

Unfortunately neither of these assumptions squares with the facts. The government's food-conservation efforts have been timid, weak, and confused. Steps taken during the past month should have been taken in November, when the present crisis was clearly foreseen. And as a result we have run up an immense deficit in relief shipments since the beginning of the year—nearly 900,000 tons in wheat alone. A staggering increase must be achieved during the next six weeks if mass starvation is to be averted. We are almost at the deadline.

To do in six weeks what should have been done over a period of six months is a tough assignment, but there is a way of handling it. A group headed by Herbert Lehman, former UNRRA director, and Clarence Pickett, of the American Friends Service Committee, has placed before President Truman a realistic program designed to meet

the immediate emergency. The sponsors include some of the most prominent figures in America, and the plan is the work of two of the country's leading agricultural economists—John Black of Harvard and Theodore Schultz of the University of Chicago. It calls for the doubling of export quotas for the period between April 1 and June 30—wheat exports, for instance, would be upped from 125,000,000 bushels to 250,000,000. Shipments of fats and oils would be doubled through an expanded hog-slaughtering program. Dairy exports would be trebled, and rice commitments would be met by repurchasing stocks already in distribution channels.

This program can do the trick, but it can only be carried out by the most vigorous action. It calls for additional belt-tightening by Americans but for no real sacrifice on their part. We must, to be sure, cut down far more than we have our consumption of wheat, rice, and fats. We shall have to eliminate items like cake and pastry from our diet for six weeks, and use the abundance of substitutes available in place of wheat products. The bulk of the increase, however, must be gained by reducing the estimated wheat carry-over from 84,000,000 to 8,000,000 bushels and by diverting a third of the wheat used for feeding livestock. This reduction in livestock feed, plus a stepped-up slaughtering of cattle, hogs,



and poultry, is particularly urgent because it was through animal feeding, not gluttony, that America wasted its bumper harvest of 1945. In the first nine months of the crop season we turned three times as much wheat into livestock feed as in pre-war years. But grain eaten directly will sustain from seven to eight times as many human lives as the same amount of grain consumed in the form of meat.

Surely the President must be moved by the appeal of Mr. Lehman's committee. We sincerely hope he will translate its proposals into action. The crisis is so grave and the time so short that unprecedented efforts to fulfill our obligations must be made by every American, from the Chief Executive to the humblest citizen.

Line-up on the British Loan

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 12

IT IS a pity the loan to Britain cannot be made with magnanimous promptness. Thanks to the effective leadership of Senator Barkley, the measure passed the Senate, but only after four weeks of petty and hurtful debate. It is probable though by no means certain that it will pass the House. There are reports that both Jesse Jones and Bernard Baruch will testify against the loan, and there is sure to be more discussion of a kind that will make painful listening on the other side of the Atlantic.

Some conclusions can be drawn from the vote in the Senate. It testifies to the stubborn survival of isolationist thinking and to the fact that this is still a geographical phenomenon. It is interesting to note that on the eastern seaboard north of Maryland there were only three votes against the loan—Brewster of Maine, Hawkes of New Jersey, and Walsh of Massachusetts. In this part of the country the loan had the overwhelming support not only of both parties but of both the right and the left.

The bill did not do so well in the South, which is traditionally more international-minded than any other

part of the country except the Northeast. Tydings of Maryland, Byrd of Virginia, Johnston of South Carolina, Russell of Georgia, Ellender of Louisiana, O'Daniel of Texas, McClellan of Arkansas, and Thomas of Oklahoma voted against it. Bilbo of Mississippi and Bailey of North Carolina were paired against it. Alabama and Florida were the only two Southern states in which both Senators were for the loan.

Of fifteen Democratic votes against the bill, eight were from Southern or border states. Of the seventeen Republican votes for it, nine were from the eastern seaboard. Six Midwestern Republicans voted for the loan—Ball of Minnesota, Donnell of Missouri, Gurney of South Dakota, Hickenlooper of Iowa, Reed of Kansas, and Wiley of Wisconsin. But the bulk of the opposition came from the Republican and isolationist Midwest; the Republicans in the Senate voted eighteen to seventeen against the bill. Except for the isolationist La Follette, the progressives of both parties in the Senate were for the loan.

The coalition against the loan ranged from Bilbo to Taft, and if the same forces go into action in the House the measure may have a difficult time. One of those

who deserve credit for its passage in the Senate is Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton. This Southern cotton merchant has been doing an excellent job in the State Department, and is making a record that rebuts the fears and criticism voiced by many left-of-center commentators, including this writer, at the time of his appointment. It is to Mr. Clayton's credit that he argued for the loan in terms of its importance to freedom of trade the world over and scrupulously refrained from a rather sinister political argument urged upon him by certain rightist groups—that we ought to make the loan because Britain is an ally against the Soviet Union.

But in the House Mr. Clayton will find himself pitted against his old friend and associate Jesse Jones, who has greater influence and equal shrewdness, if less intellectual capacity. It is not at all impossible that the same combination of isolationists and Southern reactionaries may succeed in passing some of the amendments defeated in the Senate. Although the Senate debate can hardly be said to have constituted any thorough exposition of the issues involved, it did serve to air some of the grievances and crotchets of the opposition. The Southern Senators seem to have been most aroused by fear that the British Labor government may permanently end speculative trading in cotton. Taft of Ohio seemed to be most worried lest the 2 per cent interest help to peg interest rates generally at a low level during the post-war period: that

is why he preferred to see the United States make a gift instead of a loan. It may appropriately be noted at this point that the prospects in the House will be improved if negotiations are opened for American commercial use of American-built air bases on British territory.

The fact that the elections are coming closer is more likely to hurt than to help the British loan in the House. It is always easier for a candidate to do some tub-thumping about the money he has kept from avaricious foreigners than to explain why it is enlightened self-interest, etc., for America to lend money to Britain and other devastated countries. And the mood of Congress will not be improved by the need to make it pass the \$600,000,000 appropriation we still owe UNRRA and to add another billion and a half or so to the lending power of the Export-Import Bank.

In the meantime too little, if any, attention is being paid to another aspect of this foreign lending problem. Dollar credits mean nothing to countries in need unless they can be translated into materials, foodstuffs, machinery for reconstruction and development. But our failure on the food front is only a spectacular example of similar failures in every field of necessary exports. We badly need a set-up like a temporary kind of War Production Board to speed the output of items needed for export, break bottlenecks, and apply some system of priorities for shipments at home and abroad.

Is France Swinging to the Right?

BY GEORGE SLOCOMBE

English author, journalist, and war correspondent. Mr. Slocombe has made his home in Paris for many years and is known as an expert on French politics. His dispatches are frequently featured in the New York Herald Tribune

Paris, May 9

IT IS not easy to explain the results of the referendum of May 5. Although the parties of the right had their share in the defeat of the constitution recommended to the nation by a three-fifths majority of the Constituent Assembly, that defeat cannot accurately be described as a victory for the right. André Siegfried writes in the conservative newspaper *Figaro* that "France remains as before a country of the left, and it was an authentic left which determined the result of May 5." If we accept this dictum, the paradox becomes bewildering enough, but no more bewildering than many other paradoxes in French politics under both the Third Republic and the Fourth.

In the elections of last October a clear majority of the nation committed itself to some sort of socialist state. That majority was not created by hazard or the capricious functioning of the electoral system. It was a definite political phenomenon, the latest stage in the historical

evolution of the left parties in France, whose rise in popular favor and influence has been continuous since the victory of the *Bloc des Gauches* in 1924. Yet in the latest national consultation on May 5 an equally clear, if smaller, majority of the nation has rejected a constitution drafted and enthusiastically recommended by the same Socialist and Communist parties which obtained a majority of the votes cast in October. There is no doubt that the right went to the polls in greater numbers last Sunday than at any other time since the liberation, but the rise in the votes cast on the right was not great enough to determine the rejection of the constitution. The most significant fact about this rejection is that in almost every traditional Socialist or Communist stronghold in the country the majority of electors voted no.

The active propaganda of the banks and big business organizations against the constitution had its share in the defeat, as did also the more discreet influence of the church. But the decisive factor was the uneasiness en-

gendered by the prospect of a single legislative assembly, without democratic checks or safeguards, dominating the President of the Republic, the Premier, and the judiciary. It is perhaps worth recalling that France's last experience of a national assembly was the joint meeting of Deputies and Senators convoked at Vichy in June, 1940, for the purpose of granting dictatorial powers to Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain. Nothing in the constitution offered to the nation on May 5 would have prevented a future assembly of Deputies alone from making a similar grant of sovereign powers to the leader of a majority party. This possibility clearly scared the nation, and its uneasiness was not lessened by the new electoral law submitted to its approval, under which the old direct relationship between electors and elected was abolished and candidates were chosen by party headquarters and had to be swallowed en bloc. Since this electoral law shared the fate of the constitution, the elections to the new Constituent Assembly, which are to be held on June 2, will take place under the less objectionable form of proportional representation which governed last October's elections.

How the constitution will be amended to meet with national approval is not yet clear. The powers of the President of the Republic will probably be increased, and he will no longer be elected by a single Assembly as under the rejected constitution. But did the majority which voted down the constitution with its single-chamber legislature intend the revival of the Senate with all the reactionary features which made it a stronghold of conservatism during the Third Republic? Members of the old Senate were elected by indirect suffrage and for a period of nine years. Each department of France elected two Senators irrespective of its size or population, and inevitably a second chamber thus chosen gave far greater representation to the rural communities than to the industrial. The old Senate was heavily weighted against social and economic progress, and on many occasions between the two world wars it provoked the defeat of too radical ministries. Both Socialist and Communist parties are pledged to the abolition of the second chamber in its old form, as a reactionary instrument, and if a second chamber is restored in the amended constitution, it will be shorn of many of its powers and prerogatives.

The French nation is probably less concerned about its constitution, however, than about its future. It has committed itself to certain experiments in socialism and even to a permanent orientation toward a socialist democracy, but it has no liking for single-party rule. The Socialist-Communist coalition which would have governed France if the constitution, and with it the new electoral law, had been accepted would have too closely resembled a single party to please a nation of individualists. For sooner or later the Socialist partners in the

coalition would have been obscured and overshadowed by the more ruthless, more disciplined Communists.

The Socialist Party has now realized the danger of this predicament and is manifestly trying to disentangle itself from its temporary alliance with the Communists. The Manifesto of the Socialist executive, issued after the referendum, appeals for unity among all republicans and is clearly directed, on the one hand, at the Radicals, with whom the Socialists share a common policy on secular education, and, on the other, at the Christian Democrats of Georges Bidault's M. R. P., with whom the Socialists more or less agree on economic policies. Such a coalition would exclude both the Communists



President Gouin

on the extreme left and the recently formed Party of Republican Liberty on the extreme right. The Socialists would be the center and the focal force of the coalition and would demand the principal places in the government if such a coalition, as seems almost inevitable, should emerge victorious from the June 2 elections. The return of Léon Blum to Paris is awaited with eagerness since he has long counseled a breaking away from the connection with the Communists, the dangers of which have been so patently revealed by the results of the referendum on the constitution.

If the Socialist Party is to take power in France either alone or in coalition, it must do so as the champion of liberty. It was that magical word with which the right parties last Sunday successfully wooed so many voters from their normal allegiance to the left, and the leaders of the Socialist Party seem to have realized this. The totalitarian state offers little attraction as such even to the disciplined masses of the French Communists, and in their post-referendum manifestos the Communist Party leaders also fall back on old-fashioned words like liberty and democracy.

In the elections on June 2 both Socialists and Communists may not only regain but even improve their position in the Assembly. Electing Deputies to an Assembly which, if for only seven months, will enjoy considerable legislative powers on questions vitally affecting every voter is a very different matter from saying yes or no in a referendum on a thing so complicated and so little understood as a constitution. On June 2, therefore, the electors who strayed like wilful sheep from the path

indicated by their party shepherds will probably return to it with alacrity. If this prediction is fulfilled, the new Constituent Assembly will have a larger Communist and Socialist representation than the last, but the balance of power will be shifted slightly to the right. In any but

the most doubtful contingency of an outright Communist majority, which would give Maurice Thorez the leadership of the government and make him temporary chief of state, the Socialists and their future allies will dominate the scene.

Real Estate Goes to College

BY CAREY MCWILLIAMS

A contributing editor of The Nation, whose latest book is "Southern California Country: Island on the Land"

St. Louis, May 7

AN ISSUE currently shaping up in St. Louis is likely to establish precedents of great importance in the seemingly unrelated fields of race relations and taxation. Granted a charter by the Missouri legislature in 1857, Washington University has long claimed tax exemption as an institution providing educational opportunities for "the youth of Missouri"; its claim was finally upheld by the United States Supreme Court in the case of Washington University versus Rowse. At one time the university freely admitted Negroes to all its schools and departments, but since about 1900 it has accepted no Negroes as students. Being a private institution, it could, if it chose, revert to its former policy. In a legal opinion dated April 30, 1936, Dr. M. B. Clopton, then president of the board, was advised that the question of whether Negroes should be admitted depended on "what action the university as a moral and intellectual leader" wanted to take. This question, in the words of counsel, was "in reality one of statesmanship and not of law."

The Jim Crow policy of Washington University is of exceptional interest because the university has served for some years as a holding company for heavily mortgaged but valuable properties in St. Louis. During the depression a large number of banks and financial institutions sought to acquire tax-exempt status for real estate on which they held mortgages and trust deeds as the one hope of salvaging their investments. They therefore arranged, in literally dozens of cases, for the mortgagor to deed the mortgaged property, for a nominal consideration, to Washington University. With title vested in the university, the property of course became tax-exempt.

The Patriot Realty Company, for example, deeded to Washington University a building which was used by the International Shoe Company for its main offices in St. Louis. The property was assessed at \$345,000 when the transfer was made and was subject to a mortgage of approximately the same amount. Since taking over the property, Washington University has been collecting rent from the shoe company and paying off the principal and interest on the mortgage. The use of the building by the

International Shoe Company was not interrupted by the transfer. Similarly the St. Louis Terminal Cupples Station Property Company deeded to Washington University, for a consideration of \$5, property mortgaged for \$3,000,000. Here also the university has been collecting the rents and applying them to the payment of principal and interest.

So many pieces of property have thus been made tax-exempt that in an answer filed to a case now pending in the Circuit Court of Missouri (*Washington University vs. Gruner*, No. 86852) the city attorney has charged that the financial stability of the city will be threatened if the practice continues. The same answer contains the statement that Washington University has not been actually receiving the benefits of ownership in any of these transactions but has been using the income from the properties to pay off principal and interest on loans—that is, it has been bailing out the holders of the investments. Ultimately—in some cases thirty, forty, or fifty years hence—the university may have clear title to the properties; in the meantime the income from them is being used for a purpose entirely unrelated to the education of "the youth of Missouri." I was unable to obtain an estimate of how much revenue the city was losing through this clever reintroduction of mortmain in American law, but it must be a handsome sum.

Such abuse of the tax-exemption principle appears all the more heinous in the light of the university's Jim Crow policy. St. Louis had a pre-war Negro population of more than 135,000, 12 per cent of its total population. While Negroes are now admitted to St. Louis University, they are excluded from the University of Missouri. Since they are excluded from Washington University also, many able and often brilliant Negro students, graduates of St. Louis schools, are compelled to complete their education outside the state. Tax exemption is tantamount to a grant of public funds. The 135,000 Negroes of St. Louis are therefore contributing to the support of an institution from which they can derive no benefit.

The question of when a private corporation becomes a public or quasi-public corporation by reason of its tax-

exempt status will be decided in the pending case of Washington University versus Gruner, which will probably reach the United States Supreme Court. The St. Louis chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its able president, David Grant, has intervened in the action and has squarely raised the Jim Crow issue. The case will probably bring out also how much property, in our large urban areas, has been effectively removed from the taxing power by the misuse of tax exemption. Nearly every American city today is finding it difficult to raise new revenues for sorely needed projects, and the explanation may lie in part in the abuse of the tax-exemption principle. Certainly institutions enjoying tax exemption on such a scale as in St. Louis should not complain if the

state attempts to regulate their activities at least to the extent of compelling them to adopt a non-discriminatory policy.

In view of the emphasis placed on science at Washington University, the racial discrimination practiced seems a strange educational anachronism. I doubt that the distinguished chancellor of the university, Dr. Arthur Compton, would want to undertake, as a scientist, a defense of this policy. Curiously enough, it was not until after the university began to receive substantial endowments that it abandoned its earlier policy of admitting Negroes. Can it be that some of the donors made the university's adoption of a Jim Crow policy a condition of their gifts? The trial of the pending case should throw considerable light on American educational practices.

The Balance Sheet of War

BY JACQUES GASCUEL

A French journalist specializing in economics; technical counselor to the French delegation at the San Francisco conference

Paris, May 1

AS SOON as the last of the Nazi invaders were gone—and it was not until the beginning of May, 1945, that the units holed up in the Atlantic ports surrendered—France set about drawing up a balance sheet for the five and a half years of war and occupation. At first glance the losses seemed less than had been expected. Under the shattered roofs of bombed factories most of the machinery was still intact. The enemy had removed a great deal of equipment, but much was left. In some parts of the country productive capacity seemed little reduced; coal mines, iron and steel works, power plants were practically unharmed. If manufacturers could obtain some new equipment and make the most urgent repairs, assembly belts could start moving again.

But more serious damage was soon uncovered. During the war of 1914-18 France had lost 1,400,000 men who were never replaced. In the period from 1939 to 1945 it lost about the same number. A country of 40,000,000 inhabitants cannot but feel the effect of being deprived of almost 3,000,000 workers. There was also great destruction of capital. Two million of ten million buildings were damaged. More than half the rolling stock of the railroads and almost all the barges and cargo vessels had disappeared. These losses were estimated at more than \$13 billion. In addition, the Germans had collected more than \$9 billion in levies and drained off stockpiles worth \$2 billion. Finally, the machinery which remained was worn out. It had been operated at full blast and had not been properly cared for; indeed, no repairs had been made. A study showed that \$4½ billion would have been needed for up-

keep; actually no money had been spent for that purpose. The total loss of capital was approximately \$28 billion, more than twice the national revenue in 1938; the equivalent for the United States would be \$120 billion.

At the moment of liberation the French did not quite grasp the situation. They knew that they had suffered tremendous losses, but in the enthusiasm of freedom regained they thought that industry would get quickly on its feet and that once they started to work things would be all right again.

Government finances were in not too bad shape. True, the public debt had almost quadrupled and was now \$47 billion, and the amount of money in circulation had increased almost as much; but the rise in real prices had absorbed the excess paper money and lessened the inflationary threat. It was hoped that the budget deficit, which with production reduced to 25 per cent of the 1938 level had reached \$75 million, would shrink as soon as factories began to operate on the pre-war scale. The revival of production, together with the increased tax revenues resulting from the higher rates, would make possible, it was thought, an annual expenditure of some \$12 billion, of which less than half would have to be obtained by borrowing.

Obviously France had to "prime the pump"—import foodstuffs, manufactured goods, and raw materials to feed, clothe, and shelter the population and reequip the factories. But there was believed to be enough money to pay for that. France was still rich. The vaults of the bank of issue held 1,777 tons of gold, and with credits and individual holdings abroad the nation had at its disposal between \$5 billion and \$6 billion.

PRODUCTION RISES BUT NOT HIGH ENOUGH

The French set to work. In one year—October, 1944, to October, 1945—coal production rose from 1,000,000 tons a month to nearly 4,000,000 tons, the pre-war level. In no other country in the world has such a recovery been achieved. With the aid of the Allies, particularly of the Americans, communications were repaired; the 18,000 kilometers of railroad still usable became 45,000 kilometers—as much as before the war. The capacity of the ports doubled, reaching 30,000,000 tons a month as compared with 45,000,000 tons in 1938. Millions of mines laid by the enemy were removed so that fields could be cultivated again; more than half the partially damaged buildings were made habitable.

In the factories production was resumed gradually at first, then at a steeply rising rate. In wool and cotton, for example, average monthly production, including rayons and other yarns, went from 2,222 tons for the first quarter of 1945 to 6,554 tons in June and 15,866 tons in October. Similar gains were registered for rubber, steel and finished steel products, cast iron, cement, paper, hides and prepared leathers, building materials, chemical products. By last October the average level of industrial production had climbed to 50 or 60 per cent of the 1938 figure.

Then suddenly the pace slackened. Around October 10 production graphs registered a drop; by the middle of November they had leveled off. The production peak had been passed.

In September a similar trend became apparent in banking. Deposits were increased, but the volume of notes for discount decreased. Unable to invest their funds, clients were letting them lie idle; commercial transactions dropped off.

At first people thought the slow-down was temporary. When it persisted, they attributed it to some psychological condition. Government posters depicting a worker standing before an almost finished piece of work carried the appeal, "Things are already better. Roll up your sleeves and they'll be better still." But the lag continued and was accentuated. Production inspectors were sent into every industrial area. Everywhere they were given the same excuse—lack of coal, lack of electric and water power, worn-out or antiquated machinery.

By various expedients, such as long-term borrowing and the exchange of bank notes, the Treasury had been able to avoid the necessity of printing new money; indeed, the amount of paper money in circulation had actually decreased since liberation. But an end to expedients had been reached. Unless production at least equal to that of 1938 could be attained, revenues would not be sufficient to permit an annual expenditure of \$12 billion (\$5 billion at the new rate of exchange).

Drastic measures were necessary. The Gouin govern-

ment, which succeeded De Gaulle's last January, undertook to enact them. Expenditures were reduced one-fifth, largely by cutting military appropriations. Various taxes were boosted, and the period for payment of the solidarity tax imposed after the liberation was cut in half. In the end, the probable deficit for the fiscal year was fixed at about \$1.25 billion for a budget of \$4.16 billion.

But these steps were not enough. It was absolutely necessary to raise industrial output above its present 60



per cent level, and for that a detailed estimate of coal and tool shortages and a general plan of reconstruction and modernization were needed. At this point the government created a Planning Commission headed by Jean Monnet. The commission wished to maintain ■

close liaison with all the productive forces of the country and therefore organized for every branch of industry committees on which were represented producers and consumers, management and labor, experts and administrators. These committees laid the groundwork for what might be called the French five-year plan, a program for economic recovery to be carried out by 1950.

PLANTS MUST BE MODERNIZED

The first task was to figure out the necessary expenditures. Destruction was estimated at \$28 billion, but the plan did not call for restoring everything just as it had been. The Planning Commission finally decided that 30 to 40 per cent of the total damage should be written off. It discovered, however, that more modernization was required than had been anticipated eighteen months earlier. When the French industrialists emerged from their five years of isolation and were able to compare their facilities with those of other countries, many of them realized that their task was not simply to bring back the conditions of 1938 but to renovate their factories from top to bottom. Their equipment was almost a quarter of a century behind the times.

As a matter of fact, from an industrial point of view, France was slipping behind in 1938. Though the world had known twenty years of peace, it had been for France a false peace. Physically France had borne the brunt of the First World War and had been obliged to rebuild more than two-thirds of the devastated regions. Reconstruction was not completed until 1928. After 1930, as the menace of Germany became increasingly clear, France began to worry about another conflict; it

therefore restored the two-year period of military training, built fortifications, and spent large sums for armaments. France's military expenditures in the period between the two wars amounted to \$7 billion, a slightly smaller proportion of the national revenue than the sum spent by the United States for industrial equipment in the same period. The liquidation of World War I and the preparations for World War II took the funds which might have been used for new machinery.

The Planning Commission has figured the cost of modernization at \$14 billion. Added to reconstruction, it brings the minimum necessary expenditure to \$30 billion. Where will the money come from?

With production at the 1938 level, France would have a national income of \$12.3 billion, of which only \$570 million could be used for investment in new plant. Under such conditions economic recovery would take half a century. It was plain, therefore, that industrial production must be raised to much greater heights. Even if it reached the level of 1929, a year of record prosperity, when the national income was \$18 billion, twenty years would be needed. France must therefore surpass its 1929 production. This need not be thought impossible; in Great Britain and the United States productive capacity is now far above the 1929 level. If today France could produce 25 per cent more than in 1929—not a difficult task with modernized equipment—its national revenue would rise to \$22 billion, and from \$4 billion to \$5 billion could be used annually for the amortization and maintenance of new machinery. Thus modernization would be financed within a reasonable period.

The 1929 production level plus 25 per cent means an output of 60,000,000 tons of coal, 15,000,000 tons of steel, and 25,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of energy a year. Under the commission's plan France ought to be able to achieve that goal in five years.

RUHR COAL NECESSARY

Of course modernization alone will not solve the problem. Machinery must have power to operate. And France, whose soil is so rich in other respects, is poor in coal and has few waterfalls that can be harnessed. Making the maximum use of its natural resources, France could probably never exceed the production of coal and kilowatt energy envisaged by the commission for 1950. In terms of tons of coal per year per inhabitant, the plan calls for not quite two, as compared with the eight tons produced in the United States and the five in England. Clearly France must import fuel.

In 1929 coal purchases abroad amounted to more than 30,000,000 tons. In 1938 they were still as high as 21,000,000 tons. Today they are only 10,000,000 tons. Here is the explanation for the lag in production.

Before the war France bought coal in Britain, Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Poland. Today the British

coal mines are in bad shape; whereas formerly the United Kingdom furnished France 550,000 tons a month, today it furnishes barely 100,000 tons. Belgium and Holland have become coal importers. With European transportation disrupted, Poland is too far away. The United States, now the major source of supply for France, is sending 500,000 tons a month. The rest comes from Germany. France is grateful to America for these coal shipments and hopes they will continue at least until the end of 1946. But importing coal from across the Atlantic does not make economic sense—American coal costs \$21 a ton on arrival while European coal costs only \$13. The way out of this difficulty is to obtain more coal from Germany, from the Ruhr.

Before the war the Ruhr produced 127,000,000 tons of coal a year. Today it is mining 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 tons a month, of which France receives about 350,000 tons. The Saar basin is closer to the French frontier but is a relatively small coal field. It has never produced more than 12,000,000 or 13,000,000 tons a year and must meet the requirements of its own highly developed industry. Besides, Saar coal cannot be converted into coke, and without coke you cannot make steel. No more than 100,000 tons of coal a month can be expected from the Saar. The Ruhr basin, however, can supply France's needs, replacing the more expensive American coal and the supplies formerly obtained from England. One million tons a month is required beginning in July and 20,000,000 tons a year later; 20,000,000 tons is barely 15 per cent of the normal annual output for the Ruhr basin.

CREDIT FROM THE UNITED STATES

If \$30 billion, spread over five years, is invested to reconstruct and modernize the country, French production can undoubtedly attain an annual value of \$22 billion by 1950—provided of course that the needed coal is obtained. This will permit prompt payment of the costs of reconstruction and modernization. There remains, however, a rather delicate problem. France is not in a position to supply the whole \$30 billion. It will, of course, use all its remaining gold and foreign currency and liquidate its foreign holdings. It will receive reparations in kind from Germany, capital in the form of machinery. It will export an appreciable amount of merchandise. But to carry out its five-year plan it will still need about \$4 billion worth of machinery, raw materials, and manufactured goods, which can only come from the United States.

Plainly France must have credits for its economic and political rehabilitation. And it is equally clear that the day will come when the United States will need customers. The French empire—now the French Union—or franc zone, with its 100,000,000 inhabitants, is one of the best customers of the United States. In 1937 it stood fifth among the nations of the world in produc-

tion, fourth in imports and exports. The only nations ahead of it were the United States, the British Empire, Germany, and the Soviet Union. Below it were Japan and the Low Countries, with corresponding figures barely half those of the franc zone. Yesterday the franc zone was the world's greatest producer of bauxite; it stood second in the production of phosphate and potash, and third in iron output. Because of France's geographical position and the multilateral character of its commercial relations, its recovery has a direct bearing on that of many other countries, not only in Western Europe, where customers are to be found, but overseas, where the suppliers are.

France is one of the most industrious countries of the world. The annual report of the International Labor

Organization for 1930-31 showed that 52 per cent of the French population was engaged in work, against 47 per cent in Great Britain and 37 per cent in the United States. France also had the largest proportion of artisans and small tradesmen—41 per cent of the population against 22 per cent in the United States.

France has made its choice between autarchic, totalitarian methods and free exchange. It wants to enter again as quickly as possible into the current of world trade. It has reestablished economic freedom at home, notably by measures taken against the domestic cartels, which have not always been clearly understood abroad. It asks only to attach itself in every way to the great Western democracies. But it cannot do that effectively without time to catch its breath.

The Nazis' Biological Warfare

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

A New York physician, author of "You Are Younger Than You Think" and "Habnemann, the Adventurous Career of a Medical Rebel"

A LETTER from Amsterdam, brought to my attention, bears testimony to the gruesome atmosphere in which so many human beings have had to live in the past decade. Its mixture of madness, science, orderliness, and obscenity is characteristic of the special blend of poison with which Nazism infected mankind. One would like to read it as a fragment from a dark primeval age. But the events it described happened very recently.

For the first time the de-sterilization of a man has taken place. He was sterilized under the Nazi regime because he was a Jew married to an Aryan woman. For such cases the Nazis applied special rules which underwent several changes. In the beginning the Jewish partners of mixed marriages had to wear the yellow star. Later many of them were sent to the Westerbork concentration camp, and thence deported.

Dr. Meyer, an S. S. staff welfare doctor, made these Jewish partners of mixed marriages his biological hobby. He announced that if a Jew married to a Gentile would agree to be sterilized, he, or she, need no longer wear the Jewish star, and his capital, confiscated as Jewish, would be given back to him. At a meeting of the inmates of Westerbork camp, two men who had been sterilized praised the advantages of the operation—probably referring to its rejuvenating effect. Many Jews with non-Jewish wives felt that compliance might save them from deportation and therefore signed a request for sterilization.

Dr. Meyer had announced further that if Professor Rögholt would certify the infertility of one of the partners in a mixed marriage, an operation would not be required. Professor Rögholt had accepted his professorship from the Nazis and was much criticized for

this, but he used his position to help many people by falsely certifying them as sterile. I know of one man eighty years old who was obliged to procure such a certificate. Women were not compelled to submit to the operation after the age of forty-five. To their credit, Dutch physicians refused unanimously to perform the operation.

Professor Salomon, the former chief physician of the Jewish Hospital in Berlin, who was a prisoner in Westerbork, was finally ordered to act as sterilization surgeon. He insisted on taking his wife, the well-known singer Paula Lindberg, to the Amsterdam hospital with him, saying that he needed her as a nurse. Having received permission for the trip, Professor Salomon and his wife seized the opportunity to escape and disappear. Finally a seventy-five-year-old Viennese physician, Dr. Lichtenstein, agreed to act as surgeon. He was supervised by an S. S. man named König, a former sculptor with some knowledge of physiology. Though he posed as a male nurse, his real job was to make sure that the seminal duct was actually cut. In addition to this operation, injections were given to effect a shrinking of the testicles.

The operations were performed in the Portuguese-Israelite Hospital in Amsterdam. In all, five hundred Jewish men married to non-Jewish women were sterilized. Afterward they were permitted to work and to go without the yellow star.

The Nazi attitude toward persons married to Jews was completely inconsistent: some were discharged from Westerbork, others deported.

Eugen B—, born in 1906, owner of a big laundry in Arnheim, born a Jew, baptized a Catholic, married to a Catholic woman, father of three sons, was notified

that his factory would be confiscated and he would be deported unless he agreed to be sterilized. He therefore "volunteered" for the operation. The sterilization, in his case, was followed by severe depression and inferiority feelings; so he decided in November, 1945, to undergo a new operation to obtain—if possible—restoration of his sexual functions. This is, I believe, the first case of de-sterilization ever undertaken.

Of course, we have long known about Nazi methods of biological warfare, among which sterilization was one of the favored weapons. But there is a difference between knowing of their existence and hearing the actual details. This sober report, which goes on to explain the

surgical methods of de-sterilization, shows more clearly than it could be imagined the miasma of torture and perversion in which Nazi-dominated Europe lived.

By the way, the letter-writer is mistaken in thinking that de-sterilization had never been attempted before. Such operations, when made necessary by an injury, have been performed and described in this country for many years but have rarely been successful. The last surgeon to report a new method was Lieutenant Commander Charles S. Cameron in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for April 25, 1945.

[Dr. Gumpert writes a monthly column on new developments in medicine and related fields.]

Elections Every Sunday

BY DONALD DOWNES

Correspondent for The Nation and the Overseas News Agency in Italy

Rome, May 3

THE Italians and the Allies are still breaking eggs in Italy, but no one has succeeded in making an omelette. Elections have been held every Sunday for eight weeks and will continue into June. Because of the many inter-party alliances and consequent overlapping electoral lists, and the curious Italian electoral system, the results are difficult to interpret.

In these so-called "administrative" elections each party nominates a somewhat larger number of candidates than the number of members of the legislative body, plus the executive officers, of the commune. Names frequently appear on more than one list; in fact, the lists of the Socialists and Communists and of the Liberals and L'Uomo Qualunque are usually identical. No one is nominated for a specific office. The men elected apportion the various posts among themselves about a week after the balloting. The strange cloakroom alliances formed in this period often reverse the apparent results of the election.

The results have made one thing very clear. The parish priests have done a bang-up electioneering job despite Article 66 of the electoral laws, which forbids them any active political role. They were encouraged in this by the Pope's first Lenten sermon, in which he quite openly defied Article 66 and said that the "church could not tolerate being confined in a temple." So far the Christian Democrats have obtained a majority in as many communes as have been won by all the center and leftist parties combined, and have received about 40 per cent of the votes cast. If they form some kind of working arrangement with the other, smaller rightist groups, Italy may emerge from the proceedings of the Constitutional Assembly with a one-party government of the Vatican's choosing. The left, encouraged by the Socialist victory

in Milan, is still hoping that returns from the big cities which have not yet voted will strengthen its position. But the biggest of these is Rome, which has practically no industrial working class and is close under the eye and influence of the Vatican.

So strong has been the pulpit's propaganda for the party which "in its name carries the holy title of the Redeemer" and uses the "sacred cross of the Savior" as its symbol that other parties are leaning on the evident strength of a religious symbol. The Liberals in Milan took the "Little Madonna," the city's patron saint, as theirs and under her image whooped it up for a slate of candidates nominated in common with L'Uomo Qualunque, whose fat and jolly *duce*, Guglielmo Giannini, is noted for his obscenity and profanity. A small party in the province of Salerno changed its name to Catholic Democrats and adopted as its symbol the Sacred Heart, pierced and dripping blood.

The big events in the long election process will be the referendum on the question of monarchy or republic and the election of delegates to the Constitutional Assembly, both of which will take place June 2. The monarchists are campaigning, as the left feared they would, with the slogan: "Russia is a republic; hence a republic means communism." This may work against candidates who are pledged to a republic. It may also count heavily in the final decision of Alcide de Gasperi and his Christian Democrats as to whether they are monarchists or republicans. Despite the house of Savoy's traditional enmity for the Vatican, they are inclined to favor the monarchy as a bulwark against the church's chief enemy, communism. Up to now they have carried water on both shoulders without spilling a drop, but they must make a decision before June 2.

Italy, however, is not all politics. The Italian spring is here with its riot of flowers and its balmy afternoons. Houses and offices are no longer cold and damp, and public attention has turned from the lack of heat to the scarcity of food. In the past six weeks I have driven nearly four thousand miles through Italy, and except for the hoarding peasants and persons who can afford black-market prices—the rich probably eat better in Italy than anywhere else in Europe—everybody is hungry. Full shops in the cities mean nothing. Shopkeepers refuse to sell on the food tickets. In Gragnano, once famous for its spaghetti, that staple costs 135 lire a pound, more than the average workman makes in a day. Oil sells at 220 lire a pound. Italians were grateful for LaGuardia's violent attack on Robert Conway's "Europe isn't hungry" article in the *New York Daily News*; they called it "the first really American reaction from a high official of your country since the armistice of 1943."

Much of the responsibility for the high prices and bad distribution rests with the weak Italian government. When election day lasts four months, it is hard to make politicians concentrate on such matters as food and price-control laws. UNRRA is partly responsible, for it has apparently failed to use the utmost possible pressure to get the government to act. Harlan Cleveland, head of the economic section of UNRRA, in a conversation with this writer casually confirmed the fact that 100,000 tons of textiles, 100,000 tons of phosphates, and nearly 50,000 tons of medicines, all of Italian make, are being hoarded by manufacturers and speculators in the north. Probably 100,000 tons of textiles is enough to make two complete outfits for every man, woman, and child in Italy. A suggestion that these materials be requisitioned by the government and distributed in the same manner and under the same price control as UNRRA goods was looked upon by Mr. Cleveland as foolish, and I suppose as dangerously anti-capitalist.

Two Americans have visited Italy in the past few months and made strongly contrasting impressions. Herbert Hoover held a press conference, with all questions submitted in advance, which seemed to suggest that "prosperity was just around the corner." He carefully evaded any embarrassing queries and answered all the others with a dramatic speech about the "battle of the next 120 days against hunger." Italian and American reporters alike were repelled—found him pompous. Lauchlin Currie, who was one of Roosevelt's administrative assistants, made a much better impression. He delivered two scheduled speeches to groups interested in promoting Italian-American trade and talked to everyone. He was friendly, frank, and sharp. America, he said, was a capitalist country, and Italy must put her appeals to America on a business basis. Yet he was not scandalized by the idea of meeting Socialists and Communists, and showed an appreciation of the Italian left's desire for

social and economic reform. Three or four Italian political leaders told me that Currie represented what Italian anti-fascism had hoped would be America's post-war attitude.

American prestige is high in Italy despite our diplomats, high-ranking military men, and the Allied Commission. Italians are disheartened when they hear it said that America has interests in Italy but that Americans are not interested in Italy. Whatever the results of the elections and the Constitutional Convention, whatever solutions are sought for the country's social and economic ills, Italy definitely looks to America.

In the Wind

THERE'LL ALWAYS BE AN ENGLAND: British Overseas Airways puts out a little booklet called "Essential Information," which it passes out to passengers boarding for transoceanic flights. Among the essential items is this: "Women: Although passengers do not usually change in the evening on route, you may like to take with you an uncrushable dinner dress. . . . Men: Although most passengers wear a lounge suit in the evening, if you decide to take a dinner jacket you will find a soft shirt much more comfortable and suitable than a stiff one."

SENATOR CAPEHART, Indiana Republican and juke-box king, came up with a wistful plea for the "good old days" during Senate committee hearings on the OPA bill. "There are two ways to get production," he suggested. "One is to work more men and the other is to work a given number of men more hours. During the war we encouraged men to work forty-eight hours a week. Why can't we now?"

OUR WARLIKE CONTEMPORARIES: The Brockton, Massachusetts, *Daily Enterprise*, reporting an address by the Very Reverend Charles D. McInnis before the Twentieth Century Catholic Club, noted: "Father McInnis . . . pointed out that since Spain is the country nearest to ours and upon whose shores we would undoubtedly wish to land troops should war with Russia ensue . . . we should attempt to have her good-will."

THE SCHIZOPHRENIC ARMY: On May 1 the United Press released two stories on army press relations. The first, datelined Washington, led off: "Lieutenant General J. Lawton Collins, army director of information, has announced that . . . 'we want no barriers to information between the army and the people.'" The second, dispatched from Landsberg, Germany, revealed: "The United States army today attempted to clamp a censorship blackout on conditions at the Landsberg displaced-persons camp. A United Press correspondent was threatened with arrest . . . unless he left the camp immediately."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Czechoslovakia's Rebirth

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

III. The Slovak Problem

Prague, May 8

IN THE generally favorable picture of conditions here, there are a few dark spots. One is Slovakia. Although less grave than the German issue, which is being solved, even at the risk of alienating some British and American sympathy, by the drastic policy of expulsion, Slovakia is a tougher problem than most Czech officials admit. Much has been done to ease the tension created during the occupation, but it would be unrealistic to ignore the waves of reaction that from time to time sweep Slovakia, putting to a severe test the patience and skill of the central government.

Heading the reaction is the Catholic church. Unlike the Catholics of Bohemia, who have wisely decided to accept the progressive policies of the Prague government, the clergy of Slovakia oppose every social reform. It was no accident that Tiso, the quisling Monsignor of the war, came out of the Slovakian hierarchy. There has been delay after delay in bringing him before a firing squad. The Slovak Catholics would consider his execution a heresy, and the Prague government apparently believes it has had enough difficulties to overcome in the past year without inviting trouble in Slovakia by pressing his trial. The church operates in the political field through the Democratic Party, a kind of Slovak M. R. P. but much more reactionary and a more faithful instrument of the Vatican than the French party. Although Slovakia is ruled by the same four-party coalition as Bohemia, the presence of the Democratic Party provides the reaction with an effective and dangerous fifth column. Contributing also to weakening the position of the progressive forces in Slovakia was the merger of Socialists and Communists, which proved a complete failure and explains the refusal of the Czech Communists to follow the general tendency toward fusion in other countries.

The first thing President Benes did was to declare, "The Slovak people cannot be held responsible for the treachery of its leaders. We must live together, and I ask every Czech to be fair and generous." The differences between the two peoples have partly a national origin and are partly the result of conditions which developed during the twenty years following the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic. One cause of estrangement was the fact that the Czechs are better administrators and more gifted in the art of politics. This created among the Slovaks a certain inferiority feeling and a resentful belief, possibly justified, that they had been relegated to the role of second-class citizens. It was a situation which the Germans found easy to exploit. More important was the great difference in the economic structure of the two regions. Always a source of trouble, this difference has become even more serious since the end of the war; automatically the Slovaks oppose every progressive measure, whether it is nationalization or participation of the unions in national policy. While Bohemia is predominantly industrial,

Slovakia continues to be essentially a country of peasants. In the two decades that preceded the war the agrarian reform announced for Slovakia practically remained on paper. The Slovak landlords were not anxious to hasten land reform, and a section of the Czech high bourgeoisie, for reasons of their own, did everything possible to prevent it. On the one hand, they did not want Slovak industries to develop to a point where they could compete with those in the Czech districts; on the other, they profited by the thousands of laborers unable to get jobs in Slovakia who poured into Bohemia to work at lower wages than Czechs would accept.

Since the liberation the agrarian reform has been in full swing. It is being applied in two stages. The first, already far advanced, consists in the confiscation without compensation of all the land of Germans and Hungarians and of Slovaks who collaborated with the Germans. The first beneficiaries are the guerrilla fighters who took part in the battle of liberation; it is interesting, and again reveals the warm sympathy that exists in Czechoslovakia for the Spanish Republican cause, that members of the International Brigade who fought in Spain enjoy the same rights as the partisans. All get from five to six hectares of land plus machinery, credit, and cattle. The problem of livestock is the most difficult; there are regions in Slovakia where not a single cow remained. They were all sent to Germany.

In the second stage of the reform estates are to be distributed which belong not to collaborators but to other large landholders. The owner is left fifty hectares for his own use and is indemnified for the rest. But even so radical an agricultural reform will not solve the economic problem. Contrary to the old idea of Slovakia as a rich, self-sustaining farming country, the truth is that the land will not support the population. The soil is fertile, but the mountainous character of the country reduces the tillable area. On the other hand, Slovakia is rich in raw materials, which, taken together with the surplus of labor, provide the basis for a successful industrial development. The government program includes the building of industries in Slovakia, a definite reversal of pre-war policy.

Politically Benes wants to give satisfaction to the Slovaks by creating a kind of local Diet with the right to settle certain problems of a political and economic character. It would be a very wise move because separatist tendencies, though much reduced since the liberation, are still strong under the surface. The most hopeful sign that the antagonism between the two regions will be gradually overcome is found in the action of the R. O. H. congress, which sanctioned the complete organic unity of the Czech and Slovak unions. The working class, which is playing such a remarkable role in the rebirth of Czechoslovakia, has also undertaken the great task of reconciling the two peoples. It is a striking case of the workers assuming a national function above the interests of class—a function Karl Marx assigned them in the "Communist Manifesto."



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Trade Policies and Sugar

IN THE current issue of *Fortune* William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State, reminds us that the Department of State has published "Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment" as a basis for international discussions of economic disarmament. These proposals, which have been indorsed in principle by Great Britain, contain "practical suggestions for the substantial reduction of tariffs, the elimination of tariff preferences, control of quotas, embargoes, subsidies, and cartels, and the establishment of rules concerning state trading and the administration of exchange control." As Mr. Clayton remarks, this represents an ambitious program, but since only very slow progress in breaking down trade barriers can be expected to result from bilateral negotiations, it is necessary to bring a large group of countries together and get them to consider an agenda covering all the main forms of trade control. For "each country uses its own system of protection, and it is not likely to be impressed with the necessity of relaxing it unless the kinds that other countries use are relaxed at the same time."

In preparation for an international trade conference, the date of which has still to be fixed, informal diplomatic talks among the United States and other governments are already believed to be taking place. But it would seem that some kind of domestic preparation is also required. It is no use for the United States to enter an international conference calling for the reduction of trade barriers, particularly one in which it is a moving spirit, unless it is assured of public backing for some reducing on its own account. Nothing would be more fatal to hopes of freer world trade than the refusal of Congress, under pressure from vested interests, to ratify or implement an agreement reached by such a conference. Mr. Clayton himself appears to recognize that there is some doubt about where Americans will stand when international discussions get down to brass tacks. "Whether the [above-mentioned] proposals," he writes, "state a program on which this country can unite is a question that American business ought to answer before the suggested conference meets."

There is no doubt, of course, that most American business men believe that the markets of the world ought to be made more accessible to American products. Many of them, particularly those with a direct interest in exports, will recognize that this is not likely to happen unless American markets are opened to foreign goods. Nevertheless, the reduction of any particular tariff is sure to encounter heavy opposition.

It is sometimes forgotten, moreover, that tariffs are not the only protective devices employed in this country. Restrictive quotas, preferences, and other discriminatory measures have, it is true, been used on a much larger scale by some other nations. But they are not unknown here, and their modification, for which Congressional action will be necessary, is not going to be easy.

Let us look, for example, at the problem of sugar, for

which a solution will have to be found in the near future, since the Sugar Act of 1937, which governs relations between imports and home production, expires at the end of this year. Both beet- and cane-sugar industries within the continental United States are, frankly, parasitical. They have grown up fostered by larger and larger tariffs, supplemented, when they threatened to die despite this protection, by quota regulation of imports and by subsidies. In the early thirties, after the adoption of the Hawley-Smoot tariff, the effective rate of duty on Cuban sugar was \$2 a hundred pounds, which meant in May, 1932, when the price of sugar in New York fell to \$2.57, that the Cuban producer was getting a gross return of only 57 cents a hundred pounds. And Cuba, it must be remembered, enjoyed a 20 per cent preference compared with other foreign countries.

Despite the height of the tariff wall behind which they operated, American cane and beet growers were almost down and out. Their difficulty was that the tariff also protected sugar grown in Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, where costs of production, though higher than in Cuba, were well below those in the continental United States. Thus protection inadequate for domestic producers served to stimulate production in the dependencies. An attempt to remedy this situation was made in 1934, when the Jones-Costigan amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act inaugurated a policy of quotas fixing the mainland share of the market at about 25 per cent of the whole, allotting Cuba 1,900,000 tons—about one-third of its total production—and dividing the rest among Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The prohibitive tariff served to exclude imports from the many other sugar-exporting countries. These provisions were renewed and strengthened by the Sugar Act of 1937.

One of the main arguments for this hothouse nurture of the home sugar industry has been that it would assure supplies in the event of war. But this defense cannot stand up on the record of the past five years. In 1941 the beet growers did produce the largest crop they had ever achieved, but since then their output has fallen away year by year. This is explained by lack of labor and fertilizer, but it is precisely in war time that these elements in production are likely to be in short supply. If we had had to depend on mainland sugar to make up for loss of the Philippines exports, the shortage would have been far more severe than it was. Fortunately, Cuba has to some extent been able to step into the breach, though it has not expanded production nearly as much as it could have done if the United States had been willing to contract for more than one crop at a time and to give some assurance of a larger post-war market.

When the Sugar Act comes up for review, the Cuban plantation interests are obviously going to press for a larger quota, and they will be able to make out a strong case. But merely to alleviate Cuba's position within the quota system will not make American sugar legislation any less discriminatory so far as the rest of the world is concerned, nor any less of a stumbling-block in negotiations with other countries engaging in similar practices to the detriment of American trade. The whole policy needs to be reconsidered from this point of view as well as from that of the American consumer, who has been footing the bill. I shall return again to this subject in my next article.

KEITH HUTCHISON

PUBLIC LIBRARY

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Russian Evolution

THE GREAT RETREAT. The Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia. By Nicholas S. Timasheff. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$5.

I CHOSE FREEDOM. By Victor Kravchenko. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

RELIGION IN RUSSIA. By Robert Pierce Casey. Harper and Brothers. \$2.

BY "The Great Retreat" Professor Timasheff means the movement in Communist thought and practice from Marxist orthodoxy back to some of the traditional *mores* and dogmas of the older Russia. He places the beginning of this retreat at about 1934. The periods which preceded it—the period of war communism (1917-21), of the New Economic Policy (1921-29), and of the new socialization program initiated with the series of "five-year" plans—are analyzed as the background of the strategy of retreat. It is Timasheff's thesis that a utopian revolutionary movement, using dictatorial means to effect a radical change in the economy and culture of a nation, is forced in the end to come to terms with certain permanent aspects of the human situation, embodied in traditional customs, beliefs, and practices. Utopianism seeks vainly to alter these perennially powerful elements in a culture and must finally come to terms with them.

The retreat of the Russian dictatorship from orthodox Marxism to traditional Russian elements of culture is a matter of common knowledge. But Professor Timasheff's careful documentation of this development is of great value because it brings many facets of the movement, hitherto considered separately by various students, under a single survey and allows the student to consider the meaning of the whole. A few of the facets may be worth enumerating. There has been a shift from orthodox Marxist internationalism to Russian patriotism, culminating in Stalin's statement at the outbreak of the war, which made an appeal for the defense of the fatherland without a single reference to Marxist ideology. The earlier attitude which sought to reduce family ties to a minimum has been replaced by an appreciation of the family. Divorce has been made more difficult, and abortion, once encouraged, declared illegal. Atheistic propaganda has been outlawed and the church has achieved toleration.

This last development is more fully analyzed in Professor Casey's book, which also gives both the Russian and the Marxist background of the present religious situation in Russia. The culmination of this aspect of the retreat was the council of the Orthodox church in 1945, at which a new Patriarch was elected. Professor Casey's treatise is a competent and scholarly one, but it would have greater value if he had made a fuller analysis of the pronouncements of the 1945 council. These pronouncements represent a curious mixture of Christian phraseology and Soviet thought, and raise some questions about the degree of freedom enjoyed by the emancipated church.

The "retreat" also involves a repudiation of the more

deterministic elements in Marxist thought, which are condemned as "bourgeois mechanistic philosophy," while the more voluntaristic elements are stressed. Since Lenin was already more voluntaristic than Marx, this may be a case in which "Stalinism" is truly in conformity with "Leninism." Another shift in emphasis involves the utopian doctrine of the "withering away of the state," which implies that dictatorship is only temporary. The transient character of the dictatorship is being emphasized less and less, and the dictatorship is becoming one within the party rather than of the party over the nation. The movement culminates in a veneration of Stalin which reaches religious dimensions. Another retreat can be charted in educational practice. A rather extravagant experimentalism in education has proved incapable of inculcating the three R's and yielded to a new regimentation in the schools. Thus a dictatorship intended to change the face of Russia radically has been gradually forced to yield to traditional forces. It has not, however, abrogated its own absolutism. Timasheff contends that the Communist dictatorship is more absolute than anything known in previous Russian history, at least in the history of the nineteenth century.

All this, though not new, is presented with cumulative effect. But the author rather spoils the effect of his analysis by engaging in implausible speculations on what Russia would have been like had the Communist revolution failed. It is his thesis that Russia, though backward, was not a stagnant nation; and that if the incipient reforms in land ownership, education, industrialization, and representative government had been allowed to continue without interruption the nation would now be more advanced than it is. Such speculations are not very convincing; and they are not made more plausible by statistics and graphs purporting to prove what "might have been." History does not move forward merely by the logic of revolutions, but statistical logic cannot comprehend its forward movement either.

"I Chose Freedom" is the personal confession and history of a Russian purchasing agent who made the headlines in 1944 by throwing up his job with the Soviet purchasing mission in Washington and indicting the whole Soviet system. In this book he reveals that he came to Washington with exactly this escape in mind. The book is not unlike Barmine's exposé of Russian political and economic life. The details of labor camps, purges, bureaucratic inefficiency, and general insecurity under totalitarianism that are presented in this record seem to tally fairly well with other estimates. Naturally personal animus prompts the author to dwell on the darker side of the Russian picture. One could well argue that the regime could not be so evil as depicted or it would not have survived the war. On the other hand, such considerations need not invalidate this record, for even a better social system than the Russian one is subject to contradictory estimates that might represent equally valid half-truths.

The outsider cannot make a fair estimate of such an indictment, but it can be set down that the story is fairly self-

authenticating. The author was a member of the new managerial oligarchy in Russia, and he throws interesting light upon the inevitable friction between the technical managers and the political and police leadership. He survived the purges by exerting great energy and by refusing to sign the confessions which the police tried to force upon him. The comrades are naturally trying to discredit this story by suggesting that there must be something wrong with a man who was disaffected, by his own admission, as early as 1932 and yet continued to rise in the managerial oligarchy. I can see nothing implausible in the motivation, or wrong either. He was undoubtedly strongly influenced by the aversion of his father and mother, old non-Communist social revolutionaries, to the Communist system. Naturally the moral standards which prompt men to resist and resent tyranny and caprice must be drawn from somewhere, and the author seems to have drawn them from a good source.

The uncritical proponents of Soviet "democracy" will undoubtedly argue that the author has forgotten that one cannot have a nice revolution or make an omelette without breaking eggs. But the record proves that it is one thing to regard broken eggs from a distance and another to be close enough at hand to note that the broken eggs are human lives.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Status of Women: What Was It?

WOMAN AS A FORCE IN HISTORY. By Mary R. Beard.
The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

ALL her writing life Mary Beard has stood in the public mind for the idea of equality between men and women. Her partnership with her husband in the writing of such basic works of historical interpretation as "The Rise of American Civilization" has been held up as an example to the young; thus could wives hope to participate in a joint scholarly endeavor; thus could husbands afford to grant recognition to the part their wives played in work interesting to both. How fruitful the idea has been can be seen in any number of books signed jointly by husband and wife which would earlier have carried recognition of the wife's part only in the form of a nineteenth-century acknowledgment of assistance, more polite than convincing.

It has been assumed by outsiders that Mrs. Beard was content with this position. But she has never been one to be satisfied with any status quo merely on its face value, and in her newest book she delves into the origin of the idea she has personified. She finds it starting and developing as a way of escape from the idea of subjection, and her handling of the two concepts is such as to leave one wondering whether she will emerge with the thesis that the equality idea is as false as she believes the subjection idea to have been.

Mrs. Beard believes that the actual status of women throughout history is much more varied and complex than is ordinarily understood, that it has not been sufficiently documented or studied, that it was, in the Anglo-Saxon world, subjected to deliberate perversion in 1756 when Blackstone in his famous "Commentaries" set up a false interpretation of the legal status of women which was afterward woven



A work of
historical importance

Stalin

An Appraisal
of the Man and His Influence

by
Leon Trotsky

Charles Malamuth, Editor and Translator

This carefully documented book by Stalin's political opponent—a distinguished scholar and writer—traces Stalin's career from his school days through his rise to power in the Communist Party. Here also is an account of Communist politics during the crucial years when the USSR was establishing itself as a great power.

Two-thirds of the book was finished by Trotsky himself. The final third was completed by his editor and translator, Charles Malamuth, from Trotsky's outline, copious notes, memoranda and partly written pages. In this section the editorial interpolations are set off by brackets from Trotsky's own text.

With two supplements,
appendix, chronological guide,
bibliography of Trotsky's
writings available in English,
glossary of terms, and full index.
16 pages of illustrations.

AT ALL BOOKSTORES • \$5.00

HARPER & BROTHERS

Today-- in occupied Germany

Imagine an aristocratic German family with a French daughter-in-law — and two Allied occupation officers stationed in their home. This is the setting for a tense drama of conflicting loyalties, Storm Jameson's latest novel—

The OTHER SIDE

"*The Other Side* is not only the best novel Miss Jameson has written, but it also happens to be one of the top novels so far this season," says John Cournos in the *New York Sun*. "It may be legitimately called a thriller, especially designed for intellectual palates."

Those who know Miss Jameson's writing can guess that a "thriller" from her pen has more in it than excitement and suspense. "More fully than any other English writer," says Henry Steele Commager in the *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*, "she has made herself the unhappy diagnostician of the sickness of Europe . . . This moving and tender study of French and German character is a fitting conclusion to Miss Jameson's long chronicle of Europe at war."



STORM JAMESON

is the author of

THE CAPTAIN'S WIFE, CLOUD-
LESS MAY, THE JOURNAL OF
MARY HERVEY RUSSELL

\$1.75 at your bookstore

MACMILLAN

into the fabric of law in England and the United States and was given credence out of all proportion to its value. The women who met to frame the famous Seneca Falls Declaration of 1848 felt themselves oppressed, and to a certain extent actually were oppressed, because Blackstone had said that woman had always been subject to man's will. The idea exercised "an almost tyrannical force" for over a hundred years. It spurred women to set out on a crusade against a situation which was based chiefly on the fictions created by one man's prejudice, lack of scholarship, and power of persuasion.

To people brought up in the classic school of feminine protest this latter assertion is little short of revolutionary. Certainly it must be explored, and with more light than heat. If true, it calls for an overhauling of the entire fabric of feminist thinking. Women who still seek to push an equalitarian amendment through Congress may find themselves moving in a vacuum. Meanwhile, if women cannot clamor that they have always been oppressed, they lose their easiest excuse for lack of first-rate accomplishment in the modern world. The question now becomes, if we can no longer rattle or take refuge in our non-existent chains: where do we go from here and when shall we get about it? Mrs. Beard thinks we have traditionally been the great civilizing force. If so, it is certainly time we got on the job again.

MILDRED ADAMS

The Witty Martyrs

CONFESSIONS OF A EUROPEAN INTELLECTUAL.

By Franz Schönberger. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

THESE English confessions of a German editor testify for a number of German editors. Surrounded by Vehme murderers, the underground foes of the Weimar Republic, they fought against the progressive benightment of Germany. Naturally anti-heroic, they showed heroic courage in the literary war against German militarism, against nationalism and reaction. These witty citizens of the world tried to bring the unfinished integration of Germany in Europe to a close—each one in splendid isolation, defenseless against squint-eyed justice and the only too menacing threats of death at the hands of the earliest Nazis.

These embattled editors were not burrowing underground. They fought in the literal light of day, with mordant wit and easy consciences, against an enemy who later all but put the world in bondage. Without seeking heroic glory or the martyr's crown of thorns they turned into martyrs and heroes. They paid the price of loyalty to their convictions in loss of life or liberty, in exile or a hundred lost illusions. Many of them are already dead and forgotten. Mankind remembers the names of its enemies better than those of its friends. Anti-heroic heroes, witty martyrs, German liberal editors: of the *Weltbühne*, Carl von Ossietzky, Kurt Tucholsky, Willi Sehlamm; of the *Tagebuch*, Leopold Schwarzschild and Joseph Bornstein; of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Konrad Heiden and Joseph Roth; of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Theodor Wolff and Rudolf Olden; of the other liberal magazines or newspapers, Werner Hegemann,

Theodor Lessing, Erich Mühsam. They stand for hundreds of fighting editors.

Franz Schönberner in these "Confessions" tells with wit and wisdom and gentle humor, with satire and an irony that does not spare himself, how the eleventh child of a well-to-do Berlin minister became the fighting editor of *Simplizissimus*, the most aggressive humor magazine in Germany. His is a typical story of the evolution of a determined individualist and relentless aesthete, from disgust at politics to derision of the abuse of power and the vanity of the powers that be, ending up in the life-and-death struggle against any kind of tyranny and the abuse of humanity. It is the story of a fighting liberal, unprotected by powerful parties yet always taking the part of the weak and righteous and oppressed.

In a graceful style reminiscent of the great French pamphleteers and conversationalists, Schönberner vividly resurrects the empire and the Weimar Republic. Numerous anecdotes illuminate the splendid portraits and characteristic life stories of this autobiography, which depicts a whole epoch. Schönberner describes the Munich revolution, accomplished "with great oratory and little gunfire," and tells how "a minister's son discovers the dangerous force of thinking." He conveys acute impressions of the people he met—such as Rainer Maria Rilke, George Gross, Erich Kästner, the author's cousin Lou Andreas Salomé (a German Aspasia and friend of Nietzsche, Rilke, Freud), the mortally ill D. H. Lawrence, and Hans Carossa, the Munich poet and physician who examined Lawrence at Schönberner's request. There are original essays and sketches—on Dostoevski, Tolstoy, Leskov, the "misunderstood" Haushofer, Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Schönberner tells of his adventures in the First World War and in the publishing business, of his and Hitler's collaborators, of his first experiments with radio, of the homosexual paradise in Taormina, Sicily. He tells how Knut Hamsun's athlete's foot ruined his style and his character, how *Simplizissimus* fought its long, losing battle against Hitler, and how the favorite comic figure of *Simplizissimus* overnight became dictator of Germany and forced editor Schönberner into exile. And always true, for Schönberner and his reader, is one of his sentences: "Life is for him an inexhaustible source of sardonic amusement."

"Confessions of a European Intellectual" is a well of sheer pleasure, and a historical source of the first rank for all Americans who, not wanting like Censor Cato the Elder to destroy Carthage, would like to understand Germany.

HERMANN KESTEN

A Faded Violet

OWEN MEREDITH: *A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT, FIRST EARL OF LYTTON*. By Aurelia Brooks Harlan. Columbia University Press. \$3.75.

WHAT are the chances of a man who wants, terribly, to write, yet has only enough talent to succeed in writing terribly? Not too bad, perhaps; Mrs. Harlan's sympathetic and scholarly study suggests that such a person, given energy, luck, connections, and money, can manage to do fairly well in the space of a lifetime. The more the



Philippe Soupault's AGE OF ASSASSINS

*The Story of
Prisoner No. 1234*

"Philippe Soupault's *Age of Assassins* is yet another example of the resurgence of French genius in post-war literature, that genius that knows how to create directly out of experience. *Age of Assassins* is a picture of men under pressure, of their resistance to and transcendence of the Nazi tide that sought to blot out their humanity. The book deals with extreme situations—imprisonment, loneliness, and the threat of death—situations which have become too familiar to far too many men during the past 12 years. The relentless psychological analysis will remind you of Dostoyevsky. *Age of Assassins* proves that great living is necessary to produce writing that breathes the spirit of truth and rekindles in us a sense of the irreducibly human."

—Richard Wright

Translated from the French by
HANNAH JOSEPHSON

For sale at all bookshops at \$3.00,
published in New York by

ALFRED · A · KNOFF



biographer quotes, to be sure, the less she is able to interest the reader in her hero's literary works. But, for all that, the story is a fascinating one: what a novel Henry James might have made of it! A child of Mayfair, son of a distinguished novelist, a disciple of the Brownings, a writer of many books of poems, some of which sold many editions, a diplomat in many capitals, eventually a viceroy of India, Edward Robert Lytton Bulwer, also known as Owen Meredith, died a disappointed and frustrated man. He had always wanted to be a poet; he must have known he was never a very good one. Mrs. Harlan's thesis that his father was partly to blame appears to me debatable. It would certainly seem true that Bulwer Lytton did all he could to discourage his son's literary career, even to the extent of refusing him permission to use the family name; and it may be that the reasons he alleged—that writing was a hazardous, arduous, unremunerative business—were not entirely ingenuous. He may have been jealous, fearful that his son's name would surpass his own, and his pride was considerable. But that pride, one suspects, had equal grounds for anxiety in the possibility that the son would be, not too good, but not good enough; and as far as I can see, the old man was just about right.

"Out of the leaves of my 'Lucile,'" runs a sentimental verse I remember from somewhere, "falls a faded violet." Reading "Lucile," as the reviewer feels he must when he is considering Mrs. Harlan's critical biography, one wonders about the taste which could have made it popular: "Half the Archduchesses and fine ladies at Vienna are reading 'Lu-

cile' and profess to like it," wrote the author to his father, in 1869; and there were upward of a hundred editions in America during the eighties and nineties. We know all about the taste of the eighties and nineties, of course; that explains a great deal. And yet, and even while agreeing with the judgment of Fame's incorruptible silence on the works of Owen Meredith, we have what he might call a fleeting, sobering fancy: out of the leaves of what equally popular masterpiece of this decade will fall the faded violet in 1980?

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

FICTION IN REVIEW

FROM its start as a Jewish genre novel—and its first chapter is perhaps the most charming bit of Jewish genre I have ever read—Isaac Rosenfeld's "Passage from Home" (Dial, \$2.50) develops into a novel of profound universal meanings. The development is a startling one and points to what is not the least of the many extraordinary virtues of Mr. Rosenfeld's book—its ability to use its Jewish background as a natural, instead of a forced, human environment. I am not acquainted with Yiddish literature; it may be that there are writers in the native Jewish tongue who are able to avoid the almost organized emotions of Jewish separateness—the emotions of specialness, of embattledness, of social overdeterminism, of self-pity and self-punishment. But among novels of Jewish American life Mr. Rosenfeld's is, to my knowledge, the sole instance in which the fact of being Jewish is handled with complete openness yet simply as another facet of the already sufficiently complicated business of being a human being. We find, for example, that in most Jewish fiction the characters are allowed only that kind of personal drama which reflects their drama as a people. The problems or conflicts of love, of age, of status, of worldly ambition, of the acquisition of knowledge, are all assimilated into the parent problem of the relation of a subordinate social group to the dominant culture. It is out of the power to endure that the Jewish novel most commonly draws its dramatic material. Because the Jewish novelist cannot believe that his environment really belongs to him, he cannot envision a valid personal drama of development within it. At best, therefore, he writes a fiction of dignified resistance or acceptance, and at worst a fiction of fierce personal aggression, of the individual effort to rise above the restrictions of Jewish birth. Dealing with the Jewish subject, he never writes a heroic fiction of growth.

But Mr. Rosenfeld's novel has a hero, or at least the makings of a hero. And it also has, as this principal character, a fourteen-year old boy, Bernard, who is of an emotional and moral stature to be a beautifully adequate projection of his author—which again points to the high order of Mr. Rosenfeld's novelistic gift. For just as for Jewish fiction to underestimate the personal possibilities of Jews is to undervalue the whole Jewish section of life and to betray Jewish fiction at its source, so for any writer to underestimate the possibilities of wisdom in youth or the moral dignity of the young is to undervalue all of life and to betray all of fiction at its source. There has never been a novelist worth his salt

What's wrong with our present system of unemployment compensation?

AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS from sixteen international unions, both A.F. of L. and C.I.O., asked that question. They examined the entire unemployment compensation set-up. This book is the result of their study of this vital problem.

LABOR AGREES THAT:

1. Unemployment compensation should be accessible to all wage-earners.
2. It should be administered by a federal organization, replacing the present crazy quilt system.
3. It must pay adequate benefits, not a pittance.
4. It must be coupled with a highly developed, nation-wide employment service.
5. It is a system of income insurance, and not a plan rewarding loafing.

Every wage-earner, everyone who works for a living, every intelligent citizen, should read this book. \$1.00

LABOR LOOKS AT UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

THE UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO PRESS
5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.



who has failed to recognize the grandeur of man in the child; the tendency of current fiction, while dwelling so persistently on child themes, to picture youth as fixed in its most infant aspects is, I think, a measure of its disrespect for the whole human possibility. The accusation that will no doubt be made against Mr. Rosenfeld, that his fourteen-year-old spokesman sees more than any fourteen-year-old can see and learns more than a fourteen-year-old can learn, is, then, the softest of impeachments. A similar criticism is made of Henry James, who also tried to flatter us into maturity. What Mr. Rosenfeld might learn from James, however, is certain technical tricks, tricks of versimilitude, for concealing his method of seduction.

His high estimation of the young is of course not the only regard in which "Passage from Home" suggests the comparison with James. Specifically in its preoccupation with the moral nature of the early educative process, Mr. Rosenfeld's novel recalls Henry James's "What Maisie Knew" or "The Pupil." Bernard's story, like Maisie's or Morgan Moreen's, is too much a matter of the subtleties by which good and evil manifest themselves to a child to lend itself easily to synopsis; stated crudely, it is the story of a boy's effort to experience the meaning of love and of the frustration of this effort by the adults who surround him. Always aware of his father's need to assume the part of virtue, Bernard looks to a small group of grown-ups outside the immediate family circle—his ostracized, bohemianly "independent" Aunt Minna; his dashing Gentile cousin-by-marriage, Willy; even his aunt's anarchic friend, Mg. Mason—to teach him some kind of truth to match an ideal of maturity. The search is an abortive one; or rather Bernard's education is an education by negatives—the boy discovers not only that his grown-ups do not love but also that they cannot acknowledge the hatred which, admitted, might permit them love. On the last page of his history Bernard realizes that "my only hope had been to confess that I did not love him [his father], to admit I had never known what love was or what it meant to love, and by that confession to create it. Now it was too late. Now there would only be life as it came and the excuses one made to himself for accepting it." And we are reminded of E. E. Cummings's wonderful lines:

Women and men (both little and small)
cared for anyone not at all
they sowed their isn't they reaped their same
sun moon stars rain
children guessed (but only a few
and down they forgot as up they grew
autumn winter spring summer)
that noone loved him more by more

Except that no more than Cummings has himself forgotten down as up he grew—or would he be capable of so much lyrical assertion of life?—do we feel that Bernard's process of growth will be downward. As an intellectual resolution of the book Mr. Rosenfeld's comment on what has happened to his young hero is undeniably sound, but there is the whole emotional tone of the novel, the whole statement of the author's own relation to his protagonist, to dispute Bernard's future of "excuses."

And in the very degree that Bernard's human future is so

*Important...
Inspiring*

**MERLE
CURTI'S**

The Roots of American Loyalty

★ Taking a new and fascinating approach to the pattern of American history, a Pulitzer Prize historian examines American patriotism, reveals wherein it is unique and how it has affected our national development. He has illustrated this theme with dramatic and colorful stories of the men and events behind such familiar symbols as the flag, the eagle and Uncle Sam. Discovering, as we read, how deep lie the roots of our American loyalty, we find here inspiration and armor for the ordeals of today.

At all bookstores • \$3.00

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS • NEW YORK 27



H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

**"CRUX ANSATA — An Indictment
of the Roman Catholic Church."**

A historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis. Cloth Binding \$1.75

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS," by L. H. Lehmann.

A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist collaboration. Cloth Binding \$1.75

**COMBINATION
OFFER**

Both Cloth Bound Books \$3.00

New Pamphlet

"VATICAN POLICY

IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

48 pages of Documented Facts 25¢

☞ Free to those who return this ad with their order
for the above books

Order From:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 581
229 WEST 48TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
91st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO

NOW

"Suspenseful . . . challenging theme."—N. Y. Times.

JAMES MASON • TODD

'THE SEVENTH VEIL'

Music by LONDON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

JOAN LESLIE • ROBERT ALDA

'CINDERELLA JONES'

From PHILIP WYLIE story

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
ALDEN
Jamaica
STRAND
Far Rockaway
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

"A dramatic and entertaining piece."—N. Y. Sun.

Claudette Colbert • Orson Welles • George Brent

'TOMORROW IS FOREVER'

From the Novel by GWEN BRISTOW

— AND —
'DARK ALIBI' SIDNEY TOLER

You may again buy BOOKS through The Nation

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

full of the promise of truth and growth, Mr. Rosenfeld's novelistic future is full of the promise of truth and growth: indeed, I can think of no one now writing fiction in whose development I have greater confidence. A first novel, "Passage from Home" is not without faults and inadequacies. It has a tendency to be private where it should be even blatantly public; it over-rarefies certain of its perceptions; it seems to fear rather than to enjoy its humor; perhaps most important, it finally creates the impression of having sidestepped its drama: one is left with a vague and unnamable but still palpable sense of having been denied a complete narrative experience. But whatever the shortcomings of Mr. Rosenfeld's book, they are of only minor consequence compared to its major accomplishment—the taking of life at such a high moral pitch.

DIANA TRILLING

MOTION PICTURE

PARAMOUNT Presents
ALAN LADD
VERONICA LAKE
WILLIAM BENDIX

'THE BLUE DAHLIA'

A GEORGE MARSHALL Production
Directed by GEORGE MARSHALL

NOW PARAMOUNT

— IN PERSON —
DUKE
ELLINGTON
AND HIS ORCHESTRA
Plus
STUMP & STUMPY
Plus
THE CLARK BROTHERS

EXTRA!
THE MILLS
BROTHERS

TIMES
SQUARE

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Music by Book & Lyrics by Directed by Dances by
Richard Rodgers • Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Rouben Mamoulian • Agnes de Mille
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Jean Castle
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Eves. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Gone With the Wind"
Music by Book & Lyrics by Directed by Dances by
Richard Rodgers • Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Rouben Mamoulian • Agnes de Mille
Harold Kest • Joseph Gelfand • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Eves. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A Gag-Happy-
Meaning-
ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH. 4-4235
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4636.
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

UNTIL the current visit of the Old Vic company (Century Theater) I had never had an opportunity to see a straightforward production of "Henry IV." Even on this occasion circumstances made it impossible for me to get to Part I, and as I watched the second half unroll upon the stage in competent performance I was compelled to wonder whether I had actually, during all these years, missed as much as I had thought. The audience was as friendly as any I have ever seen in a theater. Its delight seemed genuine and continuous. Mine, I must confess, was both intermittent and not too frequent.

Assuming as I must that the fault was not my own, where, then, does it lie—with the play itself or with the company performing it? The question is doubly difficult to answer in connection with a work I have never seen on the stage before, but I will hazard the guess that no inconsiderable part of the difficulty comes from Shakespeare himself. The chronicle form simply does not and cannot create in the theater the cumulative and integrated effect we have learned to demand there. In the mind and in the memory "Henry IV" is one of the richest and most rewarding if not one of the greatest of its author's works. The reader who ponders it perceives a pattern of relationships, and in his imagination it takes on form and meaning. Probably he unconsciously makes, as it were, his own adaptation, cutting where he likes and bringing into effective juxtaposition portions widely separated in the text. But when even the major part of that text is performed scene after scene on the stage, it tends to become fragmentary, repetitious, and not fully pointed up.

The question whether or not any particular play is fully worth performing in any given instance can be answered by any individual—at least for himself—through the application of a simple test. Does it change, add to, or in any important way enrich the experience which thoughtful reading has given him? In many cases the answer is an unmistakable affirmative. As I had occasion a few months ago to confess, the recent performance of "The Winter's Tale" completely transformed my whole estimate of the play itself. As I know from long past experience, even an extremely mediocre production of "Ham-

let" can come as a revelation to one who has never seen it, even though he thinks he knows and has grasped the play as it exists on the printed page. To some greater or less extent the same thing proves to be true of a considerable number of the plays. But for me at least it did not really prove either often or importantly true in the case of "Henry IV," where many fine scenes were shrunk and impoverished instead of expanded and enriched. The long scene of Henry's death, to take one example, became a bore; and, to take another, the famous "chimes at midnight" scene seemed, despite Mr. Olivier's apparently admirable performance of Justice Shallow, too brief and too slight to fill the imagination as in the reading it does.

Two or three times, to be sure, the enrichment one is always hoping for does take place. Falstaff's casting off is beautifully played, and the bit of business which sends Pistol up to deliver his last bit of fustian into the very teeth of the King gives a final dramatic fillip to the whole scene which I had never suspected was implicit there. The entire tavern scene, in which Falstaff dines with Doll Tearsheet and Mistress Quickly, is an astonishingly effective little sketch standing by itself, and is the high point of the whole evening very largely because of Joyce Redman, who makes the slightly written part of Doll the occasion for an exhibition of rowdy virtuosity so vital and so amusing that connoisseurs might find the relatively short time she is on the stage sufficient in itself to justify an evening at the Century. But that does not alter the fact that as a whole "Henry IV, Part II" seems less impressive in the theater than it is in the mind.

Possibly one should note that only the two minor comic characters, Pistol and Doll Tearsheet, appear better than one has suspected, while Falstaff is, as usual, not really what one thought him, and that despite the fact that Ralph Richardson's performance is probably the best ever seen in New York during my time. In the text Falstaff is, after all, a poetic figure. He is the *idea* of bibulous sloth and witty rascality. Even his fat is a spiritual quality which carries with it only the pleasant suggestion of jollity and good living. But no actor ever seems to have solved the possibly unsolvable problem of physically embodying the poetic idea. A tub of guts remains merely a very physical, unattractive thing. Neither the big belly nor the droopical legs are endearing or even funny. We have never believed, from

reading, that Falstaff really had them.

In all seriousness I wonder if a radically different approach to the problem might not be tried. Falstaff and his companions are congenital exaggerators who delightedly magnify everything. Could we not assume that the fat knight is only pleasingly plump, not monstrous, and is merely beginning to grow rusty with age? Would not he as well as his friends seize upon these facts for elaboration, and would they not build up the comic legend of the text, which would thus become the poetic truth about the thing to which he is tending rather than the actual fact which cannot be represented without becoming disgusting?

How the Elizabethans played him nobody knows, and I am willing to assume that they could stomach a literal reading of the text which we cannot; but I doubt that we shall ever be able to believe that a merely gross old man is actually the Rabelaisian poet our imagination has accepted, and I can see many moments in the play which would be more effective on the stage if the chief actor in them were physically less far gone than he is apparently always assumed to be. In the tavern scene, for example, Doll Tearsheet responds ardently to his amorous advances, and Poins, beneath the table, calls out to Hal: "Is it not strange that desire should so many years outlive performance?" As a joke, as a prophecy by exaggeration, that would be wilyly funny, but Falstaff as literally a fumbler is not worthy of himself.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

ONE of Bach's greatest instrumental works, the Passacaglia and Fugue for organ, is included in a new Victor set (1048; \$4.85) of Bach's organ music performed by E. Power Biggs on the organ of Harvard Memorial Church. Aside from not maintaining its initial pace the performance is good; and its sound on the records is brilliant and spacious, but frequently blurred, so that much of the detail of the lines of counterpoint cannot be distinguished. This is true also of the sound of the other works in the volume: the imposing Chorale-Prelude "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," the enjoyable "little" G minor Fugue, an unfamiliar and not very consequential little Fugue in C, and an arrangement of the ubiquitous and dull "Sheep May Safely Graze" from Cantata No. 208. I can guess at

reasons for these choices that do not alter my own opinion that the volume should have included only works of the same stature as the Passacaglia. A couple of sides of my review copy have noisy blemishes.

Victor also offers Bach's Cantata No. 78 "Jesu, der du meine Seele," sung by the Bach Choir of Bethlehem, Lucius Metz, tenor, and Mack Harrell, bass, with an unidentified orchestra, under the direction of Ifor Jones (Set 1045; \$4.85). The opening chorus is magnificent, the closing chorale very beautiful, and the tenor and bass recitatives very moving; but the tenor and bass arias and soprano-alto duet are, for me, only skillful and agreeable but routine products of Bach's craftsmanship operating on its own momentum. Except for a couple of changes of tempo in the opening chorus that do not justify themselves, the performance seems good; and except for the chorus's frequently blanketing the orchestra, it is well-reproduced (a couple of sides of my review copy have noisy blemishes). Harrell sings with impressive beauty of voice and musical style that Metz's singing does not have. One wonders why the soprano-alto duet is sung by the choir; one questions the work being sung in English as "Jesus, Thou My Weary Spirit"—an English, moreover, which cannot be understood at all in the choral passages, and can be followed only with strain in the arias. The one thing, therefore, which the printed matter in the album should include is the text used in the performance; but here Victor's nonsense department makes its inevitable contribution: a lot of dispensable information is given, but only the text of the closing chorale, and this not in the English translation used in the performance, but in the completely different translation of Terry, which is of no help in distinguishing the words that the chorus is singing.

Writing about Copland's score for "Appalachian Spring," last year I was aware of the possibility that I hadn't enjoyed the music because of its relations to what I hadn't enjoyed in Martha Graham's choreography. The recording of Koussevitzky's performance of a concert suite with the Boston Symphony (Set 1046; \$4) has given me an opportunity to hear the music by itself; and I find much of it—though not all—very enjoyable and impressive, as well as expertly and beautifully put together. The performance seems right; and it is superbly reproduced by the records (but one side of my copy suffers from a noise

like a crack, and another from wavering pitch). The elaborate printed material (for which you pay extra) includes a description of the stage action connected with the music that impresses me as having been written by the author of the unreliable material of that type in Victor's "Swan Lake" and "Istar" sets.

Koussevitzky's performance of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony with the Boston Symphony has been newly recorded (Set 1039; \$3.85). The treatment of the first movement remains quite straightforward except for the excessive retardation introducing the famous cello theme and a slowing down in the coda; the second movement begins *Adagio* and gradually works up to something near the *Andante con moto* that Schubert asks for. The orchestra's beautiful playing is well reproduced.

A volume of music for two pianos offers Schuman's *Andante* and *Variations* Opus 46, Chopin's *Rondo* Opus 73, and Mendelssohn's *Allegro Brillant*, performed by Luboshutz and Nemenoff (Set 1047; \$4.85). Schumann's use of the variation process results in some moderately effective writing for the piano; but this is not a strong work of Schumann; and the other pieces are even feeble. The performances are fluent and precise, but too mannered in Schumann's and Chopin's music for my ears; and they are excellently recorded.

An entire volume of Strauss Polkas (Set 1049; \$3) I find wearying. Perhaps I wouldn't if Fiedler's performances with the Boston "Pops" Orchestra weren't so unbelievably robust; perhaps they seem unbelievably robust because of the unbelievably reverberant recording.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

TO ONE whose acquaintance with the German painter Max Beckmann is confined to his clumsy and callow triptych "Departure" at the Museum of Modern Art, the exhibition at the Buchholz Gallery (through May 18) of fifteen paintings he executed in Holland between 1939 and 1945 provides a surprise. Though the general style is the same as that of the triptych, it has here yielded far greater results. And these are such in five or six pictures as to warrant calling Beckmann a great artist, even though he may not be a great painter. He is certainly one of the last to handle the human figure and the portrait on the level of ambitious, original art. True, he

reminds us of much we have already seen in German expressionism and in Marsden Hartley—his affinities with Hartley are amazingly close. And it is also true that he often paints badly, using black contour lines to animate and sustain his color; that his color itself gets muddy at times and is saved only by his drawing and the unity it gets from paint surface rather than from harmony. But for all that, the power of Beckmann's emotion, the tenacity with which he insists on the distortions that correspond most exactly to that emotion, the flattened, painterly vision he has of the world, and the unity this vision imposes—so realizing decorative design in spite of Beckmann's inability to think it through consciously—all this suffices to overcome his lack of technical "feel" and to translate his art to the heights.

In my opinion Beckmann is superior to Rouault. Rouault exploits black and raw umber in much the same way, but the adeptness with which he shows off his *métier* and the paint quality of his temperament puts Beckmann's craft to shame. Yet Beckmann realizes his whole being in paint, and Rouault does not, preferring instead to realize his pretensions. The German's paintings have, at the very first glance and even before one is reconciled to them, a reality that Rouault's much greater brilliance hardly ever embodies.

Peggy Guggenheim has discovered another important young abstract painter at her Art of This Century Gallery—Robert De Niro, whose first show (through May 11) exhibits monumental effects rare in abstract art. In two of De Niro's ten pictures, "Ubi Roi" and "Fruits and Flowers," the originality and force of his temperament demonstrate themselves under an iron control of the plastic elements such as is rarely seen in our time outside the painting of the oldest surviving members of the school of Paris.

His other canvases are much less successful but offer at least evidence of great possibilities, especially in their draftsmanship. Where De Niro usually goes wrong is in his hot, violent color, which, although it has digested the favorable influence of Matisse, often overasserts itself and distorts the drawing. A deep madder against yellow will pull the shape it fills out of place and send it too far forward; in other cases, the color will expand a shape too far vertically or horizontally. It is as if De Niro wished to compensate himself for his restraint as a draftsman by self-indulgence and

bombast in his color. His specific problem at the moment, however, is not to find or express himself so much as to produce objective works of art; he has already found himself and will always express himself—let him have enough self-assurance from now on to bother about maintaining the balance of the picture plane and other such "objective" problems.

COURSE

ARE YOU OPEN-MINDED?

The ATOM BOMB swept the New Age into a ONE WORLD FACT. Let TRUTH sweep from your Mind the old relics of MYSTICISM, FEAR and SUPERSTITION. Live according to Nature's Laws.

THE NEW SCIENTIFIC METAPHYSICS shows the way.

It is vividly, forcefully and clearly presented in the

One-World Extension Course offered on a free-will payment plan. Blend your will with the Universal. Why struggle? Dare to live splendidly.

For information, write at once to
ONE-WORLD EXTENSION COURSE
Topeka, Kansas, Box 717, Dept. X
UNITED NATIONS

HELP WANTED

We Want a Pro-Labor
ADVERTISING SALESMAN

Must have successfully sold publication space for at least two years. Our job is selling space for major union publications with 2,500,000 circulation throughout the United States. Worthwhile future. Salary plus commission.

Write details to Alexander Smith

TIME UNION ADVERTISING
1133 Broadway New York 10, N. Y.

SITUATION WANTED

SECRETARY—cultured, mature, personable woman. Editorial and commercial experience. Desires position full or part-time. Box 1608, c/o The Nation.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

LANGUAGES

STUDY EASILY and quickly all languages by phonograph records. Also rentals. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17. MU. 3-1093.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

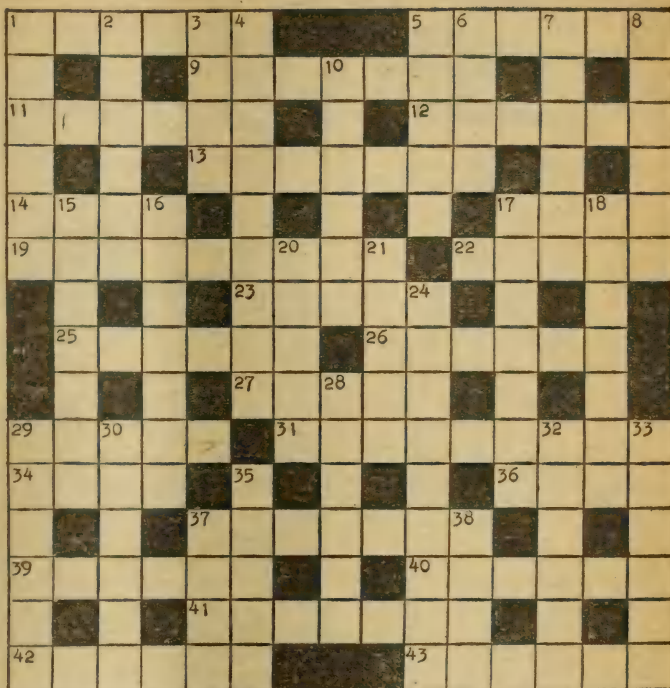
CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.40 per carton, postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS by asking me for any number at a time. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NA, Free. John Crehore. Postbox 2329-N. Washington 13, D. C.

Crossword Puzzle No. 161

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 The Walrus and the Carpenter might have wept like anything to see it
- 5 Much of this frozen dessert would be to puss's taste
- 9 Discharged its contents
- 11 Not a victoria, though Victorians rode in it
- 12 Kansas town the Indians called "a good place to dig potatoes"
- 13 Popular song book in church circles
- 14 Architectural molding
- 17 Those who see us off by train use this word again and again
- 19 A dream of a night for a play
- 22 Paddle your own
- 23 Sea lions and fur seals are, but true seals are not
- 25 "Conscience, -----! Richard's himself again!"
- 26 What we erroneously call passages between pews
- 27 Contributors
- 29 Dull old fellow with antiquated notions
- 31 People of importance to authors
- 34 Ah! unhappy day
- 36 Rose seems to be aggrieved
- 37 Sounds as though you might feel cold at the French hairdresser's
- 39 Even the cold shoulder is fine when treated thus
- 40 Digestive juice
- 41 Lost, Sue? (anag.)
- 42 Lands in Western Europe
- 43 You want the earth, and it's nearly all here!
- 2 The Snark was, in the Lewis Carroll verses
- 3 Gather
- 4 Meat menus? Ha! ha!
- 5 A coin-in-the-slot affair
- 6 Not always "sweet and wholesome"
- 7 European country where spring is almost unknown
- 8 Empower
- 10 What the cat in Saki's *Tobermory* was
- 15 Bluish-white opal with reddish reflections
- 16 Gets away
- 17 Purchasers of these get something for their money
- 18 Opposite of whitfish?
- 20 Mother has gone all high-falutin'!
- 21 This money is handy
- 24 Undeceive
- 28 Is in the middle of the Noes
- 29 He carries all before him (two words, 3 and 3)
- 30 Otherwise the solan goose
- 32 Everybody's antiseptic
- 33 A steed as suited to the elderly
- 35 Passion
- 37 Feast
- 38 Don't file your nails with this!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 160

ACROSS:—1 PATRIOT; 5 FAUX PAS; 11 RESIGNS; 10 NEPOTIC; 11 EVICT; 12 ILL; 13 READE; 14 UNREADY; 16 YELLOWY; 18 WARTHOG; 21 CORBLIN; 24 RUTS; 26 OWL; 27 BEAM; 28 ANEMONE; 29 LOGGIAS; 30 TOURNAY; 31 OUTLETS.

DOWN:—1 PARVENU; 2 TASTER; 3 INGOT; 4 TESTIFY; 5 FINALLY; 6 UPPER; 7 PETSAMO; 8 SOCIETY; 15 ASH; 17 LOB; 18 WARRANT; 19 ROULEAU; 20 ORCERY; 21 GALLED; 22 LUG TIDE; 23 NEMESIS; 25 SPOON; 27 RIGHT.

DOWN

- 1 May be models, but it's not often

RESORTS



OPENING JUNE 21st

Relaxingly Different!
Gayly Informal!
All Sports Facilities
Music — Entertainment

Comfortable Cabins and Lodges
Excellent American-Jewish Cuisine

WOPOWOG LODGE
on Lake Salmon
EAST HAMPTON, CONN.

Managing Director: Dr. Maxwell Kaye
Associate Directors:
Sammy Kay Johnny Swedlin
N.Y.C. 200 5th Ave. GRam. 7-1777

APARTMENT WANTED

VIOLENTLY reactionary in-laws giving liberal couple (both vets) and infant son combat fatigue. Desperate for 1- or 2-bdrm unfurn or furn apt to \$60 in or near Washington, D. C. Will consider buying furniture. Box 1606, c/o The Nation, or call Pleasant 0576.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

8-ROOM Cape Cod; slate roof; new paint and shutters; electric; never-failing brook; pool; small orchard; 100 acres. \$4,500. Terms. Berkshire Farm Agency. Chatham, New York.

FOR LEASE

ABOUT 70,000 square feet (24-foot ceilings) at Bay and Greene Streets, Jersey City, opposite Harborside Terminal. Former Hudson Tubes powerhouse. Ideal for cold storage, warehouse, etc. Building is 143 x 123 feet with additional 136 x 123 feet land; ample railroad sidings. Building very best structurally but will require two inner walls and reconditioning. For long-term lease with option to purchase. L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 365 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.

FOR SALE

LIVE RENT FREE! Connecticut hills, re-modelled residence, four apartments, owner's vacant, well-built, though need some repairs. Garage, perennials, excellent town library, priced low to close estate. Box 1607, c/o The Nation.

SUMMER RENTAL

TWO large rooms, furnished, sublet for 3 months. Brooklyn, Eastern Parkway section. Elevator. References required. PR 2-1681.

LAKE SHORE cottage northern Vermont. Bathhouse, rowboat, wooded seclusion, pyro-fax stove, refrigerator, electric water heater, outdoor and indoor fireplaces, 3 bedrooms and detached one-room cabin. June 15-Aug. 15: \$250. Or \$150 for one month. Box 1611, c/o The Nation.

RESORTS

Indian Lake Lodge

In the Heart of the Adirondacks

INDIAN LAKE, N.Y.

An informal, charmingly situated rendezvous for vacationists who enjoy all the water sports, tennis, hiking, plus good books, good music, good food and congenial company.

SEASON

June 15th to September 15th
P. O. Box 1058, Grand Central Amex, N.Y.C.
UN 3-0330

INVITATION TO RELAX

Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous country, side, roaring fireplace, delicious food — and fun.

Only 65 miles from New York

MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY

plum point
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
Tah Newburgh 4279

The BAILLIWICK

OPEN ALL YEAR

Beautiful palatial Estate situated in the Catskill Mountains, Rip Van Winkle country. Luxurious rooms with private bars and fireplaces. Excellent cuisine, superb accommodations for a rest and relaxation, lovely mountain trails, easy access by car and rail.

For information or reservations write or call

Telephone: Catskill 118 F 12

BAILLIWICK, Rt. 1, Box 91, Catskill, N. Y.

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

Ridgeland, Conn. • Phone 820
A resort of distinction fashioned from a country estate. Water sports, hiking trails, tennis library, open fireplaces. Congenial atmosphere. Famous cuisine.

HATHAWAY LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 500-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Village of the Sky". Large, luxurious rooms with open fireplaces and private porches. Winding Mountain Trails. Delicious food. Easy Transportation.

Special Spring Rates • Make reservations now

For reservations or further information write or call

HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.

Telephone: Tannersville 299

Timberland

POCONO, N. Y.

AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS

LIMITED TO 100

OPEN MAY 19th

ALL SPORTS • PRIVATE LAKE

DANCING • LECTURES • CONCERTS

N. Y. OFFICE: 33 W. 42nd St. Longacre 5-8674

The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults. Swimming, boating, fishing, good food. Private baths. June 27th to Labor Day. From \$80.00 weekly double. Box 77, Munsonville, N. H.

BOYS CAMP

BOYS camp beautifully situated lower Adirondacks. All sports, dramatics, nature, arts and crafts, trips, physician, co-religious. Walter Campbell, University of Rochester. Nat Hellenbach, 20 West 43rd Street, New York City.

COUNTRY BOARD

A FEW PAYING GUESTS in exceptionally beautiful spacious Vermont home on top of lovely hill overlooking all reaches of Green Mountains. RI 9-1574, mornings or evenings, or Box 1610, c/o The Nation.

RESORTS

SPRING IN THE RAMAPOS

AT ITS BEST ON OUR 1600 ACRE ESTATE



Ride along our 21 miles of woodland trails. Golf on our own excellent course. Indoors we have game rooms and pleasant cocktail lounge. You can depend upon consistently fine cuisine and excellent accommodations. Open the year 'round.

Only 51 Miles from New York

The Glenmere
CHESTER, N. Y. Chester 100 (N. Y.) RE. 2-5047



OPENS JUNE 1st

Early Reservations Suggested

Private beach, golf, outdoor activities, fine food.
Direct Bus & Train Transportation. T. H. FLAUM.

MERRIE WOODS

A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.

FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, tilley, croquet, ping pong, square dancing.

\$45 and \$50 weekly. OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

SCHROON Crest

"In The Adirondacks" Pottersville, N. Y.

OPENS MAY 29th

SPECIAL RATES UNTIL JULY 7th

Private Beach, All Sports, Recordings, Excellent Cuisine • Make Reservations Early
N. Y. City OR.: 142 Montauk St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

PHONE: MAIN 4-6570

LEAH OKUN — IRV. SCHROENBERG, Mgt.

An Adult Resort — On SCHROON LAKE

CRESTWOOD

On a lovely wooded knoll overlooking picturesque

Peconic Bay — for a restful, informal vacation.

Excellent Swimming, Boating, Fishing

Indoor Games • French Cuisine

100 Miles from New York

ADELE B. POSNER Tel. Peconic 6992

The Fieldstone

On Round Island Lake

A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York.

ALL SPORTS — OPEN ALL YEAR

MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7085

KINAPIC LODGE

LOVELL VILLAGE MAINE

On LAKE KEZAR, one of America's most beautiful lakes

Fine lake and stream fishing; good golf; water sports. Cabins on the lake, American plan. Informal for adults and family groups. Excellent Hungarian cuisine, attractive rates. Open June 1 to Oct. 15. Reservations by mail, or Phone Lovell: 7 ring 12 A

Booklet by Mail, or Phone Lovell: 7 ring 12 A

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477

Delightful... Boating and swimming in our private lake.

Different... The colonial atmosphere.

Delicious... Our unexcelled cuisine.

Dispersing... Recordings for listening & dancing.

All this only 53 miles from New York City

A Resort for Adults Only

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 25, 1946

NUMBER 21

The Shape of Things

THE PESSIMISM EXPRESSED IN *THE NATION* at the opening of the Paris conference has been all too well justified by events. No progress has been registered either in restoring peace to Europe or in abating the fear and suspicion entertained by Russia toward the Western powers and the Western powers toward Russia. The one accomplishment of the conference was the revision of the Italian armistice terms and even this, it is being alleged, was made possible only by one of those cynical bargains which George Slocombe castigates in a dispatch from Paris on another page. According to a report in the *New York Times* of May 20, an oral understanding was reached giving Russia a free hand in Rumania and Bulgaria in return for its surrender of any share in the control of Italy. Molotov's attempts to barter Yugoslavian acquisition of Trieste, however, against the abandonment of very dubious Soviet claims in the Mediterranean led to a deadlock. On this point the new "toughness" of Byrnes reinforced the old toughness of Bevin. If there is to be a fence dividing Europe, America and Britain are determined that it shall not be breached at the head of the Adriatic so as to allow a convenient entry for Sovietism into the western sphere. In this instance the exigencies of power politics are usefully supported by moral arguments—for Trieste itself, as well as much territory west of it claimed by Yugoslavia, is incontestably Italian. But while we approve the refusal of Byrnes and Bevin to compromise on this question we would remind them that it is not enough to practice morality only when it is a buttress for self-interest.

✱

THE WRY COMMENT OF WINSTON CHURCHILL that the British Cabinet mission had worked with "a zeal which would have been justified if it were to gain an empire and not to cast it away" is a good indication that a new chapter in England's imperial policy has been written. If it marks the end of empire it also marks the beginning of something vastly better from the standpoint of the world's good. The Labor Party has shown that in the field of imperial affairs it can act in accordance with its basic socialist traditions and can also muster wise statesmanship to meet a vastly complicated situation. Considering the enormous problems that India faces and the highly explosive nature of the Moslem-

Hindu feud one can only say that the Cabinet plan provides the beginning of a solution. There will be blood, sweat and tears aplenty before India is fully free and independent. The British government proposal comes down firmly on the side of Indian unity, discarding Pakistan as economically and politically unworkable and as a serious danger to any scheme of national defense. The proposal, however, gives full recognition to communal aspirations and rights and provides for a large measure of provincial autonomy. As Shiva Rao points out in his article elsewhere in these pages, Gandhi, Nehru, and the other Congress leaders have gone a long way to meet the demands of the Moslem community. Now the immediate task is the formation of the interim government and beyond that a constitutional assembly. It is up to Mr. Jinnah to show whether he has the statesmanship to cooperate in a plan for the achievement of national independence or whether his chauvinistic ambitions will plunge India into a ghastly civil war.

✱

FIRST BLOOD IN THE BATTLE FOR THE OPA was drawn when the Senate Banking and Currency Committee voted to extend the life of the agency by one year instead of the nine months provided in the House bill. Consideration of the many proposed amendments for weakening or crippling the agency has, however, just begun, and it is the decision on these issues, rather than the length of the extension period, that is crucial. It may be taken for granted that the Senate committee will make the bill somewhat stronger than the House measure. But supporters of the OPA should not be lulled into false confidence by committee victories. It will be recalled that in the House the real butchering took place not in committee but on the floor. Reports from Capitol Hill indicate that the same kind of coalition between Southern Democrats and Republicans which was responsible for the slaughter in the House is forming in the Senate. To make the situation more critical, papers of such diverse viewpoint as *PM* and the *Wall Street Journal* agree that the flood of pro-OPA letters and telegrams, declared to be the greatest in history, has receded sharply, while the anti-OPA lobby has greatly stepped up its activities as the time for final decision nears. If the OPA is to be preserved with sufficient powers to control the inflation

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	613
The Mihalovich Trial	615
Health Is a Public Affair	616

ARTICLES

The Labor Fight on Capitol Hill by Tris Coffin	617
The New Soviet Diplomacy by George Slocombe	619
Jinnah and Indian Unity by Shiva Rao	621
The Veterans' House Divided by William Price	623
Spain: Post-War Model by Sidney Wise	626
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	628

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

What Eisenhower Was by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.	629
The Free Intelligence by Wylie Sypher	630
Verse Chronicle by Randall Jarrell	632
Fiction in Review by Diana Trilling	634
Films by James Agee	636
Records by B. H. Haggin	636

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 638

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 162 by Jack Barrett	639
---	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Beadiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting, Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building, Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

that is already upon us, the Senate must be kept informed of the feeling back home. The cost of a second or third telegram is insignificant if it helps to avert disaster.

★

THE GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY HAS directed that all books "glorifying Nazism or militarism" be confiscated and burned; several billions of volumes, it is estimated, will be affected by the decree. Ah, those Germans—they never change! First they order that all democratic, pacifistic, and "Jewish" books be burned; and now, thirteen years later, they burn whatever books are left. Even their defeat has taught them nothing about democracy, nothing about those freedoms against which they fought their long pig-headed fight: dangerous thoughts are still *verboten*, the autocratic militarists still bark to an acquiescent populace their arbitrary decrees. Surely the Germans are still, after two millennia, those barbaric Teutons whom Tacitus described for us—or so an unusually innocent and rhetorical newspaper reader might reflect. But actually this burning of a couple of billion books has been decreed by the Allied Military Government of Germany, by the official representatives of democracy, by *our* representatives; and it is such acts as this that must signalize to the natives of Germany the restoration of those God-given rights of which they have been so long deprived. These new book-burnings were suggested by the French—which ironically reminds one of what people usually forget, that it is the French rather than the Germans who are descended from the reasonably amiable barbarians whom Tacitus describes; and our own American representatives consented to these measures only after sustained protests. These protests, all realists will be glad to learn, were based not on freedom of press or speech, but on the "impracticability" of such a step.

★

WITH SUCH ADROITNESS AS TO WIN THE applause of both the New York Times and the Daily Worker Philip Murray has formulated for his steelworkers' union a policy on handling Communists. The union will permit itself "no interference with the free and democratic right of each member to . . . harbor such views as he chooses, in his private life as a citizen," nor will there be "any limitation on the free and democratic right of full discussion of trade-union problems." The distinction between the members' activities as *private citizens* and the full discussion of *trade-union problems* within the organization would appear to rule out much of the extraneous political activity that characterizes the comrades in most trade unions. To make matters clearer, Murray bluntly warns that the union "will not tolerate efforts by outsiders—individuals, organizations or groups—whether they be Communist, Socialist, or any other group, to infiltrate, dictate, or meddle in our affairs."

We believe he has taken the only democratically tenable position. To rule Communists out of trade unions—assuming you could tell who is a Communist and who is not—and then to obtain closed shop agreements from employers would be a gross violation of a man's constitutional right to earn a livelihood. The C. I. O. president explains his statement of policy as a rebuke to "wishful thinkers" seeking to destroy the C. I. O. by reporting "tales of division" to gossip-mongers of the press. The effort seems disproportionate to the purpose. More likely Murray chose this way to refute the accusation of communism leveled at the C. I. O. by William Green and at the same time to doom the resolutions barring Communists from membership, no fewer than 243 of which were submitted at last week's convention.

★

JAPAN'S "OLD GANG" HAS WON ANOTHER important victory in its battle to block democratization by securing the appointment of Shigeru Yoshida as Premier. Although General MacArthur's headquarters has indorsed him as "purge-proof," in actuality he is the embodiment of the forces which propelled Japan to aggression and which we are pledged to remove. He is the son-in-law of Count Makino, who served as Mitsubishi spokesman at the Imperial Court, and he will undoubtedly fight to prevent the weakening of either the Zaibatsu or the emperor system. He served under and enthusiastically supported the infamous Premier Tanaka in his aggressive designs on Manchuria, Mongolia, and North China. As ambassador to London he was later able to secure Tory support for Japanese aggression as a bulwark against Russia. His supporters in the American press make much of the fact that he was arrested briefly last July for prematurely suggesting a negotiated peace. It would seem rather extreme to turn over the Japanese ship of state to him simply because he was one of the first of the rats to desert when it began to founder last summer.

The Mihailovich Trial

ONE need not be convinced of the innocence of General Draja Mihailovich to want to see him given a fair trial. He would be entitled to that even if he should prove, as the Moscow radio has already described him, "one of the greatest Hitlerite criminals." Presumably Herman Göring is a still greater Hitlerite criminal, and he is rightly enjoying his day in court. Mihailovich may, in fact, be accorded a full and fair trial, but the attitude the Yugoslav government has taken so far does not point in that hopeful direction. It has curtly rejected an American request to admit the testimony of Allied airmen who owe their lives to Mihailovich and his Chetniks, and has accompanied its assertion

that "full justice will be done" with the grim prejudgment that the United States note ignored "all the proved treacheries and cooperation with the Germans and criminal acts to his people."

We take this position even though, on the basis of evidence not yet controverted, we find ourselves unable to join those who are now attempting to whitewash the Chetnik leader and make him a martyr to Moscow in the eyes of the world. We believe that Mihailovich on several occasions came to terms with Italian Fascist commanders in Yugoslavia, and that these arrangements were designed to facilitate his internecine war with the followers of Tito. We believe, too, that however genuine his opposition to the Nazis, he allowed himself to become the tool of forces within his country that were avowedly fighting for a Greater Serbia rather than a restored Yugoslavia. For documentation on these points we refer our readers to an exhaustive article by Bogdan Raditsa, entitled "The Plot Against Yugoslavia," which appeared in these pages in the issue of January 29, 1944. Treating with the enemy in war time, for whatever cause, is dangerous business and Mihailovich must clearly expect to take the consequences. Moreover, the position that he be tried by an international tribunal seems to us thoroughly untenable. The United States would not yield its sovereign dignity to anything like this extent, and we have no reason to demand such a surrender by any other state.

It is within the rights of the American government, however, and certainly within the rights of private citizens, to focus attention on certain mitigating circumstances in the case. Mihailovich is by no means to be placed in the category of the Quislings. Far from having participated in a collaborationist government, he fought the Nazi invader against appalling odds at a time when Tito himself was living in a Soviet Union still linked to Hitler by the German-Russian pact. Second, he and his men beyond doubt saved the lives of scores of Allied airmen dropped by parachute on Yugoslav soil.

Finally, Mihailovich was in a sense the victim of his allies. The British, with an eye on the future, put up a long and stubborn fight for approaching the Continent by way of the Balkans rather than France; and it is a matter of record that Marshal Alexander, in command of the Mediterranean theater, instructed Mihailovich to break off engagements with the Germans until the strategic moment rather than waste his strength. The Russians, with just as sharp an eye on post-war maneuvering, plumped for the Western-front strategy, hoping presumably to keep Anglo-American armies out of Southeastern Europe. This inter-Allied political warfare was sharply echoed in Yugoslavia and translated into action. When the Soviets won the argument, Mihailovich was left high and dry.

Factors such as these do not spell innocence for the

Serbian leader, but they do give him a claim to leniency and fair treatment. Yugoslavia can afford to behave generously to its erstwhile national hero where such generosity can only redound to its credit.

Health Is a Public Affair

THE DEMAND for a miners' welfare fund financed by the operators but managed solely by the union is by no means the only issue in the coal dispute, but it is the one responsible for the present breakdown in negotiations. According to John L. Lewis, provision of such a fund is "a condition precedent to the making of an agreement," and apparently he is not prepared even to discuss wage increases until this question is settled in a manner satisfactory to the union. So the deadlock continues while Congress, as so often in labor matters, attacks symptoms rather than causes by considering legislation which would outlaw employer contributions to any union benefit funds.

In this dispute, it seems to us, both the coal owners and the United Mine Workers are taking positions at variance with the public interest. The owners, while grudgingly granting the need for a welfare fund, are willing to give no more than a small contribution to look after hardship cases following mine accidents. At the same time they offer to turn over for administration by the union the moneys now collected from miners for medical services. In rejecting this proposal Lewis made out a good case for a much broader conception of welfare. The union, he has declared, would use the fund for (1) adequate medical service for miners and their dependents, (2) hospitalization, (3) the payment of premiums on life and health insurance for miners, who are now charged 277 per cent more than sedentary workers for this protection, (4) rehabilitation and retraining of workers incapacitated by accidents, (5) alleviation of hardship cases, allegedly multiplied by employer manipulation of compensation laws. Any balance would be employed for cultural and social projects in the mining areas.

No one who knows the conditions under which coal miners have long suffered in their often isolated communities can deny that the provision of such services is overdue. Moreover, the cost, pending the provision of a national health program, can properly be placed on the consumers of coal. But since it is the consumers who will pay, they, as represented by the government, should have some voice both in deciding how much money is to be allotted to the fund and how it will be spent. Mr. Lewis, however, has arbitrarily determined that the fund is to be raised by a 7 per cent tax on gross pay rolls and that its administration is to be neither "public nor joint" but solely controlled by the union.

This demand, we consider, should be resisted by the

public on several grounds. One practical objection is that the U. M. W. under Lewis has become a totalitarian organization in which any member who dares oppose the boss is subject to persecution and discrimination. The fund would be a mighty weapon in perpetuating the Lewis dictatorship. Again Lewis has an avowed program for raiding and undermining other unions, and his record has proved him to be singularly unscrupulous in his methods. Possession of a fund amounting to \$70,000,000 a year, with no provision for public control or even audit, would make him a menace to the whole labor movement.

It does not follow that it is right to allow more democratically conducted unions powers we would deny to the U. M. W. under its present leadership. As a matter of principle we believe that the administration of any fund, directly or indirectly provided by consumers, should be accountable to the public. It is true that several union welfare schemes which ignore this principle are now operating in an apparently satisfactory manner. The best-known, perhaps, is that of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, which two years ago persuaded the employers in the dressmaking industry to finance a health and vacation fund with a 3½ per cent pay-roll levy. This fund is managed by a union committee, which, however, is responsible to a Health Fund Council representing both workers and employers and presided over by the industry's impartial chairman. Thus while direct public control is lacking, the scheme does provide some safeguards against improper use of the fund.

Objections to health and welfare funds under union auspices, however set up, are that their operations may overlap and that they may in time form a network of vested interests which would tend to block the kind of complete public provision for medical services which is so badly needed. We should profit by the example of Britain, where the long-standing "benefit societies" have proved an obstacle to the establishment of a national health service.

What Congress ought to be doing, instead of figuring out ways to circumvent Lewis, is to be speeding up consideration of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell National Health bill. As long as health is regarded as a private matter, largely dependent on the size of the individual purse, the stronger unions are bound to make what collective provision they can for the protection of their members. It would be criminal for Congress to block such activities, though it might legitimately regulate them. But the only real and permanent solution is to spread the cost of the health services over the whole community. Lewis and the American Medical Association will damn this solution, for both are believers in syndicalist-anarchist social theory, but the hearings on the National Health bill have proved that the people want this question settled on a national, not sectional, basis.

The Labor Fight on Capitol Hill

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting Company

Washington, May 20

A SOMBER figure in black has been standing in the Senate these past days speaking a strange language—the language of reason and restraint. Claude Pepper of Florida, with the help of a handful of other Senators, is trying to keep an angry Congress from swinging a sledge hammer on organized labor.

The wheels of legislation on Capitol Hill are stopped. Price control, appropriations, atomic-energy control are making no progress. The Senate took time out to give John L. Lewis a verbal lashing and to wave anti-labor bills in the air. The House is twiddling its thumbs, waiting on the Senate.

Downtown last week the doors at the rear of the Labor Department's huge auditorium swung shut on the coal-strike meetings. Inside John L. Lewis and Charles O'Neill, the mine operator, were deadlocked on the welfare fund: where would the money come from, who would administer it, how much money should be set aside? On Wednesday afternoon the doors swung open. A tired mediator announced briefly, "The meetings are indefinitely postponed. No agreement." The operators' spokesman told an eager circle of reporters in the darkened auditorium that the United Mine Workers' proposal for a welfare fund was "revolutionary."

Several blocks away, around the corner from the White House, the railway unions and the railroad heads sat down together in a private office building. It was the same story—deadlocked. The strike deadline was three days away.

At the White House President Truman was playing the cheerful host. A Baptist minister from Roseburg, Oregon, presented him with two dozen brown trout and a gavel made of myrtle.

These scenes are all part of a melodrama being played on the Washington stage. The final act has not yet been written. There is a long list of characters—some of them familiar figures in strange roles.

First there are the mine operators, railroad heads, and a good many other industrial leaders, who see this hour as the strategic time to break the strong grip of organized labor on the American economy. The coal strike has inflamed the public. A few more black headlines—"Coal Parley Breaks Up" or "Railway Strike Called"—could easily break the bending bars of restraint in Congress and open the way for a mass of anti-labor bills.

The mine operators are negotiating with one eye on the Senate. Ed Burke, their shrewd spokesman, knows

the Senate and all its tricks; he was an anti-New Deal Senator from Nebraska from 1935 to 1941. He has been lobbying on the Hill for anti-labor bills. Ed Burke knows that in the restless, uneasy Senate of today any frustration, delays, or breaks in the negotiations will build up pressure against the unions. So there is no great hurry to write a contract.

Then there are the politicians, who wake up in the middle of the night with chills and fever over the growing political power of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. Among them, in the Senate, are men like Scott Lucas of Illinois and Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, who are heavily influenced or dominated by powerful political machines—both Mayor Kelly of Chicago and Ed Crump of Memphis are being defied by the new labor politicians—and poll-tax-state Senators like Harry Byrd of Virginia, who are watching the C. I. O.-A. F. of L. drives into the South with the tolerance of a farmer toward a swarm of locusts. These men are licking their lips over the chance of shoving through some anti-labor bills.

The Republican leadership in Congress is observing developments with great glee. It has no strong convictions against the Case, Byrd, and other bills, and it enjoys watching the Democrats Byrd and Lucas lead with their chins.

John L. Lewis, with a number of motives neatly folded away behind his black caterpillar eyebrows, has a leading role. He wants to drive a harder bargain for the benefit of the mine workers than his one-time friend and ally, Phil Murray, did for the C. I. O. steel workers. He would like to thumb his nose at the White House by turning down some Administration proposal with a well-rounded phrase. He would like to fan the disillusionment of organized workers with the Truman Administration and shoo union votes into the Republican Party.

John L. Lewis is having the time of his life. He strides majestically out of the White House with a smile of triumph flickering in his eyes. He stops to trade quips with the reporters and pose for the photographers. He has waited a long time for this moment—to survey the world from the steps of the White House, knowing that a beckon of his fingers can stop production. But while an egotist and an actor of the old school, Lewis is no fool. He knows there is a point where he must stop. Coal must be mined. He has no intention of calling another work stoppage except as a last, desperate measure. He has won his big point—acceptance of the principle of a welfare fund. But by turning down arbitration on the all-

important question of the scope and administration of the fund, he has helped the operators in playing their waiting game. For the satisfaction of Lewis's desire to tell Truman to go to hell the miners may have to pay a fairly steep price.

Leaders of the A. F. of L., the Railway Brotherhoods, and the C. I. O. are deeply concerned lest the fire touched off by John Lewis consume them all. They accuse the Administration of not looking ahead and making some definite provision for wage increases in the reconversion program. They say Congress gave industry its piece of cake by removing the excess-profits tax. They say the White House did nothing to save the OPA—if it had not been for public protest, organized in some cases by unions, the House action would have stood. They blame President Truman for doing nothing to curb anti-labor sentiment.



Drawing by Seligson
Senator Pepper

Administration leaders taking part in the drama are so disturbed by the production slow-down that they have added fuel to the fire. John D. Small, a former business man, now director of the Civilian Production Administration, in discussing the coal strike before a Senate committee said irritably that the greatest blessing that could come to America would be no strikes for six months. Marriner Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve System, before the same committee compared the coal strike to an army quitting when the enemy was at the gates.

The melancholy Secretary of Labor, Lewis Schwellenbach, treads the boards softly to avoid getting mixed up in the many private fights. He has purposely avoided making any definite public proposals to John L. Lewis for fear the mine workers' chief would turn them down with a roar and make the Administration look silly.

A small group of Senators is trying to keep the Senate from rushing into any hasty labor legislation. This group includes Claude Pepper; gentle James Murray of Montana, chairman of the Senate Labor Committee; the old warrior Burton K. Wheeler; George Aiken, the Vermont farmer; and Wayne Morse, the independent Republican from Oregon. The big surprise in this small coalition is Wheeler. Achilles has come out of his tent. Senator Wheeler looks happier than he has for years as he stands on the floor speaking calmly and logically against the Lucas and Byrd proposals.

The tactics of the group are very frankly delay. Senator

Pepper has the floor and can keep it for days. A Senate investigation of the factors behind labor disputes has been asked for.

Majority leader Alben Barkley, who wants neither the anti-labor bills nor a long delay in getting to the draft, appropriation, atomic-energy, and price-control bills, is playing a patient and very shrewd role. He knows that the personal interests of Senators in the bills backed up on the calendar will force them to pass over the labor bills. There is patronage by the barrel in the appropriation bill. Some of the Southern Democrats are the hottest advocates of a strong selective-service bill.

As a last resort, Senator Barkley has an ace up his sleeve. He has a fair chance of killing the Case bill, or any other piece of anti-labor legislation which moves up to passage, by tacking on to it an FEPC amendment.

Finally, there is the cheerful little innocent in the White House. Harry Truman infuriated organized labor by a chance remark to a Senator a few days ago. He said he was going to let the strikes "take their natural course." The labor people interpreted that to mean that he was going to let the unions kill themselves off by striking in defiance of public opinion.

The big issues in this melodrama won't be found in White House news conferences, the well-polished phrases of John L. Lewis, or the background fill-ins at the Labor Department. They emerge from the lines spoken in the long debate in the Senate.

Jim Murray, one of the wealthiest men in Congress, made the opening statement urging restraint. He said, "We have made great strides from the days when labor-management controversies resulted in violence, destruction, and demoralization of civil authority. Gradually a semblance of reason and law has been growing up, and we have been meeting these problems with increasing intelligence and sound policy. The ordeal of war is invariably followed by a painful period of reconversion to peace filled with labor strife and economic disorder." His soft voice went on, "The year 1945 and the early part of 1946 have been marked by serious labor disturbances. Congress and the public are vitally interested in getting them settled quickly. The threat to inflation by labor disputes is not to be minimized. But there are certain long-run objectives." Then after pausing for emphasis, "In our eagerness to get full production we should not overlook the danger of seeking a short-term victory through compulsory techniques and losing the preservation of freedom and democracy. We must legislate not for the fleeting present but for the long tomorrow." He pointed out that "the danger of hasty legislation aimed at any particular individual" was shown in the Smith-Connally act, passed under identical conditions. And he added, "The primary emphasis for the settlement of disputes must be placed upon collective bargaining."

All during his statement Murray was heckled by Senators Lucas and Ball. Lucas said sarcastically, "If I understand your position, it is that no one in Congress or in the executive branch can do anything. We are a powerless, helpless group, unable to do anything."

Senator Morse came to Murray's defense. He said sharply, "For the life of me, I do not know what legislation we could pass that would settle the coal case on its merits, and that, after all, is what we need if we are going to get coal mined."

Senator Aiken, the white-haired New England liberal, added, "I am not in favor of casting overboard all concepts of liberty under which this country has been governed since 1776 in order to force one man against his will to work for another who will make private gains from such service."

But day after day it was Claude Pepper who held the

fort by sheer weight of words. The opposition watches him closely. They are looking for any parliamentary slip that can pull Pepper off the floor. The Florida Senator—who once was a steel worker—is playing for high stakes. If he can hold the floor until public anger subsides, he can protect organized labor from legislation conceived in irritation and slammed through Congress. If he loses the floor before that time—and Pepper is no marathon talker such as Huey Long was—the opposition will jump.

Last Friday correspondents tried to find out from Senator Barkley, the patient majority leader, what was coming next. Would there be a break next week? He shrugged his shoulders. Perhaps. Then his eyes brightened and he snapped his fingers. "If I hadn't lost that Ouija board," Barkley said, "I could tell you what the Senate would do."

The New Soviet Diplomacy

BY GEORGE SLOCOMBE

English author and journalist long resident in Paris; special correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune

Paris, May 17

THE best one can say of the conference of the four Foreign Ministers of the great powers which ended in Paris yesterday is that it did not terminate in the undisguised débâcle of the previous conference in London. But if open rupture was avoided, the spirit of disillusionment was scarcely concealed. During the past weeks the iron curtain has moved from Central Europe to the west, and the effect of holding the conference in Paris has been to admit the French—hitherto bewildered and hurt spectators of the private drama of the Big Three—into the baffled brotherhood of the non-Russian powers.

To one who has followed with sympathetic interest the earliest diplomatic contacts of the Soviet Union with the capitalist powers the change in the basis as well as the form of Russian diplomacy is startling. In the old days the spokesmen of revolutionary Russia at international conferences fought political opportunism with principles and power politics with propaganda. Now the situation seems to have been reversed. In Paris as in London the Russians have adopted all the methods of power politics which they so vigorously condemned twenty years ago, and when these have failed to impress, Mr. Molotov has blandly retreated behind the explanation that he had no mandate to discuss the questions raised by Mr. Byrnes or Mr. Bevin.

There is another difference between Soviet diplomacy now and that of an earlier day. Mr. Molotov's pred-

ecessors had little military power but a strong case, and knew it; and even when their case was not strong they admitted its weakness even to themselves. But Mr. Molotov is clearly conscious of the many weaknesses of Russia's position; otherwise he would not have cynically resorted to the tactics of the huckster. We do not yet know what the Kremlin's real intentions are concerning its future strategy in the Mediterranean, and we do not yet know whether it has seriously considered acquiring a sphere of influence for colonial expansion in Africa. But it was plain during the past week that Mr. Molotov's immediate claims to a naval base in the Dodecanese Islands and to a Russian mandate over Tripolitania had been advanced as bargaining counters to be exchanged against the acquisition of Trieste for Marshal Tito. This naked and unashamed policy of barter revolted even the French, who have no reason to support Italian claims anywhere; but the proposal to appease the strategic anxiety of the other powers at the expense of a large and admittedly Italian population was too much for Georges Bidault. Even at the risk of losing France's tenuous chances of playing the role of buffer and arbiter between the Soviet Union and the Western powers the French government decided on this issue against its Russian ally. On one at least of the moral principles at stake the half-forgotten Atlantic Charter won the day against Mr. Molotov's new diplomacy of barter.

Trieste, of course, was far more than a purely Italian issue, and more even than an Italo-Yugoslav issue. If it

had been ceded to Marshal Tito it would have brought the iron curtain to the Adriatic and the central Mediterranean. It would, from a purely military point of view, have achieved what the Axis of Hitler and Mussolini achieved—the domination of Europe from the northern to the southern seas by a group of powers and satellites whose ultimate purposes are unknown, whose military and economic organization is kept closely shuttered from outside scrutiny. Even the Russian claim to a naval station in the Dodecanese Islands, serious as such an outpost might ultimately prove in considerations of eastern Mediterranean security, seemed less of a menace than the claim to Trieste. Whether this claim will be persisted in by Moscow now that it has seen and estimated the strength and unity of the opposition of the other three powers on this issue remains to be seen. If it is persisted in, the Foreign Ministers' deputies who are to continue the discussion on the draft treaties with Italy and the Balkan states between now and the resumed conference on June 15 will wreck themselves on the same rock.

Superficially the Paris conference made a certain amount of progress, but on minor details only. Evidently it is Mr. Molotov's tactic to surrender on minor points while remaining adamant on the greater issues. Germany is in Russian eyes a greater issue, perhaps the greatest, and on this he has hitherto confined himself to a policy of delay and deferment, always determined at all costs to avoid a showdown. Russia has clearly no intention of revealing at this stage its long-term policy for Germany, always supposing that it has worked out a long-term policy, but equally it has no intention of committing itself to any joint scheme for the government of Germany either as a unitary or as a tripartite state. Mr. Byrnes's attempts to get agreement on a twenty-five-year

plan for German disarmament ran up against this rock of Russian indecision, if indecision is the word for a policy of negation which has been so carefully studied and applied as to become a fine diplomatic art. Every time an attempt was made to break down the Russians' silence and reserve as to their intentions in the Russian zone of Germany, Mr. Molotov retorted by allusions to the British zone which, as they were intended to, never failed to draw the shrewd but irascible Ernest Bevin.



Molotov

The most disappointed party to the Four Ministers' conference is, of course, the French Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault. To all his pleas for the political separation of the Ruhr and the Rhineland from Germany Mr. Molotov maintained an enigmatic silence. In private conversations both Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin expressed sympathy with the French point of view, but neither the British nor the American spokesman would commit his country to the French claim until the whole question of Germany's future was settled, and that seems as far away as ever. On the question of the Saar, French claims have received more satisfaction, but no final allocation of the Saar coal fields and the Saar administration to France will be made until the future of the Ruhr is agreed on. In the meantime France is likely to get more coal from the Ruhr, although its demand for a million tons a month is probably greater than the Ruhr production could yield under present circumstances.

Meager as these results of the Paris conference are, it will not have proved entirely futile if it has revealed to Soviet Russia that the other three powers would rather accept an indefinite prolongation of the present situation in Europe than a hastily and pusillanimously contrived peace settlement which would be condemned in advance. The fiasco of the Versailles treaty was due partly to haste, partly to cynicism, partly to weakness. Not one of the participants would say no. Each of them made concessions which he afterward regretted. The Versailles treaty was a valuable weapon in the hands of the Nazis and the Fascists of the inter-war era. All aggressors show a curious weakness for legal justification for their acts if they can find it, and one can understand the reluctance of the present generation of peace negotiators to go on record in the roll of history as the signatories of a second Versailles Diktat.

When the Foreign Ministers reassemble in Paris on June 15, the French elections will have taken place, and a new French government will be in office. It has been suggested that the show of conciliation made by Mr. Molotov during the last weeks was inspired by a desire to aid the Communist Party at the polls, but such a suggestion is fantastic to anyone who has studied Soviet foreign policy over a period of years. It is conceivable that a Communist French Foreign Minister might side more frequently with Mr. Molotov in discussions on Trieste and the Dodecanese than Mr. Bidault was able to do, but the Communist leader—even Maurice Thorez—who may be called on to form the next French government would be forced to disagree if his Moscow coreligionary backed the German Communists in opposing the detachment of the Ruhr and the Rhineland from Germany. All the signs are that it is nationalism and not internationalism which has become the pole star of the Kremlin's political philosophy. Mr. Molotov and Mr. Thorez will delight in agreeing when their respective

nation's interests are in harmony, but there will be no sacrifice of Russia's permanent and imperial policy for the *beaux yeux* of the French Communists. Sooner or later French Communists, like the British Socialists, will

run their heads against the same hard, flinty Kremlin walls, and will find that they too will have to choose between principles and opportunism, between charter and barter.

Jinnah and Indian Unity

BY SHIVA RAO

Editorial writer for the Hindu of Madras and correspondent in India for the Manchester Guardian

New Delhi, May 15

THE breakdown of negotiations between the British Cabinet mission, the Congress Party, and the Moslem League last week-end at Simla does not mean final failure. The mission came out to India with certain avowed objectives: first, to obtain some measure of agreement between the two main Indian parties in regard to a permanent constitution, and, second, to establish for the transitional period a provisional central government commanding popular support and confidence. Many have held the view that the mission should have reversed the order of its objectives and immediately upon its arrival in New Delhi at the end of March proceeded with arrangements for a new interim government.

The food situation has been steadily deteriorating, and a critical period threatening the dislocation of the rationing system seems to be approaching unless adequate supplies of wheat and rice are rushed to India. With starvation has come its inevitable associate, a cholera epidemic, which is assuming virulent form in the Ganges plains. The railwaymen have voted by an overwhelming majority to strike on June 27 unless all their basic demands are referred to an adjudicator. Paralysis of the transport system at this time can only mean widespread disaster. Post-war planning is virtually at a standstill because the central government cannot make headway in an atmosphere of utter uncertainty. A new government under the inspiring leadership of men like Nehru should have been installed without the least delay to get ready for the critical months immediately ahead. Famine, epidemics, labor strikes, post-war planning call for imaginative sympathy, drive, and vision—qualities which the present government lacks completely.

Apart from the time factor there is another reason why the Cabinet mission should have taken this action. All through the years of the war Jinnah received abundant encouragement from the British Tories and the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, to adopt a defiant and uncompromising attitude toward the Nationalist leaders. Then Congress's demands for the transfer of political power could be evaded on the excuse that agreement between the Indian parties was absent. Twice during the war the

Punjab's Moslem Premier, Sikander Hyat-Khan, and prominent members of Jinnah's party came very near to reaching a settlement with the Congress. It would have meant a split in the Moslem League; on both occasions Linlithgow refused support. The Viceroy made no secret of his intention to do nothing to weaken the Moslem League. The rapid growth of Jinnah's influence was due mainly to the powerful patronage of the British Tories. Had the Labor ministers now negotiating on behalf of the Cabinet indicated their anxiety for a just settlement, with no party having the power of veto, by establishing a provisional government, Jinnah would have seen the wisdom of altering his tactics. Subsequent discussions about a permanent constitution might have been shorter and more fruitful.

Nevertheless, as I said, the breakdown at Simla does not mean failure. In fact, it conceals, as a declaration to be made later this week is likely to show, a considerable narrowing down of the original differences between Congress and the Moslem League. The Congress leaders, particularly Nehru, have always been willing to reduce federal authority to a minimum and concede the largest measure of autonomy to the provinces. But they sharply oppose the complete division of the country—unless a distinct area demands it through a plebiscite of the entire adult population. Jinnah, on the other hand, will not be satisfied with anything less than a clear-cut separation. Nor would he concede the right of the non-Moslem minorities to participate in the plebiscite. Jinnah's demands have grown steadily during the past six years. At first he agreed to territorial adjustments to exclude the non-Moslem areas. That qualification he dropped from the resolution passed by the convention of the Moslem League this Easter. One of his lieutenants, now Premier of Bengal, declared, "Pakistan is our latest but not necessarily our last demand." Another equally prominent Moslem mentioned Genghis Khan, whose wholesale massacres are still recalled in this part of the world, as a possible example to follow if Pakistan were not willingly granted. He also thought Soviet Russia might lend a helpful hand to the Indian Moslems.

These speeches have alarmed non-Moslems, who see in the technique and language adopted the spirit of

May 20

Hitler. Large numbers have ceased to argue rationally about Jinnah's conception of Pakistan: phrases like "policy of appeasement" are used to condemn any concessions to the Moslem League. The Congress leaders cannot overlook powerful sentiments of this kind in their negotiations. The unity of India has religious sanctity for the Hindus, who mention in their daily prayers all the sacred rivers and cities from Kashmir in the north to Cape Comorin in the extreme south.

It is some achievement for the Cabinet ministers that they have secured Jinnah's consent to a central government administering three departments—namely, defense, foreign affairs, and communications. Such a center will have adequate financial resources to back it and possibly also an elected legislature. The Congress leaders are not enthusiastic about such a loosely knit federation, holding that a country the size of India requires a better-organized administration. This compromise, however, means the definite abandonment of Pakistan. The Congress and the Moslem League have also agreed, again reluctantly, to a regrouping of the provinces, if they wish it, for the common administration of other departments. The Congress leaders fear the gradual Balkanization of the country. Jinnah, on his side, does not see any merit in giving the provinces such an option.

This statement of developments in recent weeks has not taken note of another important element—namely, the princes, whose territories cover a third of India and have a population of about ninety million. Some forty of these princes, out of nearly six hundred, have treaties with Britain. The great majority are petty chieftains, with annual incomes of a few thousand dollars, who deny their unfortunate subjects even elementary citizenship rights. The Cabinet mission would abolish all paramountcy, British or other, with India's achievement of independence. Nehru is anxious for the growth of democracy throughout India, including territories under the princes. Britain's exercise of paramountcy in the past has perpetuated the autocracy of these princes. Nehru wants it transferred to the Indian government, which would use paramountcy to establish democracy.

The question facing men like Nehru is how far they can safely compromise with the Cabinet mission in order to assume power, necessarily limited, during the transition period. Nehru is desperately anxious that the transition period be one of constructive work which will fit India politically, socially, and economically for the role of a leading Asiatic power. Compromise beyond a certain point, however, may prove fatal. New forces are rapidly emerging, less patient than Nehru, less squeamish about non-violence, and determined to put an end to European imperialism throughout Asia without a period of transition. Control over the Congress Party is now in the process of changing hands; in comparison with the new leaders, even Nehru may find himself a moderate.

The British Cabinet mission published last week two White Papers, one containing its proposals for settlement of the differences between the Congress Party and the Moslem League, and the other the text of the correspondence culminating in the failure of negotiations at Simla on a permanent constitution. The British proposals generally follow my forecast and seem, especially in the light of the published correspondence, a midway compromise between the views of the two parties. Congress leaders, and indeed most political groups except Jinnah's, are delighted with the emphatic rejection of Pakistan on grounds which have enduring validity. All the provinces must accept a common central authority under the British scheme, though Gandhi and Nehru would add tariffs, currency, and national planning to the three subjects—defense, foreign affairs, and communication—to which Jinnah has already consented. The British Cabinet contemplates a federal government and legislature with power to levy taxation, while Jinnah is not willing to go beyond an administrative center without a legislature and dependent on the provinces for finances. Objectively analyzed, the scheme concedes a great deal of Jinnah's original demand for two regions, one in the northwest and the other in the northeast. Jinnah complains that the regions are not sovereign states but merely sub-federations under a common center. The Congress leaders for their part protest against the compulsory grouping of the provinces into three regions as a serious encroachment on their rights of self-determination. That point has been met partially by a provision that the provinces may opt themselves out of their respective groups should the first elections under the new constitution return such a verdict.

Though the Cabinet mission has described the scheme as a recommendation, in effect it is an award, since its provisions are unalterable except by consent of the majority of both the Congress and the Moslem League. Another objection from the Congress side concerns the status and powers of the interim government. Undoubtedly the Labor Ministers mean to carry out their intention to transfer the substance of power to the new government. What all sections of Indian opinion want without delay is a clear declaration that henceforth India is not a subject country but an equal partner with Britain and the Dominions until the Constituent Assembly makes a decision as to whether India shall continue as a member of the British Commonwealth or sever its ties and become independent.

It would be rash to assume that a constitution could be framed within a year or two. Deadlocks are almost inevitable at certain stages unless Jinnah drops some of his intransigence. This formative period will prove critical for Indian-British relations, and present suspicions, which are deep despite all the efforts of the Labor Cabinet, will disappear only with such a declaration.

The Veterans' House Divided

BY WILLIAM PRICE

Formerly a Texas newspaperman, Mr. Price served five years in the navy and is now on the staff of Time

THE sergeant from Minnesota had been reading a veterans' newspaper in the Red Cross club opposite Tokyo's imperial palace. He folded the eight-page weekly, banged it across his knee, and let the other soldiers sitting near know what he thought about it. "Cats in a sack," he said, "that's what all these outfits are getting to be. Here's a whole paper full of nothing but buddy-buddy stuff, high pressure on Congress, and slams at the competition."

It is true that competitive squabbles are mounting as veterans' organizations bid for more than fourteen million potential members. For better or worse, the expected political unity of organized returned service men is splitting wide apart. With some two hundred national pressure groups staging this Donnybrook Fair, ex-G. I.'s find dozens of active spokesmen for their interests but no constructive united action on any major issue.

Going into the discard, perhaps prematurely, is the prediction that out of World War II would emerge the greatest mass pressure group in our history, formed on the pattern of the Grand Army of the Republic and the American Legion. Four organizations lead the present pack. On their relations with each other, whether conflict or cooperation, depend the weight and impact of the ex-service men's opinions—at least about strictly veterans' concerns. The American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars (V. F. W.) have relatively long histories, fat treasuries, large memberships. The American Veterans of World War II (Amvets) and the American Veterans' Committee (A. V. C.) are new in the field, short on funds, and still small, but aiming for memberships in the millions. Behind these leaders trail an assortment of organizations many of which represent various special groups. Some are only for privates, some only for officers, some only for the disabled; others are limited to a certain area, service, religion, or racial group. Their social views range from those of Gerald L. K. Smith's Committee of Veterans of World War II to those of the Veterans' Committee Against Discrimination. Some specialized organizations will probably thrive moderately, but the prospect for the multitude with general membership is continued insignificance, disintegration, or absorption into one of the Big Four.

THE LEGION

The vast and rapidly growing American Legion now has two and a half million members, but its discharge of its stewardship as the service man's advocate between the

two wars has generated considerable indifference and even considerable hostility. Despite sound civic activity in many communities, it has been freely criticized throughout the nation. Recently this criticism has been stimulated by National Commander John Stelle's ill-considered attack on General Bradley's conduct of the Veterans' Administration—afterward partially withdrawn—and by the leadership's vacillating attitude toward current veterans' problems. The most flagrant instance is Stelle's about-face on the Wyatt housing program. The national commander gave his indorsement only late in April, after Representative Wright Patman, one of the Legion's founders in Texas, had publicly joined in the criticism of the organization for not taking any positive stand. Then last month, after Republican legionnaires in Congress gave him a lambasting, Stelle retracted his support. Objections have also been voiced to the Legion's continued emphasis on a super-heated nationalism—last year William Randolph Hearst was the recipient of its Distinguished Service medal—and to the monopoly of most high national offices by veterans of World War I.

At present the highest official from among the new recruits is one of the five vice-commanders, H. Dudley Swim, of Twin Falls, Idaho, who has already been mentioned as a possible future national commander. His recent experience in being groomed for the job provides a good illustration of some techniques in veterans politics. Early in 1945 Naval Reserve Lieutenant Swim went on inactive duty, at his own request, so that he might go back into private business. His terminal leave expired on April 17 of last year, and he put away his uniform. In the autumn he was elected to his present Legion office. Then, last February, after ten months as a civilian, he was recalled to active duty for a single day, promoted to lieutenant commander, and immediately demobilized once more. Less fortunate legionnaires may wonder how well this conforms to their constitution's precept "to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion and mutual helpfulness."

Its size and power have made the Legion a politically attractive snug harbor for some curious elements, including Communists and fellow-travelers. A *Daily Worker* writer has quite openly stated the choice: the radical veteran must either join this most vociferous of anti-Bolshevik organizations or "abandon millions to unmitigated reactionary leadership." "Democratizing"—or if you prefer "boring"—"from within" is the role

attributed by its critics to the new Duncan-Paris Post of the Legion in New York City. The post was started mainly by some of the G. I.'s on *Yank* and *Stars and Stripes*. It is named for two battle casualties and is headed by Marion ("See Here, Private") Hargrove and Walter Bernstein, former *Yank* writers. Members are drawn principally from the theater and other arts. Their motives for joining the new post, which is still without a permanent charter, seem to reflect the views expressed by Bernstein in *The Nation* last January: it was a question, he said then, "of going where the men go and fighting for their needs *with* them," regardless of "the reactionary leadership of the Legion." Evaluation of this motive hinges largely on the amount of truth in the charge that the Duncan-Paris Post is controlled by Communists and their active sympathizers. Hargrove denies any such domination. Another post spokesman sets the number of Communists at "about half a dozen" out of more than 200 members. But already some Duncan-Paris buddies talk of seceding from the Legion—taking with them "perhaps a third of the whole national membership"—if the process of "democratizing from within" is balked.

However far to the left it stands, the new post has already demonstrated its vigor and influence. It took the lead in organizing a rally to obtain housing for veterans held in a Manhattan armory last week. The meeting was backed by almost half of the Legion posts and all the county committees in Greater New York. Attendance fell far short of expectations, but it was the most spectacular action yet taken on this issue by the Legion.

THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

The V. F. W. began canvassing for members the day after Pearl Harbor and was easily first in overseas recruiting among men still in uniform. Its most effective slogan was "a \$4,500 bonus for practically every overseas veteran." Actually, astute Omar B. Ketchum, a former mayor of Topeka and the chief V. F. W. lobbyist in Washington, has not pushed this demand. His strategy has been not to repel those with moderate views on the bonus while still appealing to elements that want the big pay-off right now.

Although the V. F. W.'s old-timers have not surrendered many of the top national positions, new veterans form a larger proportion of the membership than they do in the Legion. In general, the organization has led its chief competitor in taking energetic action on housing, surplus property, and other major issues.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars, as the name indicates, is open only to service men who have been overseas; the Legion is open to all who wore the uniform. The V. F. W. excludes women; the Legion accepts them. But in social and political outlook the organizations are closely similar, and there is, in fact, an intimate, informal liaison between headquarters. During the Stelle-Bradley fight the V. F. W. backed the General, but a

radio broadcast by Ketchum on the dispute never mentioned the Legion.

It is over signing up new members that the Legion and the V. F. W. clash—and often. But as potential membership is mined out, this cause of antagonism may disappear, especially if the Legion, as is expected, continues to recruit faster. Local V. F. W. leaders have advised returning soldiers to "join 'em both," but so far cooperation has been confined to inconclusive parleying, with agreement on such negative matters as opposition to the A. V. C. If the leaders of the two groups ever decide on a coalition they will find their position as little different as the overseas caps they both wear.

AMVETS

The largest of the new organizations is the Amvets, with 60,000 members. Though its avowedly "middle of the road" policy is still largely undefined, Amvets has energetically backed subsidized housing and opposed an immediate bonus. In its half-year of effective national existence it has been a well-run one-man show. National Commander Jack W. Hardy of Los Angeles is an earnest and forthright leader but has had no previous experience in national affairs. Though it lacks an adequate staff and is restricted to a small budget by a policy of running on membership dues alone, Amvets may nevertheless keep its present position as the largest of the new groups. Energetic local and state branches, especially in Michigan and Illinois, are recruiting widely, and almost 2,000 new members a week are joining.

A prospective reorganization may produce a stronger, better-integrated outfit. The taboo on outside financial aid, for one thing, is to be discarded. This will permit the expansion of national headquarters in Washington and also forceful intervention in state and local politics. Their platform will be to "stand with any man who is right but part with him when he is wrong." By a constitutional prohibition Hardy cannot be a candidate for reelection at the next national convention in November, but he is committed to support of a slate sympathetic to his moderate objectives. Amvets has a stated goal of 500,000 members by July; one fourth of this figure may be reached before the convention if a drive for funds is successful.

Recent overtures from the Legion and the V. F. W. are tributes to Amvets' chance of survival and indicate that those organizations see the advantage of fostering a puppet among the new groups. Legion Commander Stelle offered to sponsor in Congress a national charter for Amvets, but bills were recently introduced in both houses under Amvets' own aegis. A high official of the V. F. W. offered a \$100,000 loan, to help the newcomer "get on its feet." Hardy was given a featured place on a V. F. W. broadcast and cordially interviewed by Ketchum. The two older organizations would apparently like to have Amvets as a buffer against the swipes of

the American Veterans' Committee. But so far Amvets, though young, small, and poor, has kept its independence.

AMERICAN VETERANS' COMMITTEE

How does it happen that the A. V. C., with a membership that has just reached 55,000—hardly more than the monthly accretions to the Legion—is so prominent and so feared? In the first place, it has exceptionally large representations in New York and Los Angeles—a fourth of the whole membership—and these include some highly vocal and prominent liberals. Secondly, its slashing attacks on the Legion and its vigorous stand on a wide range of veterans' problems have always been well-publicized in New York and occasionally throughout the country. (It has supported the OPA and the British loan and denounced control of atomic energy by the War Department.) Attacks in return from the older organizations, the Hearst papers, and Westbrook Pegler, charging Communist domination, have gained it further publicity, and simultaneous attacks from the Communists themselves have not harmed it. Finally, its chairman is the leading current writer on the veteran, the able and eloquent Charles G. Bolté.

But despite a hustling public-relations policy and a good financial status—it is better than Amvets' because of the substantial amounts received from non-veterans—the A. V. C.'s current campaign to roll up 250,000 members before its organizational convention next month has flopped badly. About a fourth of the hoped-for total will be represented at the Des Moines meeting, June 14 to 16, at which Bolté is likely to be reelected chairman if he consents to run. Conspicuously weak in the Midwest, the South, and almost all rural areas, the A. V. C. is energetically working along two main lines for larger and more evenly distributed membership. It is trying first to absorb smaller outfits. The American Veterans' Association, remnant of an anti-Legion anti-bonus group of the '30's, recently joined, and negotiations are under way with two more Lilliputian-sized organizations. A longer-range program calls for more field organizers in all regions, with emphasis on expansion in the Midwest. A million-dollar drive for funds was started a fortnight ago, headed by a highly paid director, for the purpose of financing expansion to a million members by May 1, 1947. The A. V. C. will reach perhaps a quarter of this figure if it is soundly financed and administered. If not, it will remain a generally metropolitan, liberal group—militant and vocal but small.

Bickerings between the Amvets and the A. V. C. are only now becoming as public as the quarrels of Bolté's organization with the two larger groups. But they are even more significant evidence of the lack of unity among the returned veteran's champions. Hardy of Amvets has charged the A. V. C. with making "at least inaccurate and misleading" statements in its literature; the A. V. C.'s unofficial observer at Amvets' Chicago

convention last November thought he saw a "native fascist" in every delegate's chair. Amvets refused to take part in an A. V. C.-sponsored radio program in support of the OPA, and the broadcast consequently was canceled. Each has welcomed advances from restless chapters in the other camp. Some Los Angeles Amvets, for example, dickered with the A. V. C. and the reverse happened in Seattle. Amvets recently reprinted an article in a veterans' newspaper which differentiated between its "conservative . . . generally cautious" policies and those of the "at least 'leaning to the left'" A. V. C. The article was run, incidentally, to correct the paper's previous confusion of the two groups.

A POSSIBLE MERGER

That they might be confused is not incomprehensible. Though Westbrook Pegler sees the two as "in a sense rivals," though many rank-and-file Amvets consider the A. V. C. "radical" and a comparable number of A. V. C. members consider Amvets "reactionary," no real chasm separates the contending organizations. Both are open only to veterans of the last war; both have taken a categorical stand against discrimination because of race, creed, or color. (The A. V. C.'s sincerity in this respect was demonstrated by the election of Franklin H. Williams, Negro lawyer and former infantry private, as chairman of the New York Area Council.) Their statements of principles do not conflict. They share the best-known adherent to either group—Harold E. Stassen.

In view of the tentative suggestions for an alliance or merger of the two groups, it is worth while to review their differences. The A. V. C. admits the men of the merchant marine and war correspondents with combat experience; Amvets does not. Aware that their admission was a subject of criticism, A. V. C.'s leaders considered barring these civilians, but a poll of the membership last February indorsed their retention by a vote of nine to one. A compromise would probably not be difficult to arrange, since the merchant seamen and correspondents in the A. V. C. number less than 300. Another difference is that the A. V. C. accepts support from outsiders, while Amvets runs on members' dues only. But as has been mentioned, Amvets is planning to solicit other aid. The A. V. C. admittedly includes some Communists and their sympathizers, chiefly in New York City; Amvets would insist on their exclusion. This point would be yielded by many top A. V. C. leaders. Distinctly not hewers to the party line themselves, they recently earned this typical diatribe from a *Daily Worker* writer: "The National Planning Committee of A. V. C. is much more interested in fighting the Communists than in fighting for veterans' needs."

If Bolté is elected next month, the hitherto abortive attempts to bring about an Amvets-A. V. C. alliance or actual merger will be strongly renewed. If these efforts are successful, there will be a drive to gather in other,

smaller World War II organizations; then the bloc of exclusively "new" veterans thus formed will fight it out with the two giants for mass membership. The result will decide what group, if any, will have the right to speak authoritatively for the more than fourteen million new veterans. Less than a fourth of these have yet fastened to their lapels any of the two hundred pins to choose from. A recent survey in New Haven, Connecticut, perhaps an extreme example, showed that up to 90 per cent

of ex-service men were withholding judgment on the various contenders for their signatures and dollars.

Whether the Minnesota sergeant in Tokyo and other thoughtful men will find it worth their while to join an organization of veterans depends on how soon groups with little difference in professed objectives stop beating each other over the head for members and unite behind constructive advancement of the nation's—and thus the veteran's—interests.

Spain: Postwar Model

BY SIDNEY WISE

A correspondent in Spain for the Columbia Broadcasting System and the Overseas News Agency, Mr. Wise was forced to surrender his accreditation and threatened with immediate expulsion because his dispatches angered the Spanish authorities.

New York, May 20

LAST month I left Spain and yesterday arrived in New York, where the Security Council is studying the question of Franco Spain. This is a report on only one vital aspect of the Franco regime—an aspect on which the Allied embassies in Madrid have volumes of evidence which may be released for publication during the Security Council sessions.

While the Allies are combing Europe for small bits and remains of Nazism, Franco Spain quietly continues as the world's last great fascist fortress and a safe haven for Nazi agents. The small roots of Nazism are being sought out for destruction in Germany, but a forest of the same species grows unmolested in Spain. This is a source of bewilderment and concern to many Allied officials in Europe who are working hard at the de-Nazification program and to many persons in this country who believe that the problem of Nazism is global and that if its menace to peace is to be eliminated it must be stamped out in other parts of the world besides Germany. Destruction of the physical assets of the Nazis is an important part of this program. But destruction of the elusive Nazi spirit and ideology is even more necessary.

Franco has compiled an eloquent record of his attitude toward both these aims in more than one year of peace in Europe. In this period he has done nothing to change the basic fascist structure of his regime. Many observers in Spain, feeling that if he had had any genuine intention of cutting his ties with Nazism he would have done so before now, are convinced that he is determined to perpetuate the Nazi ideology at all costs.

It is difficult to find even small changes in the fascist character of the Franco regime today, more than one year after the Allied victory. Practically all the political concepts that functioned during the high tide of Nazi victory are still operative. Officials of the regime have tried in vain to present concrete evidence of what the controlled press once termed "evolution toward democ-

racy." Some cite a decree passed after V-E Day making it no longer obligatory to give the fascist salute, but the stiff-arm *brazo en alto* is still given at all official functions organized by the Falangists.

The *Caudillo* is proud of the close working relations and friendships that existed between numerous officials of his regime and the Nazis during the war. The budget for the current year includes an allotment of 10,500,000 pesetas (about \$1,000,000) for veterans of the Spanish Blue Division who fought with the German army. Not only are these veterans who fought side by side with German soldiers given money allotments but many of them have received comfortable government jobs.

Some of the most important posts in the government today are held by the same men who during the war used these positions to collaborate openly with Nazi Germany. There is José Antonio Girón, Minister of Labor, who actively aided in the recruiting of Spanish laborers sent to work in German war factories. There is Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Rodríguez Martínez, Director General of Security, who implemented a secret treaty between the Gestapo and the Spanish police during the war by which valuable military intelligence was sent to Berlin. The most important civilian Cabinet post in Spain, Minister of Interior, is still held by Blas Perez Gonzalez, an undisguised Naziphile today as well as during the war.

Another Spanish official who openly collaborated with the Axis, named by the State Department in its Blue Book on Argentina, is Eduardo Aunos, former Minister of Justice. Because of the unfavorable publicity given to his appointment, Aunos gave up the idea of accepting the post of Spanish ambassador to Brazil. However, Franco was not to be denied in his desire to send a pro-Nazi envoy to Brazil, and several weeks later he named José Losada de la Torre press attaché of the Spanish embassy. Losada de la Torre was in the pay of the German embassy in Madrid during the war.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the continuing presence of so many Nazis in Spain is not that the Allies have been able to apprehend so few of them but that Franco is protecting them at the risk of jeopardizing his own international position. More than any other development since V-E Day it shows the close ties still existing between the Franco regime and what remains of Nazism. And it is a clear indication that the international aspect of fascism which began in Spain with the intervention of Hitler and Mussolini on the side of General Franco has not yet ended. The Nazis helped Franco gain victory in the Spanish civil war. Today Franco is providing safe haven for Nazis wanted by the Allies.

Until the Security Council discussion of Spain began several weeks ago, the greatest subject for laughter in the prosperous German colony in Spain was the Allied attempt to seize Nazi agents. For more than a year the Franco regime has openly defied Allied demands for the deportation of Germans. Allied embassies in Madrid have compiled a list of 2,200 Nazi agents classified as "dangerous." Of this group, which represents only the top layer of German agents in Spain, less than a hundred have been deported so far. Most of them have been directly or indirectly responsible for the death of thousands of Allied soldiers. On the list are at least two German generals—Hans Dörr, former military attaché of the German embassy in Madrid, and Eckhardt Krahmer, former air attaché and one of the heads of the vast Gestapo machine in Spain during the war. German espionage agents like Colonel Edmond Niemann, Otto Heinrichsen, and Alfred Gesworsky find Spain a comfortable refuge. For the brothers Hubert and Oscar Wilmer, munitions agents and active members of the *Sicherheitsdienst*, the dregs of Nazi defeat in Spain must taste like champagne, for they are still among the most lavish spenders in Madrid's night clubs. Dr. Karl Albrecht, the number-one Nazi in Spain, is so far making good a boast to his Spanish friends on V-E Day that the Allies would never be able to get him out of Spain.

Last March Sigismund von Bibra, former counselor of the German embassy in Madrid, and von Hamma, German police attaché and key Gestapo director, both high on the Allied list, were deported by the Franco regime. But it is interesting to note that their deportation followed shortly after it became known to Spanish authorities that they were "spilling the beans" to Allied embassy officials. Ten months of table-pounding by the Allies after V-E Day had previously failed to persuade Spanish officials to get rid of these wanted agents. Several other Nazis on the Allied "dangerous" list also were suddenly surrendered after they began giving valuable information to personnel of the British and American embassies.

That the Nazis have a safe haven in Spain more than a year after the German defeat in Europe is dangerous enough in itself. But the spirit which motivates the

Franco regime to continue this intimate relation with Nazism, despite Allied pressure, is a far more serious matter. The question almost inevitably arises: If during this first year of peace, when the ideals of World War II were still strong, the Franco regime displayed such open sympathy with Nazism, what will be its attitude when Allied vigilance against Nazi machinations relaxes and the war ideals fade with the passing of time? Deporting Nazi agents from Spain is one job; rooting out Nazism from the thinking and spirit of the men running the Franco regime is a more difficult problem. Most observers in Spain agree that the future will show an increase rather than a decrease in Nazi influence in Spain and that Franco will not change his course.

Some light on the thinking of Franco regarding the internal situation of Spain since V-E Day may be gained from the official budget for 1946. Official budgets under Franco have, at best, been padded understatements of the spending sins of his regime. However, this habit should point up the 1946 budget, which discloses that a higher percentage of the total expenditures is going to the army and police than in any year since Franco took power. In the first year of peace in Europe, and seven years after the end of the Spanish civil war, General Franco is spending more than half the nation's revenues on a graft-ridden army and a vast police and internal espionage system. The Spanish people are chained by repressive and security measures which make political opposition dangerous and popular uprising homicidal.

The resemblance between Franco Spain and Nazi Germany has perhaps never been stronger than it is today. The army has reached a greater strength this year than in any previous year since Franco took power, with the possible exception of 1940. The Dirección General de Seguridad is the closest copy of the Gestapo still functioning anywhere in the world. The propaganda themes of the Nazis are today being daily disseminated throughout the world by Spain's controlled press and radio. The Führer concept is still alive in Spain; only the title is different. Almost the entire Nazi governing structure can be found in the Franco regime of today.

The tripartite note on Spain issued last March calling on "democratic elements" to effect a change of regime seemed expressive of a sad naivete to Spaniards, who feel themselves held more tightly in Franco's iron grip today than in any year since the New State was created. When I left Spain last month, repressive measures were being carried out by the police on a vast and intensified scale. Most people felt helplessly caught in the government's police and espionage network and were pinning their hopes on the outside world for some solution to the Spanish problem. It is no exaggeration to say that at least 20,000,000 pairs of eyes in Spain are turned toward the United Nations Security Council, anxiously waiting to see if the Spanish question will be resolved.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Trade Policies and Sugar—II

LAST week I drew attention to the fact that implementation of the Administration's international economic program would involve the abandonment, or at least modification, of many deeply rooted American economic practices. Just for that reason a good deal more thought needs to be given to the meaning of that program in terms of actual trade situations if the United States is not to find itself one day welshing on its own ideals. I have no doubt that the Administration, in spearheading a campaign to break down trade barriers the world over, is absolutely sincere. I am even more certain that if this campaign is a failure we shall all pay the price in depression, economic strife, and eventually a new war. Most Americans, I believe, would agree with that proposition, and most of them will back the Administration's program as long as it is expressed in generalized terms. But what is going to be the public attitude when we cease to talk about trade obstacles in the abstract and get down to questions of wheat, and woolens, and watches? Will action be ruled by considerations of the broad national interest or by the pressures developed by narrow private interests?

In my previous article I pointed to the entrenched privileges of the American sugar growers as one of the positions that would have to be abandoned if other nations were to be persuaded to open up their markets to American traders. For sugar in this country has been protected not only by an almost prohibitive tariff but by the kind of discriminatory quotas which, when operated against American goods, are regarded as outrageously unfair. Its future treatment, therefore, will be a test of American sincerity.

Apart from its international aspects, the case of sugar deserves consideration from the consumer's point of view. In 1937 Henry Wallace, then Secretary of Agriculture, pointed out that American housewives were paying \$350,000,000 a year more for sugar than they would have done if it could have been bought duty-free in the world market. In that same year sugar-beet growers earned a gross income of \$51,700,000 and sugar-cane planters a gross income of \$20,000,000. The tariff and quota system, however, also protects sugar grown in Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, which together in 1937 sent about 2,691,000 short tons of raw sugar into this country. At the average wholesale price of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound in that year, the total value of these duty-free imports was \$188,370,000, but since this included freight, insurance, and other costs, the actual return to the island planters was considerably smaller. We find, therefore, that American consumers in a prosperous pre-war year were paying \$350,000,000 to provide sugar growers under the American flag with a gross return of considerably less than \$250,000,000.

Obvious as the advantages of free trade in sugar would be, even a Hayek would hesitate before advocating the immediate dropping of all forms of protection. For the industry

which has grown up behind the tariff wall, uneconomical though it be, does represent a livelihood to some 100,000 American farmers and much greater numbers of laborers in the insular dependencies. The sudden destruction of that livelihood would have a devastating effect on many communities. Economic policies, whether good or bad, create fixed social patterns, and in reversing those policies we must deal fairly with the problems of dislocation that will arise.

In the case of sugar we have to think not only of the mainland producers but of commitments made to those in the dependencies. In the Philippines, which become an independent sovereign state in a few weeks, the sugar industry was practically destroyed during the war, and all other export industries were badly damaged. If on top of these blows to its economy the Philippine Republic were now deprived of the free market it has enjoyed in the United States for nearly fifty years, its hopes of recovery would be entirely shattered. HR 5856, an act signed by the President on April 30, is designed to soften the economic consequences of political separation. It provides for duty-free entry into the United States of Philippine goods for a period of eight years and a gradually diminishing tariff preference for a further period of twenty years. For sugar the act fixes an import quota of 850,000 short tons, rather below the islands' pre-war shipments to this country.

This preferential grant to an independent state is obviously not going to assist negotiations for the abolition of the British Empire preference system, and the commitment of the United States to a continuation of the quota system for sugar creates an awkward precedent. On the other hand, to cast the Philippines suddenly outside the tariff walls which have conditioned their economy for nearly fifty years would be a gross injustice.

But does the fact that the state has provided a group of producers with shelter against the cold winds of competition over a long period establish their inalienable right to such shelter? If that doctrine were accepted, we might as well give up all hope of lowering trade barriers. What, then, is the alternative? In the case of sugar it might be the ending of quotas, which are flatly discriminatory, and the gradual reduction of the tariff combined with the provision of subsidies over a period long enough to allow producers to adapt themselves to competitive conditions. These measures should be applied so as to encourage marginal producers, either on the mainland or in the dependencies, including the Philippines, to transfer their capital to other fields, while assisting the more efficient to cut costs to a competitive level. Subsidies, for instance, could be used to encourage the purchase of recently developed mechanized equipment, enabling beet farmers to dispense with much of the costly, though ill-paid, hand labor now employed in cultivating and harvesting the crop.

From the consumer's point of view a subsidy policy would be much cheaper than the present set-up. As we have seen, before the war consumers would have been better off if they could have obtained sugar at a world price plus a levy sufficient to give the actual growers a sum equivalent to their gross return. When protection reaches the point where its cost to the community is greater than the value of the product protected, it is time to call for a planned retreat from an economically absurd position.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS and the ARTS

What Eisenhower Was

MY THREE YEARS WITH EISENHOWER. By Harry C. Butcher. Simon and Schuster. \$5.

THE origin and circumstances of Captain Butcher's celebrated diary are well enough known by now. As General Eisenhower's aide and close personal friend he was charged with keeping an informal record of life at the various Eisenhower headquarters. The unedited journal—the book was cut for security and politeness, as well as for triviality and style—has about a million words and is, I trust, deposited in some safe place for future historians. The published volume contains more than nine hundred pages.

What kind of observer was Butcher? His notes show him to be friendly, honest, shrewd, fairly indiscriminating, and in certain crucial respects quite uncomprehending. His writing is in the tradition of the twentieth-century diarists—flat, banal, and undistinguished, though it should be said in justice that Butcher's syntax is less tortured than Mr. Davies's, and that his clichés are less literary and implacable than Mr. Shirer's.

He has almost no knack for characterization. Of the remarkable individuals who walked in and out of Eisenhower's headquarters, the few who come alive do so sporadically and almost inadvertently. Still there are moments which historians will prize: Patton trying to flatter Eisenhower by "deferential acquiescence," while the Supreme Commander sat by, glum and noncommittal; Eisenhower telling the correspondents that the French landings would take place in the morning ("the nonchalance with which he announced [it] . . . and the feigned nonchalance with which the reporters absorbed it was [sic] a study in suppressed emotions"); Eisenhower a month after D-Day finding a piece of notepaper in his wallet on which was scribbled the draft of a communiqué assuming full responsibility for the failure of Overlord. There are too few of the vivid scenes, though; people like De Gaulle, Ernie Pyle, Lord Mountbatten, General Morgan pass through the book like disembodied shadows.

The sidelights on history are bright but flickering—partly because Butcher was often unaware of the significance of the facts he reports. This is particularly true of the complicated political questions which arose in North Africa and Italy. A passing note makes clear, for example, that Darlan was in Algiers by prearrangement and not, as the State Department apologists used to contend, by an act of Providence. Butcher shows definitely that there were more things wrong with our French policy than Eisenhower's bad political briefing or Robert Murphy's preference for dissident Vichyites over Free Frenchmen. The main responsibility lay plainly with President Roosevelt, who tried to enforce a private and frivolous solution of the French situation long after Murphy and Eisenhower had urged recognition of the Committee of National Liberation. Butcher reports, for example, Murphy's impression that "the President doesn't want

the French to create a single, well-established central government," and that he preferred to deal "with a local French government, provisional until after the war, in each of the bits of French territory taken by the Allies."

On questions of conflicts over strategy Butcher is more satisfactory. His jottings substantiate the views expounded by Ralph Ingersoll in "Top Secret" that the British resisted the cross-Channel invasion from the start and fought it at every step along the way. He describes Churchill's repeated and forcible interventions in strategic matters, such as Anzio and the last-minute attempt to divert Anvil (the invasion of the Mediterranean coast of France). Such interference was, of course, a point of doctrine for Churchill; "The World Crisis" had been largely devoted to the thesis that the professional politicians were generally right and the professional soldiers generally wrong on the great questions of military policy in the First World War.

Butcher's record also corrects the melodramatic oversimplifications of the Ingersoll book. It demonstrates amply that SHAEF had other functions than providing expensive settings for brass; it gives quite a different and certainly more authentic picture of the relations between Eisenhower and Bradley; and it makes abundantly clear that Ingersoll's sketch of Eisenhower as a British stooge is hardly just.

Eisenhower, though the central figure, never quite emerges as a person from Butcher's muzzy pages. Yet any light on the man who is going to be so important in this country for the next few years is of absorbing interest.

Eisenhower had been a major in the regular army for sixteen years; he was only a lieutenant colonel when war broke out; and in a little over three years he became a five-star general. His great vision in the war years was the conception of a working international staff in which the decisive loyalty would be to the institution itself. SHAEF was his great achievement—a headquarters where national distinctions were subordinated to a remarkable degree. Eisenhower had the will to carry the conception through; he had, moreover, the power to enforce decisions without losing essential confidence—except that of a few diehards like Mr. Ingersoll and his British equivalents.

At the same time Eisenhower had the professional incuriosity about politics which is the weakness as well as the strength of the career soldier. He was really surprised by the uproar over the Darlan deal; he was wholly unprepared for De Gaulle's personal triumph once he arrived in North Africa; he seems to have honestly believed that the Badoglio government could rally the anti-Fascist forces in Italy. He had thought more about Germany and blamed the war basically on the German General Staff. His solution to the German problem? "He would exterminate all of the General Staff. . . . He added he would include for liquidation leaders of the Nazi Party from mayors up and all members of the Gestapo." Not a bad solution at that.

What is the secret of his strength? The diary does supply an answer to this, or at least the material for an answer.

"His analyses, which arise from much conscientious research, are like a refreshing breeze blowing away some of the diplomatic miasma which enshrouds foreign ministries."

—N. Y. Herald Tribune

Casablanca to Katyn

Vol. III of "The Secret History
of the War"

by

WAVERLEY ROOT

"Among the finest pieces of interpretive writing yet to come out of the recent war, 'Casablanca to Katyn' is particularly timely in view of the current tension between Russia and the Western Allies, a situation which the Nazis did their best to bring about by the undercover maneuvers it describes in such detail."

—Philadelphia Inquirer

"Mr. Root delves into obscure background developments of the war; puts together many clues; and sheds light on how the wheels went around. In his admirable chapters on German strategy after Stalingrad, Mr. Root puts together the bits and pieces of evidence about the German master plan, and presents a picture which is new by reason of its completeness."

—N. Y. Herald Tribune

"His statements are backed by factual evidence and documentary proof which are incontestable and conclusive. The diplomatic and political maneuvering in which the nations of the world are now engaged, are given a new meaning in the light cast by this illuminating analysis of recent history."

—San Francisco Call-Bulletin

484 pages with index, \$5.00

at your bookstore

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS • NEW YORK

For all his failures with individuals, Butcher succeeds in communicating some sense of the world from which he and, to some degree, Eisenhower came. They first met in Washington in 1926 when Butcher was editor of the *Fertilizer Review*, before he opened the Washington office for C. B. S. and became a vice-president. Butcher's Washington is the Washington of big cigars and big expense accounts, of the Mayflower and the Willard, of the great neutral zone where professional politicians and professional representatives of business relax together over bourbon and cards.

"My Three Years with Eisenhower" is an extension of this world into war. It is an exhaustive and ingenuous recapitulation of the characteristic values of the successful American business man or politician (or general): the short-snorter notes, the moosemeat dinners, the all-night poker, the practical jokes, the bathroom humor, the bets about promotions, the hearty friendships, the family devotion, the sincerity, humanity, and courage. The symbolism is almost too pat, from the beginning, where Butcher is in London exchanging broad jokes with George Allen, the official wag of the Truman Administration, to the predestined fade-out, where his mother rouses him from sleep in the security of his parents' house in California.

Butcher somewhere quotes Ed Murrow's description of the Supreme Commander as a "representative of the great American middle class." Eisenhower is perhaps less a representative than an embodiment of its more essential virtues writ large. Butcher reports the rubbers of bridge, the Western stories, the solicitude for Mamie; he can only imply dimly the very real modesty, the clear-cut intelligence, the basic dignity, above all, the capacity to digest new responsibility without upsetting a stable and well-integrated personality. It is too bad that he did not reprint the speech at the Guild Hall in London—the speech which discloses Eisenhower's real qualities as well as anything. (Butcher does make clear that Eisenhower writes his own speeches.)

"My Three Years with Eisenhower" is a unique and valuable historical record. Because it gives a true, if clumsy, picture of the world from which General Eisenhower emerged and from which he draws his strength, it is worth the attention of students of the Republic's immediate future as well as of its immediate past.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

The Free Intelligence

DICKENS, DALI, AND OTHERS. By George Orwell.
Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.50.

GEORGE ORWELL, a liberal critic with an international background—birth in India, education in England, life in Burma and Paris, fighting in the Spanish war, and service with London newspapers (and *Partisan Review*) as correspondent—is better introduced to American readers by "Dickens, Dali, and Others" than by his recent labored satire on Stalinism, "Animal Farm." The present collection of essays—social interpretations of Dickens, Kipling, Yeats, Dali, Koestler, and subliterary matter such as boys' weeklies and penny postcards with "funny" illustrations of fat women,

smacked bottoms, mothers-in-law, etc.—shows how Orwell moves in the ill-defined area of “popular culture” between rigid Marxist and aesthetic values, between the academy and the press. He is not doctrinaire; he undoubtedly feels that he is, as he said earlier, a liberal writer at a moment when liberalism is coming to an end.

Orwell judges literature by its social bearings, but his socialism is not a *mystique*. With Dickens, he belongs in a nineteenth-century tradition of “free intelligence,” not much liked by what he calls “the smelly little orthodoxies” of the left. His fighting in the Spanish war—where he discovered that inter-party politics is a cesspool—and his conviction during the London blitz that “bourgeois democracy is not enough, but it is very much better than fascism” have not dulled his sense that the fruits of the war must be revolutionary or else the war has been lost. Though he does not approve of Koestler’s defection and pessimism, he has come to realize, with Koestler, that revolutions are betrayed by violence and abuse of power, and that “to make life livable is a much bigger problem than it recently seemed.” As in the case of nineteenth-century liberals like J. S. Mill, the logic of Orwell may at any moment terminate only in a sense of the difficulties involved. All this will not satisfy the little orthodoxies. Yet a good many liberals will go along with Orwell’s inconclusive tolerance.

This tolerance appears in his literary judgments. He will not condemn Dickens as a pseudo-revolutionary; he defends the platitudes of Kipling because of their survival value (“since we live in a world of platitudes, much of what he said sticks”); he attempts to distinguish between the artistic and social significance of Dali; he finds that Wodehouse is no quisling or traitor—especially compared with the Conservatives who practiced appeasement—but only an anachronism, like H. G. Wells; he regards the “Donald McGill” funny postcards as a saturnalia for the man-in-the-street—and thus significantly extends Enid Welsford’s appraisal of the social value of the Fool. But he is frankly worried about the sadism and power-worship of the “Yank Mags” and detective stories that have replaced the more “sporting” genteel thriller like “Raffles”—because, “snobbishness, like hypocrisy, is a check upon behavior whose value from a social point of view has been underrated.” The analysis of the cultural lag in the 1910 ideals of the boys’ weeklies has direct bearing on the distinctly American problem of the soap opera and comics.

The essay on Dickens—arguing that Dickens is neither a bourgeois sentimentalist nor “proletarian” nor “almost” Catholic, but a moralist—shows how easily Orwell holds his social interpretation in suspense above the literary fiction while he relishes Dickens’s grotesquerie, picturesqueness, and gusto. One wishes here, as elsewhere, that Orwell would increase the dimensions of his observation and relate the profusion of irrelevancy in Dickens, say, to that in Browning, the Dickensian attitude toward work to that in Carlyle, or the moralizing of Dickens to that of Mrs. Gaskell.

His issue with Dali is frankly art and morality. Orwell’s answer seems equivocal: that Dali is competent as a draftsman but disgusting as a human being. The fact is that Dali, as painter, is a fraud because he is an exhibitionist. The composition in “Mannequin Rotting in a Taxicab” doesn’t

THIS BOOK . . .

“deserves the fullest attention of the American people”

Two world wars have been started by the hatreds generated in nationality conflicts of east-central Europe. In 1914, a few pistol shots fired by a fanatical youth in distant Sarajevo set Europe ablaze, while the truculence of Germans in Sudetenland provided Hitler with the excuse for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia; which in turn led inexorably to the Second World War. On each occasion most Americans felt secure in their isolation, and showed little concern about national squabbles in remote parts of the world. Yet Americans who had not heard of Sarajevo or the Yugoslavs, and who could not locate the Sudetenland on the map, have twice become embroiled in war. If we are to have security, the way must be found to harmonize economic unity with the legitimate claims of nationalities and minorities in east-central Europe, a task which can be undertaken only when the peculiar nature of nationalism in that region is understood.

As a solution to this vital problem, Oscar I. Janowsky suggests the formation of multinational economic units on the pattern of Switzerland and the Soviet Union, in which the minority groups are allowed full cultural autonomy.

“A work so timely as this, so fundamental in its approach,” says the *San Francisco Chronicle*, “and with so sensible a thesis to present, deserves the fullest attention of the American people and their government.”

Nationalities and National Minorities

By Oscar I. Janowsky

\$2.75 at your bookstore

MACMILLAN

"There will be another world war..."

"If the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it."

Now, twenty-seven years later, the prophetic wisdom of Wilson's plea (made in his famous speech to our nation in 1919) is glaringly apparent. And this is only one of the startling points of contact between Wilson's time and ours which is underlined in this second volume of the Wilson Era, the inside story of World War I and Wilson's fight for the League. Written by Wilson's close friend and advisor and twice-appointed Secretary of the Navy, this book has tremendous significance for readers today. Illustrated with photographs and cartoons.



The Wilson Era

YEARS OF WAR AND AFTER
1917-1923

BY JOSEPHUS DANIELS

\$4.00 at all bookstores

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

much matter so long as the subject itself is, in our society, disgusting, just as counter-Reformation representations of disembowelings are likely to be. Orwell puts the right question: *Why* is Dali like that? But he makes no effort to answer it. His comment on Yeats is also inconclusive. Without being doctrinaire, Orwell might have demonstrated that the vagueness of texture which he cannot explain in the poetry of Yeats is a mark of that social alienation that similarly expresses itself in Swinburne, Tennyson, and the prose of Ruskin.

The abiding disillusionment of Orwell with the left-wingers who have wished "to be anti-fascist without being anti-totalitarian" has at least emancipated him from a line. This flexibility is well attested by his appreciation of Henry Miller's resigned, narcissistic pacifism. The essay on Miller's unsocial quietism, appropriately called *Inside the Whale*, properly belongs with the others here reprinted from English editions. One misses it—as well as Orwell's customary self-conscious use of four-letter words.

WYLIE SYPHER

VERSE CHRONICLE

SOMETIMES it is hard to criticize, one wants only to chronicle. The good or mediocre books come in from week to week, and I put them aside and read them and think of what to say; but the "worthless" books come in day after day, like the cries and truck sounds from the street, and there is nothing that anyone could think of that is good enough for them. In the bad type of the thin pamphlets, in hand-set lines on imported paper, people's hard lives and hopeless ambitions have expressed themselves more directly and heartbreakingly than they have ever been expressed in any work of art: it is as if the writers had sent you their ripped-out arms and legs, with "This is a poem" scrawled on them in lipstick. After a while one is embarrassed not so much for them as for poetry, which is for these poor poets one more of the openings against which everyone in the end beats his brains out; and one finds it unbearable that poetry should be so hard to write—a game of Pin the Tail on the Donkey in which there is for most of the players no tail, no donkey, not even a booby prize. It seems a detestable joke that the "national poet of the Ukraine"—kept a private in the army for ten years, and forbidden by the Czar to read, to draw, or even to write a letter—should not have for his pain one decent poem. A poor Air Corps sergeant spends two and a half years on Attu and Kiska, and at the end of the time his verse about the war is indistinguishable from Browder's brother's parrot's. How cruel that a cardinal—for one of these books is a cardinal's—should write verses worse than his youngest choir-boy's! But in this universe of bad poetry everyone is compelled by the decrees of an unarguable Necessity to murder his mother and marry his father, to turn somersaults widdershins at his own funeral, to do everything that his worst and most imaginative enemy could wish; it would be a hard heart and a dull head that could condemn, except with a sort of sacred awe, such poets for anything that they have done—or rather, for anything that has been done to them: for they have never *made* anything, they

Welcome
the Visiting Soviet Heroes
ILYA IRENBURG
KONSTANTINE SUMONOV
MAJOR-GENERAL
MIKHAIL GALAKTIONOV

Outstanding Americans • United Nations Leaders • Stars of Stage and Screen will join The People of New York to Salute The Soviet Delegates and Build American-Soviet Friendship for World Peace.

TICKETS:

60¢ • 85¢ • \$1.20
\$1.80 • \$2.40
\$3.60

Available at: Leblang-Grey's, 1476 Broadway; Worker's Bookshop, 50 E. 13 St.;

Book Fair, 133 W. 44 St.; Music Room, 129 W. 44 St.; American Slav Congress, 205 E. 42 St.; Comm. of Jewish Writers, 119 W. 57 St.; I. W. O., 80 Fifth Ave.; National Council, 114 E. 32 St.; and leading AFL and CIO Trade Union Offices.

MADISON SQ. GARDEN
WED. MAY 29TH 7:30 P. M.

Auspices:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.
114 East 32nd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

have suffered their poetry as helplessly as they have anything else; so that it is neither the imitation of life nor a slice of life, but life itself—beyond good, beyond evil, and certainly beyond reviewing.

Oscar Williams's new book ("That's All That Matters," Creative Age Press, \$2) is pleasanter and a little quieter than his old, which gave the impression of having been written on a typewriter by a typewriter. In his random search for some new machinery to be the victim of, he samples an extraordinary lot of images, rhythms, and rhetorics, all of them wild and poetic in a rather tame and prosaic way; and one breathes in the poems, instead of air, the vacant and flowing spirit of George Barker. The logical picture behind the sometimes successful detail of the poems—the premise lurking under anything in them, like the observer in a book on relativity—is always the poet working away at his work: the poems themselves are the true subjects of these poems, and the "subjects" seem no more than ignorant, accidental victims of the breaking up of a reservoir of poetic emotion that pours itself arbitrarily out on anything.

Arnold Stein is an innocent, academic, giftless poet. Since his love poems ("Perilous Balance," University of Minnesota Press, \$1.50) use words exactly as the songs on the Hit Parade do—but have no tunes—they are extremely embarrassing to read. He writes to a girl that he is "a part of you and of the beauty of the world and man"; he writes, "And my throat swelled with the beauty of it"; he writes, "The stir of things made music in your soul." He is perfectly capable of writing in this way about the war. He says about a heavy-bomber raid preparing a tank break-through:

And you were tender and warm inside and you thought:
Men—giving themselves (though blindly) to a goal
(Not understood), and to each other (unknown);
Moving, working, dying, and together,
And aware of each other, and feeling the beauty of it.

(Just so, in "The Waste Land," a woman cooks a roast and calls in her neighbors "to get the beauty of it hot.") One thinks helplessly, "There is nothing in the whole world that this man wouldn't call beautiful"; but the uneasy confusion of a few poems written in occupied Germany seems to show that Mr. Stein is not actually one of Leibnitz's monads after all, since he has at last seen something in the world besides the reflection of his own tender and warm insides, something in the war besides the beauty of it.

Any poem must be (1) singing, (2) magical, (3) easy to understand: this is a (very) synthetic a priori judgment of Stanton A. Coblenz's, and by a sufficiently unreflecting use of it he is able to condemn the Benéts as modernist poets, and to compile an anthology of "traditional" contemporary poems ("The Music Makers," Bernard Ackerman, \$3.75) that is the most nearly conclusive—and the most awfully dreary—justification of modernist poetry that has ever been devised. These poems are the imitation not of nature but of Poems; and at their worst they make Frederick the Great's adaptations of Voltaire seem *res gestae*.

Ruth Pitter's poems ("The Bridge," Macmillan, \$1.50) are, in approximate silhouette, Robert Bridges versions of Walter de la Mare; she is "traditional" in the bad sense of the word, but her own sensibility and formal intelligence

The story of a man who walked out
on his job—with surprising results—
THE NATION says:

Eleanor Clark's new novel

THE BITTER BOX

"Eleanor Clark's new novel, THE BITTER BOX, is a serious, funny, and truthful picture of communist doings in this country, and therefore a work of courage . . . a work of unquestionable moral-political taste. . . . Miss Clark has some good fun at the party's expense, but she never stretches the truth to make a joke. There is no malice in her comic revelations. And she manages, without a touch of piousness, to convey her own sorrow that the radical situation is as she reports it."—DIANA TRILLING.

At your bookseller's, \$2.50

DOUBLEDAY

"BIG 3 UNITY for COLONIAL FREEDOM"
A RALLY TO SPOTLIGHT AMERICA'S
DEMAND FOR A FREE AFRICA

Paul **ROBESON**

★ Mary McLeod BETHUNE ★ R. J. THOMAS
★ Rep. Hugh DeLACY ★ Norman CORWIN

And Other Notable Speakers

PLUS ALL STAR ENTERTAINMENT

KATHERINE DUNHAM DANCERS	
DEAN DIXON	PEARL PRIMUS
BETTY GARRETT	KENNETH SPENCER
JUDY HOLLIDAY	HOWARD DA SILVA
CANADA LEE	MARY LOU WILLIAMS

And Other Headliners

(PROCEEDS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN FAMINE RELIEF)

Thursday—JUNE 6th—7:30 p.m.
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

Tickets: \$3.50, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20, 85¢, 60¢
— ALL SEATS RESERVED —

On Sale at Progressive Bookshops, Trade Unions and
Council office. Mail and Phone Orders Promptly Filled.
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 West 26th St., N. Y. Tel.: MU 4-6140

interrupt and occasionally transfigure her delicate, orthodox, and reasonably interesting exercises in what one might call Attic modes. What Miss Pitter is herself is sympathetic and valuable; but this no more than colors the aggregations of attitudes and techniques of which she is the unquestioning inheritor. She does not fully comprehend that these, like the linens in a tomb, vanish to the digger's "Ah!"—that the lives and possessions of the dead are inaccessible to us until we ourselves have lived and repossessed them—that, as the painter Elstir has said:

There is no man, however wise, who has not at some period of his youth said things, or lived in a way, the consciousness of which is so unpleasant to him in later life that he would gladly, if he could, expunge it from his memory. And yet he ought not entirely to regret it, because he cannot be certain that he has indeed become a wise man—in so far as it is possible for any of us to be wise—unless he has passed through all the fatuous and unwholesome incarnations by which that ultimate stage must be preceded. I know that there are young fellows, the sons and grandsons of famous men, whose masters have instilled into them nobility of mind and moral refinement in their school days. They have, perhaps, when they look back upon their past lives, nothing to retract; they can, if they choose, publish a signed account of everything they have ever said or done; but they are poor creatures, feeble descendants of doctrinaires, and their wisdom is negative and sterile.

Miss Pitter's poems, so far as their continual animals are concerned, are the next to the last possible extrapolation of pastoral. In them the poet is no longer able to think any human being innocent, but chooses for a last implausible repository of values the pure and blameless animal: the swans have not yet bombed London. After the next war "the stinging nettle only/Will still be found to stand," and pastoral poets like Miss Pitter will write neither about shepherds nor about their sheep, but about the bare and lifeless pastures.

RANDALL JARRELL

FICTION IN REVIEW

FROM where I sit counting, it appears that more new novels were published this March and April than in any month of the last three years. In March I received for review forty new novels as against nineteen in March, 1943, thirty-one in March, 1944, and twenty-five in March, 1945; and this April forty-six new novels came in for review as against twenty-seven in April, 1943, twenty-seven in April, 1944, and twenty-four in April, 1945; in fact, this April's list can boast six more titles than I recorded even in October, 1945—and October, because of the imminence of the Christmas buying rush, is usually a very heavy fiction month. I don't know how to explain this rise in production. But I do know that the increase in volume is not matched by any improvement in quality or interest. So far, in addition to the books I have reviewed at some length in recent weeks, I have been able to find but two items about which the readers of this column might want to know.

One is Francis Steegmuller's "States of Grace" (Reynal

and Hitchcock, \$2.50), which is that rare American phenomenon, a civilized light novel. The dearth of good light fiction in this country is remarkable—or perhaps, in view of the solemn pretensions of even our most popular literature, it is not-remarkable at all. Just as we seem incapable of discriminating between *kitsch* or claptrap and the real thing, so that we can hail an "Arch of Triumph" as if it were a truly serious work of art, we also seem incapable of discriminating between silliness and light-heartedness, so that our literature of entertainment implies, not a relaxation of the intelligence, but its complete absence; and for the most part, we have to look to England for the small fictional work which sets its own limits of ambition and stays within them with taste. Mr. Steegmuller's book, however, fits perfectly into the category of literate entertainment. Set in Egypt, it is a deft, amusing account of the trials—primarily practical and then, secondarily, of faith—that attend the life of a new priest in an Egyptian-American parish. Father Philip is young, scrupulous, and innocent when he first takes his place among his odd parishioners, but by the end of his story—or, perhaps, by the end of the period covered in "States of Grace," for Mr. Steegmuller has created a character beautifully suited to a narrative series—he has learned that humility is not always an unquestionable virtue. Father Philip's process of education is also an opportunity, of course, for Mr. Steegmuller to have a good deal of wry fun at the expense of the church, but I can scarcely imagine that his jibes at the hierarchy will offend any but the most uneasy communicants. "States of Grace" is a far excursion from the same author's "Flaubert and Madame Bovary," that fascinating literary and biographical study of a few years ago, but it is renewed evidence of Mr. Steegmuller's gifts of grace and wit.

"Torrents of Spring" by Robert Payne (Dodd, Mead, \$2.75) is the other title to be distinguished from the current publishing welter. It, too, is considerably off the usual fictional beat, although, unlike Mr. Steegmuller's book, it is not a light novel so much as a novel that wears its gravity with an uncommon charm. A story about China toward the close of the first decade of this century, Mr. Payne's book falls into two parts—which is its chief fault. For it is the first two-thirds of "Torrents of Spring" which recommends it; these early sections of the novel, which describe the life of a trio of upper-class Chinese children, are as delightful an idyl of youth as I have read. In the last third of Mr. Payne's book the children achieve a premature maturity by becoming active followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; and this section of the novel struck me as being a bit trumped up, both psychologically and politically; also, here, the lyricism which Mr. Payne has so nicely controlled in the earlier portions of the story starts running out of hand. We are told that "Torrents of Spring" is the first volume of what is to be a fictionalized history of modern China. If this is so, it suggests that Mr. Payne perhaps favors the explicitly political part of his novel over the early parts, in which political realities are just a rustling in the background. And if *this* is so, I think Mr. Payne estimates the nature of his talents incorrectly, for by the evidence of this single work his powers as a writer of political fiction are weak indeed compared to his powers to evoke a world of private emotion and conflict and growth. At any

rate, whatever its author's plans for the future, "Torrents of Spring" can be enjoyed for most of its own sake—for what I feel sure is an authentic study of life in a remote Chinese province, and for its beguiling portrait of three Chinese youngsters.

DIANA TRILLING

MOTION PICTURES

BEGINNING FRIDAY, MAY 24th

MAUREEN DICK HARRY
O'HARA - HAYMES - JAMES

IN

'Do You Love Me'

IN TECHNOLOG

Directed by GREGORY RATOFF • Produced by GEORGE JESSEL
A Twentieth Century-Fox Picture

— ON STAGE! —

COUNT BASIE

And HIS ORCHESTRA

PETERS SISTERS

EXTRA! GENE SHELDON

Now Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at 50th Street

PARAMOUNT Presents
ALAN LADD
VERONICA LAKE
WILLIAM BENDIX
IN

'THE BLUE DAHLIA'

A GEORGE MARSHALL Production
Directed by GEORGE MARSHALL

NOW **PARAMOUNT** TIMES SQUARE

— IN PERSON —

DUKE
ELLINGTON
AND HIS ORCHESTRA

Plus

STUMP & STUMPY

Plus

THE CLARK BROTHERS

EXTRA!

THE MILLS
BROTHERS

"WELL WORTH SEEING . . . HIGHLY MEMORABLE"—N. Y. Times

REHEARSAL SIMONOV'S **DAYS and NIGHTS**

SOVIET — Exclusive N. Y. Showing

"YOUNG MUSICIANS"

"WARSAW"

"ELECTION DAY"

IN U. S. S. R."

Doors Open
Daily 8:45 A.M.

STANLEY

7th Ave. bet.
42d & 41st St.

TRAVEL

SEVERAL RESERVATIONS AVAILABLE FOR OUR

THIRD SUMMER IN MEXICO

JUNE 26 — AUGUST 22

Air Tour. Comprehensive study-travel program. Expert guidance. For students of art and Spanish majors. Summer courses fully accredited. Itinerary includes major points of interest in Mexico. For full details address:

Prof. LOUIS NESBIT, Romance Language Department
Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

Important Notice to Nation Readers

BECAUSE of large increases in production and general overhead costs during the past six years, *The Nation*, like other established journals of opinion, has finally been forced to raise its annual subscription price to \$9, effective July 1, 1946.

• However, with this advance notice of price change we want to extend to *Nation* subscribers the privilege of renewing their current subscription, no matter when it expires, for another year, at the prevailing rate of \$5.00, provided they send in their remittance before July 1 next.

• That we appreciate the loyalty and interest of our subscribers goes without saying, and we sincerely hope to repay them with a magazine of ever increasing excellence.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
60th ST.
81st ST.
RIVER ST.
HAMILTON
123rd ST.
RIVER ST.
RIVER ST.
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHRYSLER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
Y.H. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENNEMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOUNG
Coney Island

Queens
Keth's
FLUSHING
Keth's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 42 St.

RIKO NOW

"Superlative, fine, sensitive."—New York Times

DANA ANDREWS
RICHARD CONTE

'A Walk in the Sun'

Produced and
DIRECTED BY LEWIS MILESTONE

From the Novel by HARRY BROWN

— AND —

'COL. EFFINGHAM'S RAID'

Charles COBURN • Joan BENNETT • William EYTHE

"Suspenseful . . . challenging theme."—N. Y. Times.

JAMES MASON • ANN TODD

'THE SEVENTH VEIL'

Music by LONDON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

— AND —

JOAN LESLIE • ROBERT ALDA

'CINDERELLA JONES'

From PHILIP WYLIE story

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Musio by Richard Rodgers • Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Joan Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Jean Caste
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
Musio by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A Gag-Happy-
Meaning-
ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH. 4-4236
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 5-6336
Evgs. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

APPARENTLY you never know when you are seeing the last of the Marx Brothers; so it is unnecessary to urge anyone who has ever enjoyed them to see "A Night in Casablanca." It is also beside the main point to add that it isn't one of their best movies; for the worst they might ever make would be better worth seeing than most other things I can think of. Many of the things in this one which by substance and look should be level with their best fall somehow flat. The only two reasons I can get wind of are the manufacture of repetition and the fact—they work too well for it to show obviously—that after all these years the Brothers are tired. But to anyone who likes them much I don't think that will get in the way. Chico is still the same as ever, which could suit me better only if he got into more entanglements like the viaduct-why-a-duck-vy-a-dock business in I forget which movie. Harpo has happily dropped his pied-piper, Jewish-Pan pretentiousness and regrettably

dropped his erotic ravenousness. He is used more centrally than I remember seeing before. I think this is his best performance. Of the three he shows his age most. He is sadder than before, more acid, more subtle; he looks uncannily like Charlie Chaplin out of character.

Only a mash-note, or the work of several weeks, could contain my regard for Groucho. He is not, I suppose, one of the great comedians, but I can't think of anyone who has given me greater pleasure. My only regret is that, so far as I have seen, he has never yet been in a position to use everything I think he has. Most good comedians, probably all the great ones, require a very broad audience; Groucho, working with extremely sophisticated wit rather than with comedy, has always been slowed and burdened by his audience, even on the stage. He needs an audience that could catch the weirdest curves he could throw, and he needs to have no anxiety or responsibility toward even a blunter minority, let alone majority. I think of night clubs. But no American night-club audience I have seen would be up to the best of it; and to imagine him at work in a European literary cabaret, if I'm right about its mental snobbery and sententiousness, is far from satisfying too. If you have to choose between fun for brain's sake and fun for fun's sake, I certainly prefer the latter, local brand. But because there is no sufficient audience for the use of the brain for fun's sake, I suspect that we lose, in Groucho, the funniest satirist of the century.

I wish I had seen Danny Kaye as a night-club entertainer, too. Most of the best things I have seen him do—all in movies—belong there, and are evidently blunted on the screen. I think he may still become a fine screen comedian; quite possibly more than that. Meanwhile he is mainly very likable, unarguably gifted, sufficiently amusing to carry otherwise dead shows, and only by flashes brilliantly or deeply funny. But I suspect that if he ever comes through to his best, it will be not as a patter-man and parodist but as a comic archetype, as rooted in human character and as unvarying from show to show as Chaplin or Keaton. And I know that if he does, his own comic ideas and those surrounding him will have to be worked out—without, of course, losing at least their appearance of spontaneity—to the last ten-thousandth of an inch, instead of being roughed-in like an after-dinner speaker's badly told joke, as they generally are in "The Kid From

Brooklyn." Screen comedies used, after all, to be machines as delicately, annihilatingly designed for their purpose as any machines that have ever been constructed out of words or tones; the only things today that have anything approaching that mechanical and psychological perfection are some of Disney's slapstick shorts. It may be that the day for comic archetypes passed, with the loss of silence, beyond the recovery of any merely individual intuition; it certainly looks as if nobody in Hollywood any longer knew or cared how really to strip the last drops out of even a verbal joke, not to mention a piece of comic pantomime. Not even the Marx Brothers succeed in it often, in their new movie.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued a volume (Set 607; \$5.85) with the overture, the popular arias, and the concluding duet of "Carmen," sung by Risé Stevens, Nadine Conner, Raoul Jobin, and Robert Weede with the Metropolitan Opera chorus and orchestra under the direction of George Sebastian. Stevens is the featured singer; but much of her singing is not enjoyable, with its excessive tremolo, its occasionally shrill high tones, its little squeals in the Chanson bohème; and the good singing of the volume is done by the others. The orchestra sometimes sounds thin; there are moments when violins are strident, and others when the bass is wooden.

Another operatic recording (Set X-261; \$2.85) offers the Bridal Chamber Duet from "Lohengrin," sung by Helen Traubel and Kurt Baum with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony under Rodzinski. One is bound to compare it with the Flagstad-Melchior performance in Victor Set 897; and one notes with pleasure the freshness of Baum's voice as against the worn huskiness of Melchior's; but then one hears the quavering, unlovely tones of Traubel that are distressing even without comparison with the vocal splendors produced by Flagstad; and on the last side one notes a cut which spares Traubel a couple of the climactic high notes that Flagstad sings, and that Traubel, when she finally does attempt the last one, can only shriek. The orchestral part is well-played, and the performance is well-reproduced.

What made me dislike Brahms's Violin Concerto the last time I heard

GOOD USED BOOKS

History, Philosophy, Art,
Biography, Fiction, etc., etc.

Free Catalogs on Request

H. H. EVANG, Bookseller

2319 Sacramento • San Francisco 18



LANGUAGE IS POWER

... Forge ahead, win special assignments, promotion, better job in global peace time opportunities through ability to speak a foreign language.

MASTER A NEW LANGUAGE quickly, easily, correctly by LINGUAPHONE

The world-famous Linguaphone Conversational Method brings voices of native teachers INTO YOUR OWN HOME. You learn the new language by LISTENING. It's amazingly simple; thousands have succeeded. ♦ ♦ 29 LANGUAGES Send for Free Book, Call for Free demonstration LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE '81 RCA Bldg., New York 20 • Circle 7-0830

An Opportunity for an Exceptional Woman:

An author of widely-read books and popular articles dealing with human make-up, behavior, psychological and social problems, seeks assistant or associate (part or full-time), with necessary professional training and experience. (May be teacher, college or high, or otherwise qualified.) Also: mature (thirtyish); unmarried; sufficiently personable and well-adjusted to facilitate professional and social contacts.

Earning possibilities, social rewards and new horizons limited only by capacities. All replies held in strict confidence.

Box 1612, c/o The Nation

it has struck me with fresh impact as I have listened to the newly recorded performance by Szigeti with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Set 603; \$5.85). And this time I don't like Szigeti's performance: music as pretentious as the first movement, as saccharine as the second, should not be played with fussy, tremulous inflection that exaggerates its faults; and the orchestra also underlines heavily. As for recording, Columbia has achieved the curious effect of the orchestra sounding near and the soloist sounding some distance away, so that he sometimes cannot be heard clearly; the over-all sound is fairly clear and bright with a wide-range pickup, but a little dull and veiled with a limited-range Astatic Tru-Tan; and there is a loss of volume and brightness near the end of some sides.

Beethoven's Sonata Opus 30 No. 2 for violin and piano, of which Victor issued a performance by the Menuhins a few months ago, has been recorded for Columbia by Isaac Stern and Alexander Zakin (Set 604; \$4.85). The work is one that I do not care for; the performance is one that I prefer to the Menuhins'; and it is better recorded than theirs, though the sound of the piano is dull in the lower range and weak in the upper.

A volume of Liszt's piano music played by Gyorgy Sandor (Set 602; \$4.85) contains my favorite Liszt piano piece, the lovely Etude de Concert in F minor; a couple of Liszt's pretentiously serious works—"Funérailles" and Sonata quasi Fantasia ("après une lecture de Dante")—that I do not find interesting; and on the other hand the Hungarian Rhapsody No. 15 (Rakóczy March) and "Liebestraum" No. 3, which I also do not care much for. Sandor plays them with all the technical brilliance they demand, and the Etude with even more than it requires: I should like to hear it played more simply, and not pointed up so much for virtuoso effect. The recorded sound of the piano is natural and clear, but without the rich resonance that Victor has achieved in some piano recordings.

An enthusiastic letter from a member of the Princeton University Chapel Choir gave me notice of a performance of a work I had never heard, Beethoven's Mass in C major Opus 86; and I went out to hear the performance by the Choir with the Bryn Mawr College Chorus, soloists, and chamber orchestra under the direction of Carl Weinrich. The Mass turned out to be what one

would expect Beethoven to produce fifteen years, more or less, before the Missa Solemnis: a work with startlingly beautiful and expressive passages, and with powerful dramatic strokes and contrasts, all on the small scale of an early try at something which, attempted again many years later, would come out with the grandly sustained beauty, dramatic power, and inner illumination of the Missa.

Certainly the Mass in C should not be unheard; but what musicologists usually have in mind when they deplore the vast amount of music that remains unheard is not works like the Mass in C but works like Bach's Cantata No. 85 "Ich bin ein guter Hirt," which was performed before the Mass, and which impressed me as being for the most part a routine product of Bach's craftsman-

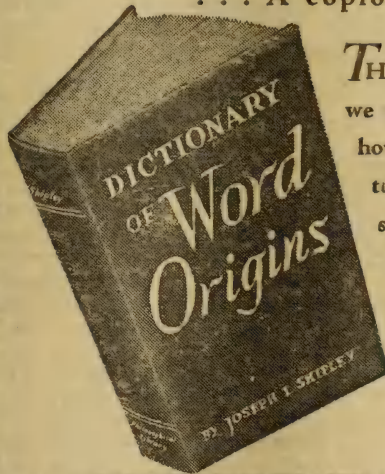
ship. The exceptions were the chorale *Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt*, actually a sort of chorale-prelude for soprano and orchestra; and the final chorale sung by the chorus.

At the concert of Charles Ives's music in Columbia University's festival of contemporary American music I heard half the program—the Sonata No. 2 for violin and piano, a number of songs, and the String Quartet No. 2—and then gave up. The mind that revealed its strangeness in the eccentricities of the songs expressed itself in the instrumental works in musical terms that made no sense to me, except when it indulged in parodistic quotation of familiar tunes at one point in the quartet, or when it played around with barn-dance music in the second movement of the sonata.

The Iranian Institute was kind enough

DICTIONARY OF WORD ORIGINS TO ENRICH

your understanding of the language
... A copious, lively volume



THE STORIES of the words
we use — where they began,
how they grew across cen-
turies and countries. Thou-
sands of word-histories,
old and new — from an-
cient Sanskrit right
through World War II
—told with authority
in a lively style.

"AN EXCELLENT INTRODUCTION to the love of words, their rich study and their fresh use. A first-class reference work ... a delight to the browser."
—Frederick H. Law, Educational Adviser, *Readers Digest*.

"... great fun, as well as a liberal education ..."

—Burton Rascoe, N. Y. *World-Telegram*.

"Pleasant and fruitful hours for any reader." —*New York Times*.

SPECIAL LISTS of words
from persons and places
—meanings of first names.
Words that will enrich your
vocabulary, your knowledge
and command of good
English. **\$5.00**

Order from Your Bookseller or
THE PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, INC.
15 East 46th Street, Dept. N, New York 15, N. Y.
Please send me _____ copies of THE DICTIO-
NARY OF WORD ORIGINS, by Joseph T. Shipley,
at \$5.00 per copy. Enclosed are \$_____
NAME _____
ADDRESS _____

to invite me to a concert of Chinese music by Shau-Kwong Tam, which was preceded by an explanatory talk by Dr. Wing-Tsit Chan. I fear that no amount of explanation could make the music meaningful to me in the way it is to those who absorbed it from earliest childhood as their musical language. I remained outside the emotional world it created and referred to; and I could observe the subtle inflection of the delicate sound of the muted Chinese violin in a piece called "Moon-Lit Night," but could not be affected by the subtleties as Mr. Tam or Dr. Chan was.

MEETINGS

THE POETRY CENTER

presents
DELMORE SCHWARTZ
AND
RANDALL JARRELL

In a Reading of their Poetry
Saturday Evening, May 25
8:40 p.m.

Kaufmann Lounge of the Young Men's
and Young Women's Hebrew Ass'n
Lexington Avenue at 92d Street, New York 17
AT 9-2400

Admission: 75¢ at the door

SYMPOSIUM

The Theatre as a Force for Peace
RECEPTION TO OLD VIC PLAYERS

SPEAKERS: Stella Adler, Franchot Tong, Olivia
deLavilland, Irvine Pincus, Ralph Morgan and other
stars of stage, screen and radio.

SOCIAL DANCING FOLLOWS
SUNDAY, MAY 26th, 8:30 P.M. • Subscription \$2.00
Grand Ballroom, Essex House, Central Park So.
(W. 50th Street)
Auspices of Young America Institute

PUBLICATION

ANYONE wishing to experience personally the atomic bomb will not be interested. But the rest of us must do something fast. World Government isn't a conversation piece any more. You can have it tomorrow if you ask for it today. But ask loud and in company. A lot of us are with you. Box 1613, c/o The Nation.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

8-ROOM Cape Cod; slate roof; new paint and shutters; electric; never-failing brook; pool; small orchard; 100 acres. \$4,500. Terms. Berkshire Farm Agency. Catham, New York.

BOYS CAMP

BOYS camp beautifully situated lower Adirondacks. All sports, dramatics, nature, arts and crafts, trips, physician, co-religious. Walter Campbell, University of Rochester. Nat Hellenbach, 20 West 43rd Street, New York City.

BOOKS

OUT-OF-PRINT and hard-to-find books located free of charge. Send list of wants to J. Thompson, 1 Hillside Ave., Pelham, N. Y.

HELP WANTED

DICTAPHONE OPERATOR. Young lady with office experience. Knowledge of Spanish preferred but not essential. Box 1614, c/o The Nation.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Vote for Guérard

Dear Sirs: I wish to give my vote of appreciation to Albert Guérard's fine article, *The World Comes of Age*, answering Dr. Niebuhr's *The Myth of World Government*. In Guérard's emphasis on the fact that a world unity of spirit exists, he supplies an excellent antidote for the pessimism and defeatism expressed by Dr. Niebuhr. Guérard's frank facing of the problem as it stands, without exaggerating either the ease or the difficulty of accomplishing the goal, represents the only intelligent solution of the question. To run and hide at such a critical hour will merely help to undermine this spirit. As Guérard has pointed out, our duty is to work toward this goal and lay the groundwork for world government; otherwise we shall never achieve it.

CORINNE KATZ

Wellesley, Mass., April 22

And a Vote for Niebuhr

Dear Sirs: Albert Guérard does a good job of attacking Reinhold Niebuhr's *Myth of World Government*. He is to be commended for a more realistic viewpoint than that characterizing the storm of protest which first greeted Dr. Niebuhr's article. But although Mr. Guérard is more adult than his fellow-critics, he remains inadequate.

He simplifies matters by admitting the truth of Dr. Niebuhr's first contention—that "a community cannot be created by legal or constitutional means." He fails lamentably in his effort to establish that a world community—inferentially ripe for world government—does at present exist.

Mr. Guérard points out that "technical progress has made the world physically one," that "science ignores national boundaries," that "we are submitting without protest to food restrictions because we cannot face the thought of being sated in a starving world," that "world literature, no less than world art, is more real than any purely local manifestation." Most of these things are true, but they hardly make a world community. The airplane may bring Tibet to our doorstep; yet it makes no difference if our thinking is still circumscribed by national boundaries. Science has ignored national boundaries for some centuries now, and New Yorkers

have read the literature of France, Germany, and Italy; yet wars have continued. And the allegation that the American people, ashamed of plenty in a world of need, are "submitting without protest" to rationing is false.

Perhaps Mr. Guérard mistakes local and isolated manifestations of world feeling for a universal emotion. Of course, there are many people in this country, and in others, who are willing to submerge national advantage to global good. There are many—but there are not enough. Americans are concerned with retention of their country's commercial and political power; Frenchmen with the security of France; Britishers with salvaging their tottering prestige; Russians with Russian impregnability. Are these world citizens?

Dr. Niebuhr was courageous and farsighted when he cut the props from under the rosy thesis that everything will be fine when we make a few amendments to the United Nations charter. His critics have betrayed their political adolescence by berating a man whose fault was that he could not mistake the wish for the fact.

PATRICIA MCGREGOR

Mexico City, May 1

No Amateur, He

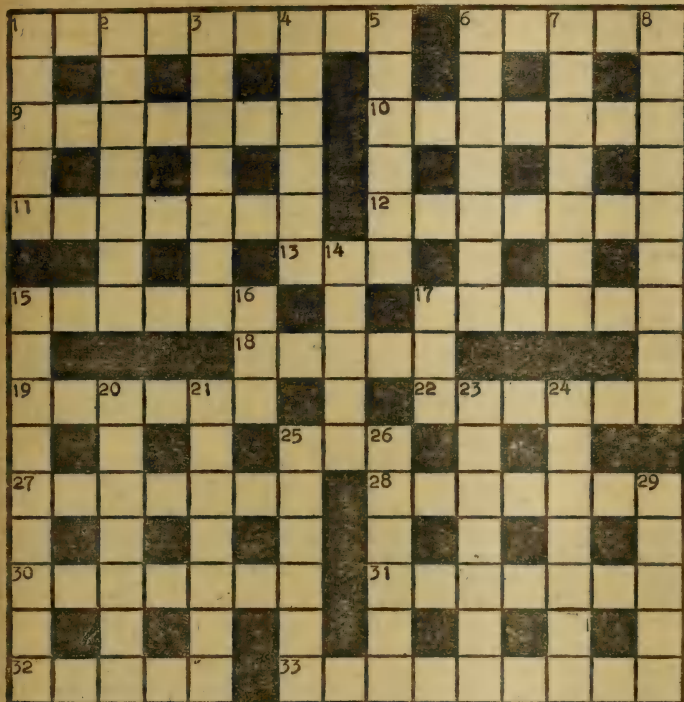
Dear Sirs: Stuart Chase should at least try to get his facts right before he accuses other people of being unscientific. In your issue of May 4 he says of David Ricardo that "at twenty-one he married a certain Mrs. Wilkinson, apparently a lady of means, and retired to a country estate, where he wrote his immortal 'Principles of Political Economy and Taxation'"; and on this statement indicts Ricardo as ignorant of business. The fact is that from the time of his marriage at twenty-one, as a result of which he broke with his family, he was forced to build his own business from very small beginnings. Only after another twenty-one years of an eminently successful business career was he able to buy, and retire to, the country estate where he found the leisure to write his great work. Ignorance of business is certainly the last reproach anyone who has even a nodding acquaintance with Ricardo's work would dream of leveling against him.

F. A. HAYEK

Chicago, May 6

Crossword Puzzle No. 162

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 The Blue Bells of Scotland
 6 When this poet was forbidden to keep a dog at Cambridge University he chained a bear there
 9 Mohammedan sovereign's fruity better half
 10 Implementing?
 11 For this an understanding of French is necessary
 12 Unlike the idealist, he sees things as they are
 13 Competed, in the political stakes perhaps
 15 Puts to the proof
 17 Cyrus made it the dominant Asiatic country of his time
 18 I am when I scold
 19 Has faith in big business
 22 State of one possessed of some spirit
 25 Sayings of one in his anecdotalage?
 27 Recovered
 28 Withdraw from the contest on account of a slight wound
 30 A mouth, though not necessarily for food
 31 It's veal (anag.)
 32 Liberated woman of France
 33 To escape effusive thanks, or accusations of meanness? (three words, 3, 3, 3)

DOWN

- 1 Mistress Quickly must have made it
 2 Describes
 3 Kissing this Stone is something of an acrobatic feat
 4 You can't call the baker this unless he fails to produce the first part
 5 A turn's by a star

- 6 What the marriage broker calls his business
 7 Some of the "plums" in plum pudding
 8 Phoebe comes driving his steeds to drive this steed away
 14 "Goodness me! Why what was that?" (Deadeye) "Silent be! ----- the cat!"
 15 Initialed by the Prime Minister after lunch
 16 Little sister
 17 Favorite in a tantrum
 20 "Mother, for love of grace, Lay not that flattering ----- to your soul"
 21 Slowly
 23 Bay, and town, of New Jersey
 24 Never (two words, 3 and 4)
 25 Coming near the middle of a mad venture
 26 Please (anag.)
 29 "And, like another -----, fired another Troy"

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 161

ACROSS:—1 SAHARA; 2 MOUSSE; 9 EMPLOYED; 11 LANDAU; 12 TOPEKA; 13 PSALTER; 14 OGRE; 17 WELL; 19 MIDSUMMER; 22 CANOE; 23 EARED; 25 AVAUNT; 26 AISLES; 27 TONDS; 29 FOGGY; 31 ROYALTIES; 34 ALAS; 36 SORE; 37 FRISEUR; 39 MINCED; 40 SALIVA; 41 TOUSLES; 42 NETHER; 43 SPHERE.

DOWN:—1 SELDOM; 2 HUNTED; 3 REAP; 4 AMUSEMENT; 5 METER; 6 ODOR; 7 SWEDEN; 8 ENABLE; 10 TALKER; 15 GIRASOL; 16 ESCAPES; 17 WALLETS; 18 LOBSTER; 20 MATE; 21 READY; 24 DISABUSES; 28 NOISES; 29 FAT MAN; 30 GANNET; 32 IODINE; 33 SEDATE; 35 ARDOR; 37 PÊTE; 38 RASH.

COURSE

ARE YOU OPEN-MINDED?

The ATOM BOMB swept the New Age into a ONE WORLD FACT. Let TRUTH sweep from your Mind the old relics of MYSTICISM, FEAR and SUPERSTITION. Live according to Nature's Laws.

THE NEW SCIENTIFIC METAPHYSICS

shows this way.

It is vividly forcefully and clearly presented in the

One-World Extension Course

offered on a free-will payment plan. Blend your will with the Universal. Why struggle? Dare to live splendidly.

For information, write at once to

ONE-WORLD EXTENSION COURSE

Topeka, Kansas, Box 717, Dept. X
UNITED NATIONS

COUNTRY BOARD

A FEW PAYING GUESTS in exceptionally beautiful spacious Vermont home on top of lovely hill overlooking all reaches of Green Mountains. RI 9-1574, mornings or evenings, or Box 1610, c/o The Nation.

FOR LEASE

55,000 SQUARE FEET. Two brick and stone, sprinklered buildings, 4 stories and basement (formerly textile mills); elevator in each building; about 14 acres land, at Stuyvesant Falls (9 miles from Hudson, N. Y.)—with perpetual use of 400 h.p. included in rental. Desirable for chemicals, textiles, bakery, etc. L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.

ABOUT 70,000 square feet (24-foot ceilings) at Bay and Greene Streets, Jersey City, opposite Harborside Terminal. Former Hudson Tubes powerhouse. Ideal for cold storage, warehouse, etc. Building is 143 x 123 feet with additional 136 x 123 feet land; ample railroad sidings. Building very best structurally but will require two inner walls and reconditioning. For long-term lease with option to purchase. L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.40 per carton, postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

KITTENS FOR SALE

SIAMESE KITTENS: Sapphire eyes, straight tails, rural vigor, fine pedigrees. Sealpoints \$35; Bluepoints \$45. Marian Carpenter, Rt. 1, McLean, Va.

LANGUAGES

STUDY EASILY and quickly all languages by phonograph records. Also rentals. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17. MU. 3-1093.

PORTRAITS

DISTINCTIVE Photo-Portraits. Starving actor, to spurn wolf, will again do his famous unusual portraits on the side. 3 for \$15. "Slim," Walker 5-3686.

RESORT



FORTY-LOVE

Because South Wind (with a capacity of 100) has built its four clay tennis courts with care, it has attracted a "Tennis Crowd"

SOUTH WIND

WOODBOURNE, N. Y. ALL SPORTS
LARGE PRIVATE LAKE Attractive June Rates

RESORTS

DIANA AND ABE BERMAN
announce
PINECREST in the
BERKSHIRES
ON THE
HOUSATONIC RIVER
150 acres of Pines and
Hemlocks in a pano-
ramic setting of the
rugged Berkshires.
Comfortable lodge
rooms for two. Bungalows with showers
and fireplace, all facing the Housatonic River.
Boating, Swimming, Fishing, Bicycles,
Ping-Pong, Recordings, and Dancing.
• **OPEN DECORATION DAY** •
Write: Pinecrest, West Cornwall, Conn.
Phone: N. Y. WA 5-7187 & Cornwall, Conn. 92-12

Twin Pines
An ADIRONDACK Adult
Camp; Complete — Modern
Tennis and handball courts;
swimming, boating, etc.
Hotel comforts — camp in-
formality. All rooms for 2.
June 15 to 28, \$45 weekly.
TWIN PINES
Joseph Saidel, Manager
on Trout Lake P. O. Lake George, N. Y.

KINAPIC LODGE
LOVELL VILLAGE MAINE
On LAKE KEZAR, one of America's most
beautiful lakes
Cabins on the lake, American plan, informal, for
adults and family groups. Water sports, good golf, fine
lake and stream fishing. Excellent Hungarian cuisine.
Attractive rates. Open June 1 to Oct. 15. Reserve now.
Booklet by Mail, or Phone Lovell: 7 ring 12 A

CASA MANOR
ON BEAUTIFUL
LAKE COSSAYUNA
COSSAYUNA, NEW YORK
Only 20 miles from Jamestown. 50-guest limit to
preserve comfortable, restful, informal atmosphere.
Excellent cuisine. Swimming, boating, fishing, table
tennis, etc. From July 1st. Write or call. Cautino.
JACOB M. OLSHANSKY
93 State Street, Albany, New York. Phone: 5-0393

"THE WEATHERVANE"
ON THE MOONS
East Gloucester • Massachusetts
Located in enchanting art colony. Five minute walk to
beach. Inspiring surroundings — intriguing people.
The Location Also of
FRANK PACK School of Painting
Write to:
BERTRAM OPPENHEIM
990 President Street Brooklyn 25, N. Y.

THE BAILLIWICK
OPEN ALL YEAR
Beautiful partial Estate situated in the Catskill
Mountains. Rip Van Winkle country, luxurious rooms
with private lake and fine place. Excellent cuisine.
superb accommodations for a rest and relaxation, lovely
mountain trails, easy access by car and rail.
For information on reservations write or call
Telephone: Plainville 118 F 12
BAILLIWICK, Rt. 1, Box 91, Catskill, N. Y.

OAKWOOD
NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477
Delightful... Boating and swimming in our
private lake.
Different... The colonial atmosphere.
Delicious... Our unexcelled cuisine.
Dining... Recordings for listening & dancing.
All this only 53 miles from New York City
A Resort for Adults Only

Lebanon Farms
Colchester Connecticut
Modern rooms and bungalow — private and semi-
private bathrooms. Horseback Riding, Brook Swim-
ming, Handball, Baseball, etc. Beautiful lawns,
pleasant service, excellent American-Jewish cooking.
Intelligent supervision and program for children.
Youngsters over four accepted.
Write LYNN COIT
N. Y. Office: Haverhaver 6-5186

RESORTS

ROSS COUNTRY CLUB
MONROE, New York
Honeymooners Paradise
LOW SPRING RATES
To July 1st
SPORTS — DANCING — EXCELLENT
CUISINE — SPECIAL DISCOUNT TO
WEEKLY STAYS. SERVICE AND EX-SERVICEMEN
N. Y. Phone MU 4-3803 — Monroe 6161
Location: 5 miles above Monroe, Rt. 208
Only 50 miles
from New York

HIGH in the ADIRONDACKS
New Adult Resort
(Formerly Private Estate)
LIMITED ACCOMMODATIONS
SEASON: June 1 thru Sept. RATES: \$15 to \$18
ALL SPORTS

Stonegate
LODGE
LONG LAKE, N. Y.
Dir. of Musical Activities: GEORGE KLEINSINGER
N. Y. Office: 150 Nassau Street — WO. 2-2900
LOUIS A. ROTH, Director
Write for Booklet "N"
Informal • Charming • Congenial

Timberland
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
LIMITED TO 100
OPEN FOR THE SEASON
ALL SPORTS • PRIVATE LAKE
DANCING • LECTURES • CONCERTS
N. Y. OFFICE: 31 W 42nd St. LOngero 5-3874
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

KUTAY'S LODGE
ACCORD, ULSTER COUNTY, N. Y.
Telephone: Kerhonkson 8014M
Informal Adult Resort
Moderate Rates • Jewish-American meals

SCHROON Crest
"In The Adirondacks" Pottersville, N. Y.
OPENS MAY 29th
SPECIAL RATES UNTIL JULY 7th
Private Beach, All Sports, Boating,
Excellent Cuisine • Make Reservations Early
N. Y. City Off.: 142 Montague St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
PHONE: Main 4-4870
LEAH OKUN — INV. SCHOENBERG, Mgt.
An Adult Resort — On SCHROON LAKE

The Fieldstone
On Round Island Lake
A place of unexcelled beauty for
rest and relaxation. One hour from
New York.
ALL SPORTS — OPEN ALL YEAR
MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7985

RELAX, REJOICE with SPRING at
Lakecrest
On Hunn's Lake • Stanfordsville, N. Y.
90 miles from N. Y. Ideal location in the heart of
DUTCHESS COUNTY. Excellent accommodations.
Cordial hospitality. Recordings. Library. All seasonal
sports. Via N.Y.C.R.R. to Amenia, N.Y. Open all year.
WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS
EVA BERG, Director Stanfordsville 2320

RESORTS

50 MILES
to FOREST HOUSE
Your vacation will be
truly an unforgettable
one, in this gay resort
paradise. Forest House
achieves new levels of
relaxation, ease and
happiness. Superb
food, fine quarters,
congenial hospitality. 2
grand lakes, all sports.

★ STAR LAKE CAMP ★
In the Glorious Adirondacks
Between Thousand Islands and Ausable
Chasm. A marvelous pleasure playground,
1,800 feet elevation and right on the lake
with plenty of gorgeous woodlands. Bungalows
and lodges with hot and cold running
water and modern conveniences. Tennis
Courts, Canoeing, Swimming, Handball,
Baseball, Ping Pong, Fishing, Saddle Horses,
Golf, Cards, Dancing, etc. Interesting one-
day trips arranged. Delicious wholesome
meals. Dietary Laws. Rates: \$45, \$50,
\$55 per person.
SEASON OPENS DECORATION DAY
Send for Booklet — New York Office
320 BROADWAY Room 904 CO 7-2667
Sundays, Evenings, Holidays — PR 4-1390

WESTERN VIEW FARM
27th SEASON
OPENS MAY 29th
RATES: \$10 A DAY
Address: TED OHMER
New Milford Connecticut
Telephone New Milford 4-6

Tall Pines — Pleasant Valley
Dutchess Co., N. Y.
FOR RENT — Summer bungalow apart-
ments fully equipped and furnished.
Swimming.
Phone in New York
FO 7-2665

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR
Formerly the partial 300-acre Macy estate in the
beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms,
many with open fireplaces and private porches. Winding
Mountain trails. Delicious food. Easy transportation.
Special Spring Rates • Make reservations now
For reservations or further information, write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 210

SACKS FARM
Saugerties, N. Y. Tel. 590-J
Unusually beautiful countryside, pine woods,
good, homey Jewish-American cooking. All
conveniences. Intimate and restful. Swim-
ming, horseback, tennis and other sports.
Adults. Booklet.

Indian Lake Lodge
In the Heart of the Adirondacks
INDIAN LAKE, N. Y.
An informal, charmingly situated ren-
devous for vacationists who enjoy all
water sports, tennis, hiking, plus good
books, good music, good food and
congenial company.
SEASON
JUNE 15 to SEPTEMBER 15
P.O. Box 1058, Grand Central Annex, N.Y.C.
UN 3-0330

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 1, 1946

NUMBER 22

The Labor Crisis

PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN should have been worried by all that cheering. He should have looked hard a second time at the cheer leaders. Because then he would have recognized his old political enemies, the enemies of every decent piece of legislation he has sent down since he took office, the enemies of Franklin D. Roosevelt. For years they had been waiting for just this chance—the chance to tear to shreds the charter of labor's rights which the New Deal Administration had written into the law of the land. All they needed were two short speeches by a weak, baffled, angry man.

No one will deny that the President was faced with a tough situation which called for strength and statesmanship of a high order. In our intricate industrial civilization a rail stoppage is a major disaster. It disorganizes the entire community and almost immediately brings serious hardship to large sections of the people. The President had to do everything in his power to avert the strike. If, despite his best efforts, it took place, then it was his duty to take all necessary steps to get the trains running again. What must be asked is: Could Presidential action have averted the strike? Once the strike took place, could it have been ended in a way less harmful to labor and to the democratic heritage of the nation?

Now it will be recalled that in an effort to reach a settlement, the unions and the operators utilized the various procedures laid down by the Railway Act, the last of which is Presidential intervention. On another page Tris Coffin describes from the official transcript the meeting between the union officials and Mr. Truman on May 14, four days before the strike was first scheduled, nine days before it actually took place. The report reveals that even then Mr. Truman was driving pig-headedly toward a showdown. As in his Friday broadcast, he seemed determined to leave the union no alternative but capitulation.

It was dramatically effective to load the entire blame on Whitney and Johnston, whose "obstinate arrogance" was responsible for the strike. But it was less than candid of the President to refrain from mentioning that after these men had turned down the President's offer of 18½ cents with no change in working conditions, a second offer was carried to them by Secretaries Byrnes and Schwelienbach. This second offer included the changes in

working conditions recommended by the President's fact-finding board. It was acceptable by the union. *It was turned down by the companies.* It appeared then that a compromise was emerging, and a heavy responsibility rested on the President to keep negotiations open. Sipping ice cream at a White House garden party while the critical deadline passed may be evidence of admirable sang-froid: it does not suggest the conduct of a national leader concerned only with warding off disaster, not with gaining revenge.

On the other hand, Messrs. Whitney and Johnston hardly showed the generalship one would expect of seasoned, conservative trade-union leaders. They allowed themselves to be overtaken by events and placed in the position of being responsible for the strike. They had a good case. The threat of a general tie-up gave them the same kind of advantage that Mr. Lewis has exploited so expertly. But once the deadline had passed and the strike was on they lost every advantage. The President was forced to act. He could build on mounting public resentment and interpret events to suit his arguments and enforce his drastic proposal.

Mr. Truman was not forced, however, to ignore in his

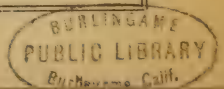
Important Notice *to Nation Readers*

BECAUSE of large increases in production and general overhead costs during the past six years, *The Nation*, like other established journals of opinion, has finally been forced to raise its annual subscription price to \$6, effective July 1, 1946.

◄ We can assure our readers that this action was delayed as long as possible; that we were obliged either to take this step or to sacrifice the quality of *The Nation*.

◄ However, with this advance notice of price change we want to extend to *Nation* subscribers the privilege of renewing their current subscription, no matter when it expires, for another year, at the prevailing low rate of \$5.00, provided they send in their remittance before July 1 next.

◄ That we appreciate the loyalty and interest of our subscribers goes without saying, and we sincerely hope to repay them with a magazine of ever increasing excellence.



• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Labor Crisis	641
The Shape of Things	643
Post Mortem on Paris	644

ARTICLES

Truman's Lost Week-End <i>by Tris Coffin</i>	645
France—a Year After Victory <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	647
Guide to the Primaries <i>by Robert Bendiner</i>	648
Italy Against the Monarchy <i>by Gaetano Salvemini</i>	653
In the Wind	655
Why Britain Wants Franco <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	656
Home Thoughts from Spain. <i>A Poem</i> <i>by Sagittarius</i>	657
The Case for Army Justice <i>by Edward S. Greenbaum</i>	658
It's Double Justice <i>by Maurice Rosenblatt</i>	660
Daughters of the Counter-Revolution <i>by J. Mitchell Morse</i>	661
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	663

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Spain and Propaganda <i>by Percy Winner</i>	664
Briefer Comment	665
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	668
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	671
Art <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	671
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	673

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

674

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 163

<i>by Jack Barrett</i>	675
------------------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editors:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1919, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kelllogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

radio speech the genuine grievances of the rail workers and the fact that they were solidly behind the "two men" he condemned so bitterly. He could have recognized that the companies had contributed at least equally to the emergency and that strike action had become the union's only alternative to capitulation. He could have given assurances that in taking over the roads he was acting solely for the benefit of the country without regard to the interests of the stockholders. So long as seizure means hoisting the stars and stripes over private property while under its protection the owners keep control of the till, it is obviously a weapon whose cutting edge is directed against the workers. If the President, at the time he took over the railroads had asked Congress, as he did subsequently, for the power to appropriate profits during the period of government operation, it is probable that the stoppage would not have taken place.

Even more serious than Mr. Truman's inept handling of the crisis were the emergency measures he proposed to a Congress already thirsting for blood. He could plead that such legislation would run out six months after the official end of the war. He could urge patience and restraint in making permanent revisions in the Wagner act. He could protest his undying friendship for labor. He could even say a kind word for the mortally wounded OPA. But what he actually did was to provide the formula and the angry insistence that *now, without delay*, labor be made to toe the line. If necessary coal would be mined with bayonets.

It was rather terrifying to see the House of Representatives jam through with obvious relish and with so little dissent a measure aimed at the basic liberties of Americans. In the present situation there was no call for the savagery of this legislation. To thus threaten with injunction, dismissal, loss of seniority, drafting into the army, American workers who withhold their labor because they feel they have a legitimate grievance is to take a long step forward toward the fascist state.

The Senate's present trouble concerns the long-range program, and there it has given scant attention to Mr. Truman's recommendation for a six-month cooling-off period—for Senators. Instead, the ditches have taken new courage from Mr. Truman's outbursts to press the fight home against the battling liberals led by Pepper, Murray, and Morse. After his Friday speech three dangerous amendments to the Case Bill were adopted by the Senate. If this bill becomes law in its present form practically every legal safeguard labor has won in the past twelve years will have been destroyed.

It is not in Congress but in the emerging political pattern of the country that Mr. Truman's action will have the most lasting effect. Not only the Brotherhoods, which have already declared themselves committed to his political defeat, but the great bulk of organized labor are

reacting with a violent unanimity. It is too early to say that the Democratic Party has lost the labor vote without which it cannot hope to win another election: the anti-labor views of the Republican leadership are not very inviting. The question of a third party is bound to be raised with new seriousness. But the immediate effect of the events in Washington last week-end will be the intensification of the drive to eliminate the enemies of labor from the Democratic Party, particularly in the South. And in this sorting of sheep from goats it is doubtful whether Harry Truman will be able to vindicate his role as labor's friend. His garlands of good-will bear too close a resemblance to poison ivy.

The Shape of Things

CIVIL WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES IS FAST approaching. Military and propaganda groundwork has been well laid. The military police of President Roxas, equipped with American arms, are deploying their forces to mop up the left-wing opposition based on Central Luzon. Simultaneously, the American-owned Manila *Daily Bulletin* and Roxas's *Daily News* have opened the bombardment with tales of kidnaping, torture, terrorism, and "free love"—forgetting, apparently, that the Soviets are now puritanical about the marriage tie. The real conflict is between the wealthy feudal landlords represented by Roxas and the impoverished peasantry who formed the base of the Hukbalahap guerrillas and are now organized in the Democratic Alliance, which supported Osmeña in the recent election. The alliance elected seven parliamentary representatives who are expected to put up a strong fight for social and economic reforms and independence from American economic control. Recognizing this, attempts have been made to refuse them seats. The feudal barons and their American supporters know they cannot have their own way unless they crush the organized Luzon peasantry. It seems likely that not all the explosive sounds which will be heard on July 4 will be in celebration of Philippine Independence Day.

✱

HOPE THAT THE OPA WILL BE SAVED BY THE Senate has been dimmed by the unexpectedly harsh amendments adopted by its Banking Committee. Although the committee has improved on the House version of the bill by extending the life of the OPA for a year instead of nine months, it has actually done little to strengthen the OPA's enfeebled enforcement powers. By a two-vote margin in the Senate committee went along with the House in abolishing M. A. P., the only effective measure yet devised to increase the supplies of low-priced clothing. Subsidies were cut to approximately 50 per cent of the minimum requirements set by the Administration, and an amendment adopted which would

remove all control of food prices from Stabilization Director Bowles and give it to Secretary of Agriculture Anderson, who makes no secret of his desire to raise ceilings or abolish them altogether. While a final opportunity will be provided on the Senate floor to seal off these inflationary loopholes in the OPA extension bill, the anti-OPA bloc is confidently predicting that the Senate will not only retain all the crippling amendments but will add others, leaving the final bill no better than the outrageous House version. This threatened scuttling of price control has been made possible by an understandable slackening in the volume of public protests after the initial shock of the House action began to wear off. Having had its say, the public apparently feels that the responsibility for saving the OPA has passed to the President and Congress. But the President's plea for OPA in his address to Congress on May 25 was but a note on a tin whistle, lost in the brassy crescendo of his diatribe against labor. And Congress itself seems to be affected only by the last incoming mail.

✱

REGARDLESS OF ONE'S VIEWS ON ARMY-NAVY unification, no defense can be made for Senator Walsh and Representative Vinson, who in brazen defiance of the President, have urged Secretary Forrester not to compromise on the issue. A day before the heads of the Senate and House Naval Affairs Committees dispatched their letter to Forrester, President Truman had ordered the War and Navy departments to work out a compromise merger plan that would be acceptable to both services. In issuing these instructions the President was merely discharging his responsibility as administrative head of the government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The chairmen of the two naval committees have no right, despite their lofty legislative positions, to interfere in the administrative sphere of the government. While their opinions may be valuable, the place to express them is on the floor of Congress or in public statements, not in a letter to a member of the Administration, particularly one who has shown a disposition to kick over the traces on this issue. Nor can Senator Walsh and Representative Vinson be regarded as disinterested witnesses on the merger issue. Their disposition to side with the navy may be influenced by the fact that unification would be automatically bring an end to their committees and the extensive powers they wield as chairmen.

✱

THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY, WHICH HAS been making a strong drive for "unity" with the Labor Party, must now see its hopes of success fading. For a time its campaign appeared to be developing very favorably. Despite the emphatic opposition of the Labor Party executive, a great deal of influential support appeared to be behind the resolution on the agenda of the June

conference of the party calling for Communist affiliation. Several powerful trade unions, including the National Union of Miners and the Amalgamated Engineering Union, were reported to be backing the proposal, and it was thought that the large number of votes they controlled might be cast en bloc for affiliation. Now, however, the rank and file have been heard from, and the picture has changed. In South Wales, Yorkshire, and Durham, three of the largest mining districts, union members have voted to support an amendment to the party constitution which declares that political organizations "having their own program, principles, and policy for distinctive and separate propaganda . . . or owing allegiance to any political organization situated abroad shall be ineligible for affiliation." If this amendment is carried, and it seems almost certain that it will be, it will serve to prevent the raising of the affiliation issue at future conferences. The fact that the South Wales miners turned against them must have been an unpleasant shock for the Communists. To other observers it affords an interesting example of the ability of British workers to discriminate between men and issues. For while repudiating the politics of their local president, the well-known Communist Arthur Horner, they supported his candidacy for the secretaryship of the National Union—a tribute to his vigor and ability as a union leader.

✱

SMALL BOYS ARE HEREBY WARNED NOT TO play marbles for keeps on the sidewalks of New York. If they are so lost to shame as to ignore this friendly injunction, the day will surely come when Mayor O'Dwyer's fearless men in blue will swoop down on them, seize their immies, and haul the lot of them off to Gamblers' Court. It will not be the first time that New York's Finest will have faced a gambling machine of this sort and scattered it to the winds. During the LaGuardia regime many a cigar-store dealer in Brooklyn felt the weight of the law for furtively paying off pinball machine winners in bubble-gum. And the Bronx has yet to forget the police guard posted for weeks in the living room of the grandmother who had played hostess to the Ladies' Tuesday Afternoon Pinochle and Potcheese Club. Last week Police Commissioner Wallander served grim notice that the fight against the gambling curse would be intensified when his men broke up the annual fair of the City and Country School and packed a bevy of parents into waiting patrol wagons. For ten years the Parents' Association of this progressive school has been holding these fairs, which feature not only skits, bazaars, and square dances, but games of chance! At these nefarious

gatherings, financed by local merchants and friends of the school, great sums changed hands—as much perhaps as 2 per cent of the amount bet on a single horse in a single race at Jamaica. Yet it seems to us unjust for the parents to pay the full penalty of the law while the real powers behind this sordid activity—the crafty little scholarship pupils who rake in the tainted money—go scot free.

Post Mortem on Paris

MR. BYRNES'S radio report on the Paris conference has enjoyed an exceptionally good press. His announcement of an American "peace offensive" has been hailed as indicating the emergence of a new foreign policy, his "firmness" in refusing to compromise on matters of principle as a sign there is no more appeasement of Russia. For our part we cannot join wholeheartedly in these plaudits, though we are willing to admit the speech had its merits. While unmistakably pinning responsibility on Russia for the failure of the Paris talks, the Secretary of State was careful to employ moderate language. Again to a considerable extent the speech was factual. If it did not elucidate the course of the Paris talks completely, it did give a frank account of the differences, particularly in regard to an Italian settlement, which had impeded an agreement.

There can be no doubt that, as Mr. Byrnes insisted, the conclusion of peace treaties in Europe is an urgent necessity. The present state of suspense creates an impossible atmosphere in which to pursue reconstruction and recovery, and the presence of armies of occupation hinders communications and intensifies the food problem in large parts of the Continent. But we do not think that Mr. Byrnes's attempts to force the pace are likely to produce agreement among the Big Four or to speed the departure of the occupying armies. As Walter Lippmann has pointed out, we can say "no" to Russian demands on Italy only because there we and the British are the men in possession. Similarly the Russians are in possession of the Balkans and are not likely to be budged from this bargaining position until their security is safeguarded.

Mr. Byrnes now seems to feel that the only hope of shaking Russia's determination to veto peacemaking as long as its minimum demands are unsatisfied is to mobilize world opinion. He has apparently dropped the idea, mooted in Washington prior to the Paris conference, of concluding a separate treaty with Italy. That is all to the good, for such a move would raise an impassable barrier between East and West—a barrier which would have to be garrisoned by American and British troops until a rearmed Italy took over. But we doubt whether Mr. Byrnes's new idea is very much better. If, he said, a peace conference is not called this summer, the United States will be obliged to ask the Assembly of the United Nations, which convenes in September, to make recom-

Next Week in *The Nation*

What About Stassen? by MILBURN P. AKERS
Inside German Politics by SAUL K. PADOVER
Peron's New Order by VIRGINIA PREWETT

mendations for a peace settlement under Article 14 of the Charter. This article permits the Assembly to review any situation not already before the Security Council which may "impair the general welfare or friendly relations between states." The current deadlock in regard to the drafting of peace undoubtedly comes within that definition, and the Assembly would have to debate the question if the matter were raised.

But what good would such a debate accomplish? It would indeed provide an opportunity for the United States to arraign Russia before the world and to lead a majority of states into its lobby. A fine demonstration, no doubt, but one that could only confirm the Russians' belief that the capitalist world was ganging up on them. Moreover, the one action that the Assembly could take would be to make recommendations to the Security Council, which would, of course, raise the veto problem again.

Perhaps, instead of taking the "peace offensive" in this manner, it would be better to try another tack. Dangerous as delay in peacemaking may be, any final split between West and East would be infinitely more deadly. We ought, therefore, to blend our firmness with patience while trying to convince the Russians that we are

not really preparing a future war against them. (Their suspicions may seem ridiculous to us but Russia finds justification for them in our wilder newspapers and the irresponsible utterances, public and private, of influential Americans.) One remedy worth trying would be a further reconstruction of foreign policy so as to make it more positive. At present its guiding principle appears to be: Retard communism! We could usefully substitute the slogan: Advance democracy!

We are not doing that now, as the test case of Spain proves. Mr. del Vayo points out on another page that Britain, backed by the United States, would rather maintain Franco in power than risk the possibility that a restored republic might open the door to Russian influence. That is to say that while we are taking a firm stand on democratic principles when opposing Russian ambitions in the Balkans, we cheerfully keep democracy in chains where that policy appears to serve a strategic anti-Russian purpose. If we really hope to make a stand against Russian encroachments on liberty we must apply our principles on all fronts. Otherwise, though we may continue to fool ourselves about our devotion to democracy, we are not likely to fool anybody else.

Truman's Lost Week-End

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting System

Washington, May 25

THE night was hot and sticky. A dozen Senators, tired from day and night sessions on labor bills, sat drowsily around a radio listening to the easy twang of President Truman. Sentence after sentence struck hard at the railway trainmen and engineers. A look of concern moved over the faces of some of the listeners. Others sat with gleaming eyes. When the last strains of the "Star-Spangled Banner" faded away, one Senator—a Southern Democrat—smacked his lips. "At last," he said, "we have punishment."

At the moment Truman is sitting on top of a mound of telegrams and letters smiling cheerfully and triumphantly. The greatest deluge of opinion in years has fallen on Washington in support of the get-tough-with-labor policy of the White House.

At least a fourth of the Senate, the liberal wing, is deeply worried. What will happen in the other big strikes on the horizon—shipping, communications? Where is the Truman policy leading? The Democrats among them say gloomily that the President's week-end has greatly lowered the chances of Northern Democrats for reelection.

The story of the emergence of the White House policy

begins on May 14, when A. F. Whitney of the trainmen and Alvanley Johnston of the engineers were called to the President's office. These men, representing the aristocrats of labor, were personal friends of Harry Truman. The Brotherhoods had given him political support when he needed it; they had advised him when he sat in the Senate. On this afternoon the President was cool and formal. They should call off the strike and continue their negotiations.

Whitney said firmly that the strike was called for May 18, and unless additional rule changes were granted, the men would go out as scheduled.

Truman asked the labor men to accept his proposal for a 16-cents-an-hour increase and several rule changes. Whitney replied that that would be "tantamount to scuttling our program."

The President then said he was calling in all twenty of the railway unions to meet with the operators. Whitney protested that only the engineers and trainmen were involved. The other eighteen had run out on them.

Truman became stubborn: "You will meet them and settle these matters here. If not, the government will run the railroads."

Whitney replied angrily, "Do you mean to say, Mr.

President, that the government will act as a strike-breaker on the engineers and trainmen?" He went on, "We have always supported you and your Administration, and we are in earnest about this strike. One hundred and twenty-five of my general chairmen have instructed me not to meet with the other unions, and I am not going to."

The President blew up. "If that is your position, I am telling you here that we are going to run these railroads, and you can put that in your pipe and smoke it."

Johnston interposed soothingly, "Mr. President, with the many questions that come before you every day, I am convinced that you do not understand this question."

Truman flung back, "Yes I do understand it. I know all about it."

Johnston explained. They had started negotiations more than a year ago. They deferred action until all the Brotherhoods stood together. Eighteen later signed up with the operators. He said, "The thing that should be done is for the railways and ourselves to continue negotiations and let Dr. Steelman or Secretary Schwollenbach sit in as a mediator and see if something can be worked out. We believe that if an honest effort is put forth, something can be worked out."

Dr. Steelman took the railway union men into the Cabinet room to continue the meeting. He apologized for the scene in the President's office, saying the President had not had time to get full information on the split among the railway unions, and hence the confusion.

Three days later the same men returned to President Truman. They told him in some detail of the fruitless labor-management conferences. He answered coldly, "All right, I will sign an order to take over the railroads." He took some papers piled up on a corner of his desk and began to sign them. The union leaders stood awkwardly before him. Was that all? The answer was short and sweet. Yes.

Last Thursday afternoon Truman called in Whitney and Johnston. Dr. Steelman had indicated to them that the strike might be settled on a compromise basis. The President and the union chiefs grew angry again. Truman was not willing to budge. He had had his say at the other meeting, and it stood. At four o'clock, the deadline for the trainmen and engineers to go on strike, the President strolled out on the broad lawn behind his office for a garden party. As he, the Cabinet members, and their wives lined up to form a reception line, Truman nudged Secretary of State Byrnes and said with a broad grin, "They are still in session."

The tired conferees finally broke up. Deadlock. More conferences the next day, with Dr. Steelman running back and forth between the operators and the unions, the Statler Hotel and the White House.

As the time drew near for President Truman to make his speech to the nation, he grew angrier and angrier. Transportation was stalled; travelers were piling up in

stations. Paralysis was settling over the nation. White House attachés reported to friends that the President had set his chin forward and was ready to blast. He was not in the mood to pay attention to those who urged caution.

Congress was in session most of the time. The time-honored rules of courtesy were forgotten in the heat of the moment. In the Senate the words "skunk" and "jack-ass" were thrown about.

The Senate was split into three groups. The extreme anti-labor wing, led by a loose coalition of Southern Democrats and rural Republicans, followed the line of a speech by Senator Wiley, the Wisconsin Republican. He said, "A new power has arisen in the land. If it is not curtailed, it could make labor interests superior to the public. We must check the powers of labor."

The loosely knit pro-labor group of from twenty to twenty-four members pleaded for restraint. Most of the talking was by Pepper and Morse, but they were joined in the voting by a silent partner, Alben Barkley, the majority leader.

On Saturday morning, after Truman curtly announced that he had broken off any further talks with the two Brotherhoods and that troops would guard the trains, Whitney and Johnston went to Secretary of State Byrnes, whom they had known and trusted in the Senate. They offered to accept substantially what Truman had thrust at them on May 14, plus the assurance that they could negotiate further and that there would be no reprisals against their members.

There was silence at the White House. During the early afternoon Congress rushed through bills placing a variety of curbs on labor. In the House the opposition sank as low as fourteen.

At four o'clock Truman, unusually grim, marched down the center aisle of the House to make his speech. Cheers swept through the chamber. Many of the lawmakers, however, were quiet when they heard some of the tougher thrusts—injunctions against unions, drafting of strikers. As a dramatic gesture the President interrupted his speech to read a note announcing the strike was settled. Then he hammered on at labor.

The House, in the same gala mood as when it tore up price control, passed a bill embodying the Truman recommendations in little more than an hour. The Senate paused. A few moderates, even some conservatives, said Truman was going too far, men like Taft and Millikin. Morse shouted, "This is not law. This is confiscation." Pepper angrily denounced the President and said he had spent no more than eighteen minutes on the strike issues altogether.

It is still too early to see clearly what effect this angry week-end will have. But there are strong signs that the Senate will pass some legislation aimed at stopping strikes in industries directly affecting the public welfare—communications, transportation, fuel, and the like. It will not go as far as the Truman recommendations.

France—a Year After Victory

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

En route, Paris to Cairo, May 12

BELOW, France moves northward—green and brown, smooth, minutely divided; a land cultivated from hedge to hedge, from horizon to horizon, orderly as a problem in plane geometry. The harvest, reports say, promises to be good; but whatever the seasons bring, this much is clear even from a mile above: the people are working their land.

As I left the Place Vendôme this morning for the airport, Paris was all ready to celebrate the day of victory: flags on every balcony—French, British, Russian, American; police in full regalia moving to their stations along the line of parade; soldiers in groups waiting to march. The first anniversary of the end of a five-year nightmare of defeat, treason, occupation, and tough costly resistance. What is France like exactly a year after the collapse of Hitler's European Fortress? Has the exuberance of victory flattened out into cynical apathy, as so many visiting Americans have reported? Is France nothing more now than one big black market, with its old virtues of hard work and frugality abandoned for sharp trading and complaints and a sour dislike of foreigners in and out of uniform?

The green-and-brown pattern below me is one answer, an answer I heard expounded with figures and unqualified enthusiasm by the energetic head of the new federation of French agriculture. But even in my stay of a few short weeks I had found others, enough to convince me that, if political conflicts allow it, France will build a much better republic than the one that went down under the weight of German tanks and internal corruption in 1940.

Nowhere do the people seem apathetic. I wish the critics and moralists could have watched the demonstration in Paris on the First of May. More than a million workers marched, in party or trade-union formations, with floats and banners and hundreds of placards ringing variations on the over-all slogan: "Work, Produce." The air was fresh; lilies-of-the-valley were in every buttonhole; people smiled and talked to strangers. Communists and Socialists, for all their differences, marched and spoke together on that day. It was a great popular celebration. As I walked along with the crowd I thought: what a contrast to the thin and somber ranks of middle-class needle-trades workers trudging down toward Union Square on May Days in New York. To feel that difference, to become for a few hours, physically at least, a part of proletarian Paris, is to believe beyond argument in the resilience and capacity of this people.

At the end of the parade in the Place de la Nation a platform had been built, and there Thorez and Jouhaux and Saillant and one or two others spoke, and for hours the crowd, marchers and onlookers, stood and listened. Seeing them pressed in solid ranks, hundreds of thousands together, I had to admit that they looked rather worn and pale as well as shabby. Faces showed the marks of years of poor and insufficient food, of cold, and of hard work without freedom. It is in such a crowd, rather than along the boulevards, that you get an idea of what these years have meant to the ordinary people of Paris.

I don't minimize the black market; it is everywhere—on street corners, in the shops, in every good restaurant. Undoubtedly it is a source of corruption; undoubtedly it robs the people of goods they badly need. A person who tried to live scrupulously on the ration would starve. Nobody tries. People get extra food from the country—black market, too, unless they raise it themselves. Or they save a little cash or sell some possessions to get black-market extras in the city. On this ugly trade a few men are getting rich and spending heavily in the shops and high-priced restaurants. It is a nasty situation.

But this doesn't mean that the French as a people have become demoralized. They use the black market, to the limited degree they can afford, in order to live a little more decently. When necessities are plentiful, they will thankfully revert to reasonable prices and legality. Meanwhile they get along as best they can, and work, and take a sharp, independent interest in the political issues crowding in on them.

A few nights before the referendum I went to a big Socialist meeting at which President Gouin and several ministers spoke in support of the draft constitution. In some ways the gathering impressed me more than the May Day celebration. It was a sober performance, and the speeches were long. The big hall was jammed, people standing four deep in the rear and lining all the aisles. No excitement broke the evening except when Del Vayo was called to the front of the platform. At his appearance the whole crowd stood up, applauding and cheering, and then sang the "Internationale." In France today Spain is still a people's cause, not a matter for cagy trading among diplomats. But what interested me most was the profound, silent attention with which the audience listened to the speakers. Not a person left the meeting, although the speeches, closely argued and analytical, went on for hours. People who take their

politics as seriously as this are not to be dismissed as decadent. I wish Americans showed half as much concern with their political fate.

Two or three days later I had a long talk with Jules Moch, Minister of Public Works and Transport, whose articles in *The Nation* during the liberation fight were among our most valuable reports from Europe. He has one of the biggest and most intricate jobs in France; indeed, his department is the largest employer of labor in the country. Under his jurisdiction are the railways, the bus and truck lines, commercial aviation, shipping—both inland and ocean. It is he who must carry and distribute food. It is he who must wrestle with the desperate problem of coal for transport. It is he who must get hold of rolling stock and trucks and machinery and facilities for making repairs to take the place of those looted by the Germans or worn out or destroyed in the fighting.

M. Moch told me that the only thing holding up the recovery of the country was the lack of such equipment. He insisted that the people were producing at a rate surprisingly high in view of their insufficient diet. He cited instance after instance in which the impossibility of providing certain key parts or materials was delaying a whole series of operations. I asked about food. He said that the legal ration was insufficient to maintain the working strength of the population and agreed that people were driven into the black market. I said that, no matter how difficult it might be, it seemed to me the waste of food, especially in the luxury restaurants, ought

to be stopped; wasn't it inexcusable, I asked, to allow black-market profiteers and visiting Americans to eat food as plentiful and twice as good as could be found in New York, while French workers went short? He agreed in principle and said that many protests had come from working-class organizations. But he excused the situation itself: "We simply have to explain to the people that for the time being we must tolerate this injustice to get foreign exchange. We need dollars to buy the basic necessities on which our economy depends. One of the ways we must get them is by reviving the tourist trade. Without good food, without nice things in the shops, however high the prices, France won't attract even the limited number of tourists our transportation facilities permit. This is an inescapable fact: we must make the French people understand and swallow it—though certainly it is not palatable."

I cannot say I ever refused the delicious food in the few good restaurants I had the luck to visit: that would have done no good anyhow, according to Moch; France needed my dollars. But I never walked out into the street afterward without hating the whole set-up that made such a meal possible and left the French people hungry. And I know from many talks with Americans that the result of feeding the visitor so well is to smother his perception of the true state of things in France. After an ample, well-cooked dinner, washed down with good wine, it is all too easy to believe that France a year beyond victory is really pretty well off and that talk about hunger and malnutrition is a lot of propaganda.

Guide to the Primaries

BY ROBERT BENDINER

IN November millions of *Nation* readers (poetic license) will go to the polls grumbling, as liberals have grumbled for generations, because they are being asked to "choose between Tweedledum and Tweedledee," both "handpicked by party bosses" and probably "in smoke-filled hotel rooms." Indulging in this triple cliché, they will make no mention of the primaries, in which they too might have had a hand in the picking, because they will have wilfully neglected that procedure and probably had only the haziest knowledge of when it was being held. Yet in fourteen states a victor in the primary can lose the subsequent election only if he is caught redhanded in some such act as poisoning the public water supply, and in at least twelve others his chances are so overwhelming that even Lloyd's would hesitate to underwrite his opponent.

This year, with party lines crossed and criss-crossed beyond recognition, the primaries take on an even

greater degree of importance than is normally the case. It is hardly worth talking about the advantages of retaining Democratic control of Congress when on any given issue large numbers of Democrats who exercise that control are as likely to vote with the Republicans as with their own party. A survey recently issued by Press Research, Inc., shows that at least three Democratic Senators—O'Daniel of Texas, Byrd of Virginia, and Gerry of Rhode Island—have actually voted with the opposition on well over 50 per cent of the roll calls during the present session. Returning the compliment for the G. O. P., Senators Aiken of Vermont, Morse of Oregon, and Tobey of New Hampshire have voted with the Democratic majority more often than with their party colleagues. The same situation exists in the House, where the Southerners as a rule go along with the Administration on foreign relations but flock to the enemy lines in droves when social legislation is the issue.

To such an extent have party lines been fouled that in scores of instances liberals will either have to make a fight in the primary or resign themselves to mere shadow-boxing in November.

So far seven primaries have been held, with results that call for a minimum of dancing in the streets. Illinois led off in April with a vote light enough to indicate a record-making apathy. Organization candidates in each party won nominations for the twenty-five Congressional seats, in all but a handful of instances without a contest. The most dramatic fight in November will be for Representative-at-large, with incumbent Emily Taft Douglas defending an excellent record against William Straton, an associate of the obnoxious Stephen Day and a favorite of Colonel McCormick.

Primaries in Ohio, Indiana, and Florida likewise aroused meager interest and an extremely light vote. The excitement, if any, in Indiana will come in June, when party conventions make their choices for the Senate. Then Charles M. La Follette, one of the small group of maverick progressive Republicans now in the House, will make a stand against a machine ridden by a combination of the Klan and the liquor industry. Against him will be incumbent Senator Raymond E. Willis, a reactionary of ancient vintage, and William E. Jenner, a rising young wheelhorse currently favored by the machine. The Willis-Jenner split should help La Follette some, but not enough, in all probability, to put him across. La Follette believes that the gamble is worth the price of his seat in the House inasmuch as it would take him ten years to acquire the seniority necessary to carry weight in Congressional committees, but unless a miracle occurs his strategy will result only in the loss of a good man where good men are too few.

In Ohio the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee tasted its first defeat of the season. Its candidate for the Senate in that state was Marvin C. Harrison, a member of the Union for Democratic Action and a colorful figure. Insufficient organization cost him the Democratic nomination, which went to Senator Huffman, the well-meaning but relatively unimpressive incumbent. Unlikely to prove much of a vote-getter, Huffman will have the doubtful pleasure of battling it out in November with former Governor Bricker, already flushed with the glow of Presidential hopes.

The Florida and Alabama primaries, taken with other portents that will be discussed later, indicate that the South, having touched political bottom, is beginning the slow climb upward. Upsetting all local predictions, James E. Folsom, favored by labor and openly scornful of the poll tax, white supremacy, and the rest of the traditional baggage of Claghorn-country politics, ran first in a field of four in the race for Governor. Failing to attain an outright majority, he will have to face a

run-off in June with the runner-up, Lieutenant Governor Ellis, as his opponent. The bulk of votes accruing to the two eliminated candidates will almost certainly go to Ellis, the machine man, but Folsom is conceded a chance. Luther Patrick, with a good record in Congress, ran second in the primary to an unknown veteran, but here again the run-off will tell the tale. Elsewhere in Alabama, Joe Starnes, once right-hand man to Martin Dies, took his second straight beating at the hands of Albert Rains, thereby eliminating himself as one of the Capitol's minor menaces.

Thanks to the political weight of Senator Pepper, Florida will replace the undistinguished and conservative Senator Andrews, who is retiring, with former Governor Spessard L. Holland, a Pepper man who may be expected to go along with the Administration. Another Pepper-backed candidate, George Smathers, succeeded in ousting Pat Cannon, who foolishly based his campaign on Pepper's opposition.

With no election pending for either the governorship or the Senate, Oregon's primary was without significance, and Pennsylvania's, the only remaining preliminary up to this writing, was noteworthy only for the appallingly low vote recorded. Organization-picked men won in both parties in the Pennsylvania affair, which means that Senator Joseph F. Guffey will have to struggle for his seat against the claims of Republican Governor Edward Martin. In contrast with the apathetic primary, a fierce election campaign is expected, with Guffey needing every last vote from his labor and liberal supporters to squeeze in.

So much for water already over the dam. The full flood is yet to come, with primaries and conventions throughout the country scattered from early June to Louisiana's last-minute run-off on October 15. By geographical sections prospects shape themselves somewhat as follows:

THE NORTHEAST AND MIDDLE ATLANTIC

Six states in this area will supply such fireworks as the nominating process affords. Massachusetts Democrats, to work down from the north, are already committed to returning to the Senate David I. Walsh, who first took a seat in that chamber in 1923 and did not noticeably advance in his political thinking in the ensuing quarter of a century. Walsh is a proved vote-getter, however, and the Republicans, hard-pressed, are turning to former Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., a man with youth, a name that carries awe in Massachusetts, and a distinguished war record. Lodge has modified the isolationist views inherited from a father who almost single-handedly wrecked the League of Nations. Should he be nominated and win the election, this Stassenite Republican is certain to be considered Presidential timber in 1952 if not sooner.

Both parties should furnish excitement in Connecti-

cut's senatorial race. Cool at first, if not downright grudging, Brien McMahon, boss of the state's Democratic machine, appears at last to have reached an understanding with Chester Bowles. Connecticut manufacturers within the party may have trouble swallowing their animus against the champion of the OPA, but the volume of Congressional mail in favor of that agency indicates that Bowles would be a tremendous vote-getter. Connecticut nominates by convention, in any case, and the machine should see him through. Then, apparently, the fun will begin, because on the Republican side a "draft Clare" movement has been under way for some time. Governor Raymond E. Baldwin still has the inside track for the nomination, but Mrs. Luce, who is fond of remarking that President Roosevelt "lied us into war," has been talking privately of "the pressure" on her to run for the Senate. Her recent conversion to Catholicism is expected to be a factor in view of the state's large Polish and Italian population, and the threat of her running may well have won McMahon to the Bowles candidacy.

As always, the notorious Frank Hague embarrasses the efforts of New Jersey's better citizens to stage an election on issues. Power that he is, Hague has to be wooed for support of George Brunner, mayor of Camden and the labor and liberal choice to contest the Senate seat of H. Alexander Smith. Brunner is conceded an outside chance if Hague indorses him and the P. A. C. does an effective job of getting out the vote in South Jersey. The state's outstanding Congressional primary will be a trial—at least within the Republican Party—of the OPA. The contest is between incumbent Fred A. Hartley, bitter opponent of price control and one of the organizers of the House coalition of Southern bourbons and Republican diehards, and Walter A. Schaefer, an unknown insurance man who emerged from his office to champion the housewives' lobby. Schaefer has the support of the P. A. C. and something like thirty nationally organized women's groups.

After months of behind-the-counter bargaining, New York Democratic leaders are virtually united on inviting Senator James M. Mead to oppose Dewey for the governorship, with the odds on Dewey. Mead is not the most colorful candidate that could have been picked, and he is not generally thought to measure up to the Smith-Roosevelt-Lehman succession at Albany, but his record in the Senate has been good and his choice is almost inevitable. To stand any chance of winning, the Democrats need the support of both the American Labor Party and the Liberal Party. The left wing of the A. L. P., dominated by Communists and near-Communists, is distinctly cool to Mead, who is too close to Truman for their conduct. They prefer LaGuardia or Morgenthau. But Sidney Hillman, state chairman of the party and national chairman of the C. I. O.-P. A. C.,

has already assured Democratic National Chairman Hannegan that the party will go along on Mead. The Liberals and the American Federation of Labor, for different reasons, were similarly cool at first, but they too have come around to accepting the Buffalo Senator as a sort of least common denominator. Rumors that the A. F. of L. might go over to Dewey are privately denied and are not taken seriously in responsible quarters.

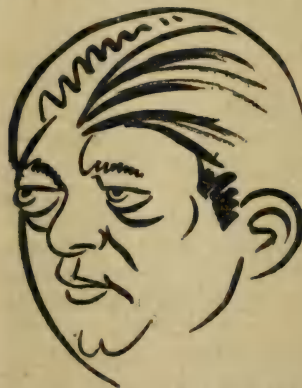
In a sense the Democratic senatorial nomination will represent a payoff for the compromise on Mead. To satisfy the Liberals and the A. F. of L., and because of his unquestioned vote-getting ability as well, former Governor Lehman is considered the best bet at the moment, with LaGuardia still a possibility. The Republican choice is still unpredictable, but an early favorite is Irving M. Ives, majority leader of the Assembly. As one of the authors of the state Fair Employment Practices Act and dean of the state School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell, Ives would make a bid for liberal votes.

Elsewhere in this Eastern sector two New Dealers of ability and intelligence face extremely hard fights. Senators Kilgore of West Virginia and Tunnell of Delaware are reasonably certain to be renominated by the Democrats, but only a big vote—always favorable to the Democrats—will carry them back to Washington.

THE MIDDLE WEST

With Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois already accounted for, chief pre-election interest in the Middle West centers in states for the most part so solidly Republican that their balloting in November will make little difference in the political complexion of Congress. In at least two of these states—Minnesota and Nebraska—isolationism is still a lively issue, perhaps the major issue in the

primary campaign. Some political observers in this part of the country believe that Harold E. Stassen eliminated himself from the 1948 Presidential race the day he decided against personally contesting the Republican senatorial nomination. Rather than risk defeat at the hands of Henrik Shipstead, the veteran isolationist who



Drawing by Sellgson
Senator La Follette

voted against the United Nations Charter, Stassen assigned that task to Governor Edward J. Thye. With an eye on Thye's smashing plurality in 1944, Stassen appears to be confident of the outcome, but local observers expect the race to be one of the hottest in party history, and the

result will be of extreme importance in dictating both the candidate and the platform of the G. O. P. in 1948. The odds, substantially in Thy's favor at the start of the campaign, have been shrinking.

In Nebraskan Republican circles the Senate contest appears almost to revolve about the British loan. On one side is incumbent Senator Hugh A. Butler, thoroughly isolationist, thoroughly reactionary, and an ardent supporter of Governor John W. Bricker for President in 1948. Against him is Nebraska's present Governor, Dwight Griswold, advocate of the Roosevelt foreign policies and hopeful of seeing Stassen chosen as the G. O. P. standard-bearer two years from now. In the pre-primary convention, in which Nebraska Republican leaders present the rank and file with two candidates for their choice in the primary, Butler's Senate colleague, Kenneth S. Wherry, spoke ominously of "Republican New Dealers." The term, he explained, applies to those who use the slogan "We will enforce the peace," behind which "leers the cruel countenance of the god of war." The convention roundly condemned the loan to Britain and recommended Butler as its first choice by a vote of 228 to 163, which probably represents the odds faced by Griswold.

Wisconsin's Republicans present the odd spectacle of a party that has unwillingly absorbed a candidate whom it doesn't really want, whom it will nevertheless nominate for the Senate, and who will in all probability win the election. Just how jubilant the state machine is over the decision of Senator La Follette to merge his Progressives with the G. O. P. may be gauged from the vote of the party convention which met early in May to indorse candidates for the primary. Circuit Court Judge Joseph R. Mc Carthy, a converted Democrat, polled 2,328 convention votes, two other aspirants received less than 300 between them, and Bob La Follette netted a total of one lone vote. In the primaries themselves, however, the erstwhile Progressives are expected to swamp the organization, with the mass of Republicans flocking to the man whose name is still magic in Wisconsin.

President Truman's political prestige in his own state faces something of a test in the reelection campaign of Representative Roger C. Slaughter, who in a sense is to the present occupant of the White House what Hamilton Fish was to Roosevelt—a minor political plague in the boss's home territory. There are differences, however. Slaughter, who represents a district closely neighboring Truman's, happens to belong to the President's own party, which was not true in the case of Mr. Fish. Truman has let it be known that he would relish Mr. Slaughter's elimination in the primary, but the Missouri machine, to which the President has been uncommonly loyal, shows no willingness to reciprocate. A victory for Slaughter will be not only an annoyance to the President but a singular indication of his weakness within

the party. The same would be true of a defeat for Senator Briggs in November. Truman favors Briggs, whose voting record is good but who is no ball of fire, in the Senate or out. A stronger candidate would be insurance

against an embarrassing Republican victory in the President's home state.

Senator Vandenberg will be renominated by Michigan Republicans without a contest. The Democratic choice, to be realistic, is academic. Chief interest in the election will be the determined campaign of



Drawing by Seligson

Robert W. Kenny

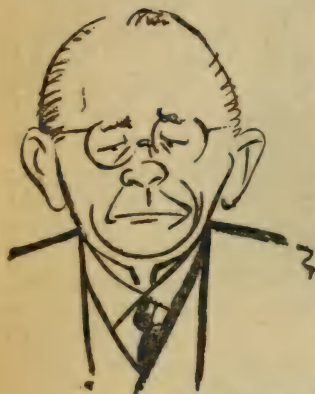
the Republicans to wrest at least three of the Congressional seats now held by Democrats, and Wayne County is already being flooded with letters setting forth this goal. Frank Hook, one of the best liberals in Congress, will confront Emil Hurja, editor of the *Pathfinder* and a major political prophet until he guessed wrong on Roosevelt. Mayor Edward J. Jeffries of Detroit has filed for Governor on the Republican ticket. Should he be nominated, Detroit's own mayor will automatically be George Edwards, youthful president of the City Council and former official of the United Automobile Workers.

THE FAR WEST

As in the Middle West, echoes of the isolationist battle still reverberate through the Nye-Wheeler-Langer country. All three names are once more before the voters of Montana and North Dakota, and two of them have all too good a chance to remain for another six years in the pages of the *Congressional Record*. North Dakota has scheduled the election of a Senator to fill out the term of the late John Moses for June 25, the same day that the parties nominate candidates for the full senatorial term, to be voted on in November. The short-term race is a three-cornered affair involving Nye, running independently; Milton R. Young, the incumbent Republican; and P. W. Lanier, Jr., a Fargo Democrat running with local P. A. C. support. Young and Nye are expected to cut into each other's vote, to the advantage of Lanier. For the long term there is not much doubt that North Dakota Republicans, for reasons which only they can fathom, will renominate the ineffable William Langer, while the Democrats plan to put up a fight behind Abner Larson, also favored by the P. A. C.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler, fortunate in not having had to face a war-time electorate two years ago, goes into

the primary campaign with certain undeserved advantages. His opponent, former Representative Leif Erickson, a man with an excellent political record, carries the party handicap of a severe drubbing at the polls in the 1944 campaign for the governorship. On top of this he had the thankless task recently of chairing the mediation board that tried vainly to ward off the nation-wide railroad strike. The failure did not endear him to the Brotherhoods, with whom Wheeler is popular in any event as a result of years of good work in the field of railway legislation. On the other side of the economic fence Montana newspapers, most of them owned body and soul by Anaconda Copper, are anti-Erickson without being openly pro-Wheeler.



Drawing by Seligson
Senator Bilbo

If Roosevelt were in the White House, he might conceivably put in a helpful word for Erickson, but Harry Truman owed his first Senate recognition to Wheeler, and he is not a man to forget favors, even when they come from a non-Missourian. Erickson deserves unstinted liberal support, but he admittedly has a hard row to hoe.

On the coast, Washington Democrats are expected to renominate the youthful and extremely able Hugh Mitchell for the Senate. They are also expected to put on a primary marked by heavy feuding between the extreme left-wingers, gathered around state committee executive Jerry O'Connell, and moderates such as Howard Costigan. It was out of just such a scramble that Hugh De Lacy, far to the left, emerged victorious in 1944.

California, as always, offers a grand performance which only the natives can fully appreciate. The practice of cross-filing permits California candidates to enter their names simultaneously in the primaries of any and all parties, and this peculiarity, coupled with the absence of anything like an organized political machine, produces effects sometimes admirable, frequently odd, and almost always unpredictable. Registration figures indicate a livelier interest in the primaries this year than exists in most states, with attention centered chiefly on the Democratic contest for the Senate. In this scrap Representative Ellis E. Patterson is matched with Will Rogers, Jr., who left the House early in the war to serve in the army. The liberal-left forces are divided in the race, with the understanding that they will unite to support the victor against the Republican incumbent, Senator Knowland.

Unfortunately so much emphasis has been placed on

the Rogers-Patterson campaign by such agencies as the National Citizens' P. A. C., which has indorsed Patterson, that insufficient attention is being paid to Robert W. Kenny's fight for the governorship. Kenny is a remarkable figure on the coast, with an extremely liberal record—despite his tie-up with Ed Pauley in the struggle for tideland oil. As Attorney General, he has established a school for sheriffs that features such novel courses as "How to Behave During a Strike," "Civil Rights," and "Education of the Public on Race Equality." Kenny is popular, but such are the complexities of California politics that his Republican opponent, Governor Warren, threatens to give him a thumping race in Kenny's own Democratic primary.

With something like 40 per cent of New Mexico's population of Spanish or Latin American extraction, that state's Democrats are expected to renominate Senator Dennis Chavez, who is of Spanish descent, speaks the language, and, most important, championed the FEPC bill in the Senate. Against him in the primary will be Governor John J. Dempsey, who controls the state machine but can only claim naturalized citizenship, having come to the state from New York by way of Oklahoma. The Republicans, for reasons best known to themselves, have hit on the Honorable Patrick J. Hurley, who likewise appears to have abandoned Oklahoma—and China—for a more virginal political stamping ground.

THE SOUTH

A month or so ago Senator Bilbo of Mississippi was forced to abandon what threatened to be a filibuster on the loan to Britain. He had to hurry home, as he described the situation, to contend with "four peckerwoods trying to get my job." The quartet he referred to is composed of Commander Nelson T. Levings, whose political experience is limited to a race for lieutenant governor in which he came in third; former Representative Ross Collins, decent and reasonably able but with a record of three failures in previous senatorial attempts; Cecil Travis, a business man and lawyer with no political record; and Tom Q. Ellis, clerk of the state Supreme Court and a good vote-getter. The four of them may conceivably poll a large enough total to force Bilbo into a run-off, in which case a vigorous campaign might bring him down. But the chances are slight. One "peckerwood," with united support from all Bilbo's enemies—and they are numerous—would have had more of a chance.

Fortunately for the South, and for the country, Bilboism appears to have reached the extremes of its own peculiar fragrance. Apart from the Alabama campaign, already touched on, and routine primaries in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, two states promise fireworks that may blow up the whole traditional pattern of Southern politics. Watch Texas and Georgia. Free at last of

the white primary, voters have registered in record-breaking numbers for a midterm election, and in both states campaigns for the governorship present a challenge to the old order.

In Texas the challenger is Dr. Homer P. Rainey, who conducted the affairs of the University of Texas in so forthright and intelligent a manner that he was inevitably fired by the political hacks on the Board of Regents. The case immediately became a major issue in Texas politics, and the lines are now fairly drawn between the liberal forces backing Rainey and the anti-Roosevelt Democratic machine headed by Governor Coke Stevenson, whose slogan for the campaign is "Texas, God, and the Constitution." Three Texan stalwarts in Congress, incidentally, have seen the handwriting on the wall and are about to retire. Among the contenders for their seats are at least two highly reputable liberals—Judge Sara Hughes and Dr. William E. Elliott, regional head of the National Labor Relations Board.

Prospects in Georgia are equally stimulating. Until a few months ago it seemed certain that the brilliant ad-

ministration of Ellis Arnall was to be followed by the return of Gene Talmadge, a hard blow for any state. The turn of the tide came when the small city of Augusta, subservient for years to the local Democratic machine known as the "Cracker Party," went to the polls in an election of state representatives. Roy V. Harris, speaker of the Georgia House, staged the customary campaign based on white supremacy and the inviolability of Southern white womanhood. He was emphatically rejected in favor of the young publisher of the *Augusta Chronicle* running on a "good-government ticket." The defeat of Harris rocked Georgia, and inspired the candidacy of James V. Carmichael, thirty-six-year-old protégé of Governor Arnall, in opposition to Talmadge. Victories for Carmichael and Rainey, coupled with the recent overthrow of the Maestri machine in New Orleans, will logically be regarded as the herald of a new day for the South. With apathy the prevailing mood from Massachusetts to California, the South, lustily emerging from a poll-tax bondage of its own making, may yet be the political hope of the nation.

Italy Against the Monarchy

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

*Lauro de Bosis lecturer on the history of Italian civilization at Harvard;
author of "Under the Ax of Fascism" and other books*

THE results of the municipal elections which took place in Italy on the five Sundays between March 10 and April 7 were reported in such an incoherent and garbled way by American correspondents that it was impossible to evaluate their significance. Information supplied in the *Allied Commission Weekly Bulletin* of April 27, 1946, enables us, however, to draw accurate and telling conclusions.

During those five weeks 5,658 municipalities elected their administrators. Of Italy's 19,500,000 registered voters, 15,000,000 or 79.37 per cent went to the polls. In the United States, as a rule, no more than 60 per cent of the citizens bother to vote. Italian educators should perhaps be imported to the United States to educate those educators who go to Europe to reeducate Italy to democracy.

If the parties which tested their strength in these elections are classified under three headings, we find the following data: (a) Parties that took a definite stand against the monarchy and for a republic—that is, Communists, Socialists, Republicans, and Actionists—obtained pluralities in 2,356 municipalities and elected 44,511 councilors. The bulk of this group was made up of Communists and Socialists. (b) Parties that took a

more or less explicit stand for the monarchy against the republic—that is, Right Concentration, Center Concentration, Liberals ("Liberal" in the Italian language means "conservative"), Uomo Qualunque, and Italian Democrats—received pluralities in 459 municipalities and elected 11,142 city councilors. (c) Parties that abstained from any official declaration on the above-mentioned issue—that is, Christian Democrats, Labor Democrats, independents, local groups, and veterans—obtained pluralities in 2,270 municipalities and elected 50,720 city councilors. The bulk of this group was made up of the Christian Democrats.

These figures do not tell the whole story. A big city like Milan, where 625,000 men and women went to the polls, counts statistically as one unit, on a par with the small town, for instance, of Fossato Ferralta in Calabria, where 458 citizens returned 416 votes for the Liberals (conservatives) and Labor Democrats, and 42 for the Christian Democrats. A Liberal-monarchist city councilor elected in Fossato Ferralta by 42 citizens counts in the statistics as much as a Socialist-republican elected in Milan by 225,000 votes.

We must also reckon with the fact that in municipalities of more than 30,000 inhabitants elections were held

through proportional representation; so that statistics give the number of councilors elected by all parties. But in municipalities of less than 30,000 inhabitants candidates were elected by a majority, and statistics therefore give only those elected by the majority and by that minority group receiving the next highest number of votes.

Finally, we must not forget that anti-monarchical currents in Italy are much stronger in large cities with their large number of working-class voters than in small towns. In towns having less than 10,000 inhabitants the forces gathered around the Christian Democratic Party and those gathered around the Socialist and Communist parties balanced each other. But the larger the city the more ground the Christian Democrats lost, and the more the Socialists and Communists gained. In the eighteen cities where elections were held by proportional representation on the last Sunday of March the Socialists and Communists won 368,623 votes and the Catholics 202,129 votes. Milan did not vote until the following Sunday, and in Turin, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Bari, and Palermo municipal elections have been delayed until after the national elections. "This was done by design," Premier Alcide de Gasperi said, "so that the general elections would not be influenced by the political trend of big-city elections." It was advisable to have the wiser small towns influence the elections rather than the senseless big cities.

The statistics would have been much more meaningful and conclusive if they had given the number of votes polled by each party rather than the number of municipalities and councilors. Those figures would have shown that the forces hostile to the monarchy and in favor of the republic are much greater than the figures now available would have us believe.

At any rate, on April 25 the Christian Democratic Party, whose National Executive had tried to postpone a definite stand on this issue as long as possible, finally came to a decision during its first national convention: 739,000 voted for the republic, 254,000 for the monarchy, and 63,000 took a noncommittal stand by abstaining. From these data it is clear that in the referendum of June 2 the votes of the Christian Democrats favoring a republic will be combined with those of the leftist parties, and the Savoy monarchy will be buried under a landslide.

This outcome could not be avoided even if all the Christian Democrats who are monarchical or undecided and all the other undecided groups joined forces with the parties which are more or less explicitly monarchical. But there is no doubt that many votes in favor of the republic will be cast by these elements. Most likely, the majority of the Labor Democrats will vote for the republic. In the national convention of the Liberal (conservative) Party on May 3, 261 delegates voted for the

republic, 412 for the monarchy, and 121 declared themselves "agnostic." Yet the Liberal Party was considered one of the strongholds of the monarchist movement.

The certainty of this result explains why Victor Emmanuel III abdicated two weeks after the Christian Democratic convention.

The King could have given the Savoy monarchy a new lease of life if he had dismissed Mussolini in June, 1924, after the Matteotti murder, when a formidable wave of protest swept over Italy, most Fascists were bewildered and disheartened, and the army and the police were still at the King's beck and call. For the next nineteen years he slid from capitulation to capitulation, from complicity to complicity, from shame to shame. There have been kings who broke their oath to the constitution and accepted responsibility for their perjury. And there have been kings who became faithless to their oath by passively allowing their ministers to violate the constitution, comforting themselves with the illusion that they had incurred no personal guilt. Victor Emmanuel III belongs to the latter category. After the Matteotti murder he became a decree-signing machine, the typical *roi fainéant*, the last of the Merovingians.

Victor Emmanuel III again missed the boat in June, 1940, when he might have put his veto on Mussolini's declaration of war on France and Britain. The Italian people were, in their vast majority, hostile to that obviously criminal adventure. A good many military chiefs knew that Italy was not ready for war. They would have stood behind the King had he opposed Mussolini. If the military chiefs had failed to back him, the King should have abdicated, saving his honor and disclaiming for himself and his family any responsibility for what might happen. As a matter of fact, he, no less than Mussolini, thought that an easy and quick victory lay within his grasp, now that France had collapsed and England seemed to be tottering.

In December, 1941, he let Mussolini declare war on the United States. He still believed in the Duce's star.

At the end of 1942, after the Anglo-American landings in North Africa, all sensible men in Italy realized that the game was up and that it was imperative to break with Hitler and come to terms with the United Nations if Italy was to be saved from utter disaster. The King was in a position to dismiss the dictator without too much trouble since the latter was as discredited as he had been after the Matteotti murder. However, he could not in decency abrogate the treaty of alliance with Nazi Germany. Had he been a man of honor, he would first have ousted Mussolini, and then he would have formed a new Cabinet with men who had never had anything to do with either Mussolini or Hitler. After that he should have abdicated together with his son in favor of his grandson, in order to leave a free hand to the new Cabinet; and then the new Cabinet should have initiated

a new course in foreign policy by denouncing, cost what it might, the German alliance and declaring war on Germany. At the end of 1942 Churchill and Roosevelt were still very far from having attained the military predominance they were to have after the whole of North Africa and the island of Sicily had been conquered. Confronted in Italy with new men of unimpeachable anti-Fascist past, they could not have treated them as the enemies of yesterday or as disreputable and untrustworthy characters.

To be sure, substantial German forces were stationed in Italy at the end of 1942. German agents were in control of many key positions in Italian administration and production. Many Italian military chiefs had sold out to the Germans. A terrible and dangerous crisis had to be faced. But that crisis would have been far less catastrophic at the end of 1942 than it was to be seven months later.

Victor Emmanuel III was never concerned with helping his people out of the abyss into which he and Mussolini had plunged them. He never cared one iota about honor. He was interested in one thing—to keep himself and his family afloat. He was sure that Churchill, Roosevelt, and Pius XII would protect him in any case as the guarantor of "law and order" in Italy against "communism"—and everything that was not "fascism without Mussolini" was labeled "communism."

Thus he wasted months and months. It was only when the Allies had occupied Palermo that he ousted Mussolini on July 25, 1943, without encountering the slightest opposition anywhere—ample proof that he might have got rid of him earlier if he had cared to. Even then, he thought that he could go on playing a double game with Hitler and his enemies. By the time he discovered that this double-cross was not practicable, larger and larger German reinforcements had been pouring into Italy, and the Italian army, not knowing what to do, had become bewildered and demoralized from top to bottom. When he finally agreed to an armistice, he was seized by blind panic and fled from Rome without leaving clear orders, thus completing the break-down of the Italian military machine—an act of desertion before the enemy which in the military codes of all countries is punishable with death.

As if this act of brainlessness and cowardice did not suffice, he failed to realize when he was in southern Italy that he was not entitled, as a fugitive and prisoner of war, to sign any further pledge on behalf of a people he had deserted. Rather than sign the terrible armistice of September 29, he should have abdicated—at least, then!

The empire of Napoleon I collapsed in 1814 as a result of military defeat. The empire of Napoleon III collapsed in 1870 as a result of military defeat. The czarist regime collapsed in 1917 as a result of military

defeat. The empires of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs collapsed in 1918 as a result of military defeat. The French Third Republic collapsed in June, 1940, as a result of military defeat. Could the House of Savoy survive what in September, 1943, had been not only military defeat but also dishonor and treachery?

Unless the British Intelligence Service, hand in hand with the secret services of the Italian army and navy, engineers a monarchist coup d'état, one can safely forecast that at least 70 per cent of the men and women of Italy will vote against the Savoy monarchy in the referendum of June 2.

In the Wind

A GENTLEMAN IN ENGLAND who is totally deaf has invented an alarm clock which, it seems to us, is exactly what this gummy-eyed world needs—much more suited to our perilous times than a new American product which gently coaxes the sleeper into his new day with a soft chiming note. This Englishman's clock is connected to a motor in the bedsprings, and when it's time to wake up, the mechanism turns on the light and shakes the hell out of you.

THE CAMPAIGN LITERATURE of one Walter A. Kelley, Congressional candidate in Ohio's Democratic primaries, pledges him to an unequivocal domestic and international platform: "To Keep Beer Flowing—Stop Appeasing Russia."

A FOOD-COLLECTION PROGRAM in Orlando, Florida, to aid an "adopted city" in Greece received its biggest boost when, without any advance publicity, the 800 Negro students of Jones High School last month turned in more than 5,000 cans of food—an average of almost 7 cans apiece and all collected in less than a week. A member of the city-wide campaign committee, interviewed by the Orlando *Sentinel*, called it "the finest civic gesture I have ever seen, and that takes in gestures and projects by any and all groups," adding that if everyone in the city contributed on the same scale, the drive would be far over the top.

WHICH PROVIDES a nice backdrop for the recent action of the Miami, Florida, City Commission in rejecting a planning-board recommendation for a Negro housing project in the city's St. Albans section—this despite the fact that the recommendation generously offered "suitable protection" for adjacent white residential areas. The refusal was quite consistent because an identical recommendation was turned down two years ago, and that one even included a wall and "seventy-five-foot buffer strip" between white and Negro areas.

WELL FOR HEAVEN'S SAKE DEPT.: "In yesterday's *Daily Express* Mr. Gallacher, Communist M.P. for West Fife, was wrongly reported as saying that the British Empire got nearer to our dream of a perfect world than anything else which existed."—Correction note in the London *Daily Express*.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

Why Britain Wants Franco

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

London, May 23

CONTRARY to all logic and to the expectations of everyone, including Franco himself, the Spanish fascist regime is stronger today than it was on V-E Day. Since my arrival in Europe three months ago I have spoken with many people who have recently come out of Spain. All of them confirm that fact. Certainly it is not pleasant for Spanish Republicans to have to acknowledge it publicly, but the admission causes no dismay among us, nor does it weaken in the slightest our determination to overthrow Franco. Much blood will probably flow, and the main responsibility for it will fall on those who are supporting Franco from abroad. The Spanish dictator could have been overthrown a year ago and the republic reestablished with a minimum of violence and bloodshed. He will still be overthrown, but the cost will be infinitely greater, and Spain's future relations with Great Britain and the United States will be seriously impaired. Recently a London *Times* correspondent reported that never has Anglo-Saxon prestige in Spain been at lower ebb. The Spanish people know that without British and American support of Franco they would already be free.

In the time I spent in the United States I learned that American policy toward Spain, today as during the Spanish war, simply followed the British lead. In London I wanted to discover the reasons for a position which is so difficult to understand, especially with a Labor government in power; as I anticipated, the real story on Spain is to be found here. Let me say bluntly that present British policy regarding Spain is oriented toward a single goal—the maintenance of Franco in power. I came here determined to study this problem as objectively as possible. It is all very well for those who oppose British policy, especially in foreign affairs, to reduce the question to one of damning the British and the Labor Party and counting the hours until the historical process sends the whole British Empire to the devil. But calling Bevin names will not free the Spanish people. Nor can Spaniards wait for the day when the opposition within the Labor Party is strong enough to inaugurate a new foreign policy. Spanish Republicans are profoundly grateful to those Labor M.P.'s like K. Zilliacus who are fighting with admirable devotion for a change of official British attitude on Spain, but their numbers are too pitifully few to have an immediate effect.

Actually in the space of a year Britain has tried everything in Spain—everything except the republic. For six

months it favored the monarchy. Today I venture to say categorically that the idea of restoring the crown in Spain has been abandoned by everyone in London except the Duke of Alba's friends, who have no influence on government policy. On the one hand the British have become convinced that there are practically no monarchists in Spain; on the other hand they realize that the Pretender is a nonentity without the slightest political acumen that would fit him for his mission. The "Swiss group"—the advisers whom Don Juan had gathered around him in Lausanne—and particularly the intelligent Lopez Olivan, former ambassador to the Court of St. James's, who had won the esteem of certain British circles, have been steadily losing influence with the Pretender the closer he gets to Spain. His *Corte de Estoril* is made up of the most reactionary Spanish royalists, and the British know that the only thing these men can accomplish in Spain is to provoke a new war.

Above all, lack of popular support for Don Juan and the hostile attitude of the Catholic church have convinced the British that it is useless to play the monarchist card. The Spanish hierarchy continues blindly to link its fate with that of Franco; since the appointment of the U. N. fact-finding commission it has intensified its propaganda in behalf of Franco. Commenting on the action of the Security Council, Cardinal Parrado y Garcia, Archbishop of Granada, denounced the existence of "an international plot to overthrow the present regime in Spain as a first move toward the complete destruction of Spanish Catholicism." The Latin American clergy have also come to the aid of Franco. *Noblesse oblige*—Spanish priests were dispatched to Buenos Aires to spread propaganda in behalf of Perón's fascist regime and against the United States; now Argentine priests are arriving in Madrid to return the favor.

For all these reasons London has given up the idea of restoring the monarchy in Spain.

Before this the British had been flirting with certain Spanish generals whose names I shall not cite here. The flirtation is still going on, but I am convinced that it is simply a means of keeping Franco in line. No one here has any confidence in the generals, not even as a temporary solution. It is feared that they would be overwhelmed by events and that the Republicans would rapidly sweep into power. But that the Spanish people should acquire ultimate control is precisely what Britain wants to prevent. In the minds of the men who determine British foreign policy today lurks the belief that

once Franco is overthrown the republic that follows will be dominated by Communists and controlled by Moscow. The obsession of possible Russian infiltration into Spain has spread to the most diverse groups. There are few courageous enough to admit that given a choice between the shame of knowing that Britain maintains Franco in power and the loss of one of Britain's last strongholds in the Mediterranean, they would accept the shame and allow democracy to be sacrificed in Spain.

Of course the fear and the obsession increase with every new difference that arises between Russia and the other powers. In that respect the Foreign Ministers' conference at Paris has not helped the Spanish cause. Every failure to reach an understanding or agreement with the Soviet Union only intensifies this negative position, which consists in preventing the Russians from gaining a hold in Spain through the medium of the republic.

Bevin will never admit that what determines his Spanish policy is the fear that Russia will extend its influence to that part of the Mediterranean or that Gibraltar may become another Trieste. After all, it would be impossible for a minister of a party that made restoration of democracy in Spain one of its main electoral planks to come out now and say, "We are ready to sacrifice the entire Spanish people to the security of the Empire." What he always says in official—and even private—discussions is: "Show me a way to get a democratic regime in Spain without civil war." One could point out to him that the way to get it is quite the opposite of the one he is following—but if Bevin has many unquestionably strong qualities, being a good listener is not one of them. He has made up his mind that any change of policy now would lead to trouble in Spain. And here we come back to the starting point: trouble in Spain means the risk of Communists getting the upper hand, of Russia ruling the Peninsula. As for a break of relations with Franco, Bevin says with contempt, "An empty gesture." His is the kind of thinking that prevailed at Chapultepec and San Francisco with regard to Argentina.

The theory that the republic means Communist domination of Spain is not supported by the facts. In Spain the Socialist Party has always been, and will be again, the center of any government coalition and the rallying point for the Republican forces. Moreover, there is a strong working-class, trade-union group which opposes Communist hegemony. No thinking Communist can expect his party either to guide or to dominate Spanish politics. Yet this fear dictates British policy on Spain. This morning, for instance, I was told, "Your only hope for a change in the British position is that the results of the French and Italian elections on June 2 do not prove too frightening." I smiled and said, "Perhaps an M. R. P. victory in France and a majority for the monarchy in Italy?" "Not so far to the right," was the reply, "but not too many Communists either."

There is no indication that Britain's policy will change in the near future. Its representatives to the Security Council will vote for any resolution, like that of San Francisco or Potsdam, that calls simply for moral condemnation of the Spanish fascist regime. But they will block if they can anything that means real action—a rupture of diplomatic relations with Franco or recognition of the Republican government. Meanwhile they will continue giving Franco new help by increased trade with Spain and counsels of moderation. In the end this policy will bring disaster, but the British are hoping it will gain time, just as they thought Munich would gain time. They have yet to learn that it will not bring peace for a generation but only, perhaps, for six months.

Home Thoughts from Spain

*(Inspired by Sir William Beveridge and
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)*

Night over Spain has flooded,
But Might may be almost Right,
And black, objectively studied,
May come to resemble white.

In liberal breasts there rises
A feeling akin to pain
When doctrinaires force a crisis
To liberate Franco's Spain.

They hearken with sad misgiving
To queries best left unsaid,
Why the tyrant of Spain is living
While all the rest are dead.

Press, politics, votes, religion,
Spain will for Spain make free,
But Spain is not Britain's pigeon,
Like Balkan democracy.

We must not abandon in blindness
Our simple but heartfelt course
To ease from the Fascist by kindness
The prey that he seized by force.

We learn from the days of olden,
If freedom must be suppressed,
Non-intervention is golden,
And Britain's silence is best.

The voices of censure hushing,
Our *simpat* we must not stint.
And with tears of gratitude gushing
The Caudillo will take the hint.

No longer from injury smarting,
He will sense he has had his day—
With his tents and his Arabs departing,
He will silently steal away.

SAGITTARIUS

Courtesy of the New Statesman and Nation (London)

The Case for Army Justice

BY EDWARD S. GREENBAUM

A New York lawyer who served as a private and an officer in World War I and as an officer in World War II

THIS is the open season for knocking the army. It is in the doghouse. It now appears that the army and navy made an awful mess of everything, with the possible exception of licking the Germans and Japs. Almost every one of the more than ten million men who served in the army has his own gripe. Each has first-hand knowledge of something that went wrong. Many of them are now sounding off. And that is all to the good, for that is the way to correct things that should be corrected. But no sound solution will be reached on the basis of incorrect statements, unjustified criticism, or unsupported conclusions.

The particular gripe of one of the ten million appeared in *The Nation's* issue of April 27. The article in which it was set forth was featured on the cover as giving the "facts" about army courts-martial and was made the subject of an editorial. The question is an important one and deserves the attention that it is now receiving.

What is this particular charge against the army? The editorial refers to the court-martial system as "ancient." This charge must be admitted. But it is also true of the Constitution. The Ten Commandments are even older. The Articles of War, the basic authority for the army's court-martial system, are the legal code made by civilian authority for the government of the army. They were not concocted by the army but were enacted by Congress. Originally written by George Washington, who realized the need for a sound legal basis for enforcing military discipline, they were adopted by the Continental Congress. Since then they have been modernized by acts of Congress to meet changing needs and conditions. They are not an archaic monstrosity.

The editorial praises what it calls an "excellent report" of a subcommittee of the House Military Affairs Committee. This document was merely a draft of a suggested report labeled: "Exclusively for members' use. Not to be released." It was not approved or released by the committee. No hearings were conducted either by the committee or its subcommittee. It is obvious that no judgment should be based on the conclusions of this so-called report.

The article, written by Maurice Rosenblatt, voices a variety of complaints. But the author also says, "On paper army justice is severe but fair," and "there are practically no instances of innocent men being convicted or framed." It is indeed a tribute to the army's judicial system that even its critics feel this. The fact that there were practically no instances of an innocent man being

convicted or framed would indicate that the army's system of justice was fair not only "on paper" but in practice.

The full import of this strong indorsement should be realized. The army was called upon to create, train, equip, and transport to the remotest parts of the world the largest fighting force in our history. It did so. The men constituting this new army came from all walks of life. They included not only the finest, best, and bravest of our young men but thugs, drunks, and cowards. In normal times and under normal conditions many of these men would have been offenders against the law. For it is the age group between eighteen and forty that produces 80 per cent of our criminals in civil life. It could be expected that an even larger number of offenses would be committed by these men in the army than in civil life, for they were suddenly taken from their homes and surroundings and plunged into a new and hard life—a life that none of them wanted and few of them liked.

Overnight these men ceased to be civilians and became soldiers. This change involved giving up many things, not the least of which was freedom of action. Suddenly the new soldier became subject to a restraint called army discipline, without which any army is a mob. Staying away was no longer merely absenteeism. It was A. W. O. L., a military offense. The new soldier also became punishable by an army court for civil offenses. More than a quarter of the convictions by general courts-martial were for civil offenses.

To try these cases the army was obliged to establish and administer military courts in all parts of the world. The complexity of the task is illustrated by the wide variety of offenses committed. A soldier from Tennessee gets drunk in Algiers and kills an Arab. A sergeant from Pennsylvania abstracts money from the mail of his fellow-soldiers in Liverpool. A corporal from Florida holds up a lunch counter in Denver. A private from New York shoots a companion in a crap game in New Caledonia. A captain from Massachusetts engages in black-market operations in Casablanca. An Air Force lieutenant from Illinois overstays his leave from the Lincoln Air Base in Nebraska, leaving a trail of bad checks. The army tried those and thousand of other cases throughout the war. That it was able to do this with practically no instance of convicting an innocent man, as Mr. Rosenblatt concedes, is an outstanding achievement. Even civil courts, operating in normal times, would be proud of it.

It is claimed that army justice operates on a double standard, being unfair to the enlisted man. This charge is a serious one. Such discrimination cannot and should not be defended. But is the charge true? To substantiate it Mr. Rosenblatt cites two instances that came to his notice when he was in the army. That these and other cases may have occurred does not prove the charge.

The composition of the army negatives this charge of discrimination against enlisted men. Only 20,485 of the 890,654 officers who served in the army from July, 1940, through 1945 were regular-army officers. All the others had been civilians just a short time before, and most of them entered the army as enlisted men. To be more specific, 97.70 per cent of the officers came from civil life, 70.72 per cent being commissioned from the ranks and 26.98 per cent directly from civil life. The remaining few, 2.30 per cent, were in the regular army, and many of them had previously been enlisted men.

The record does not sustain the charge that these ex-civilians and ex-privates suddenly lost their sense of fairness. Of the 64,189 men tried by general courts-martial from Pearl Harbor to the end of February, 1946, 8,125 were officers. This is far above the proportion of officers to enlisted men. The sentences in 1,413 of these cases included dismissal from the service; in many cases the sentences included long periods of confinement; rape and black-market operations were among the crimes. It is not a fact, as stated in *The Nation's* editorial (as amended in its May 4 issue), that these offenses merely subjected an officer to a reprimand.

Unfortunately, however, many enlisted men do feel that there was discrimination. It is believed that one reason for their feeling is that enlisted men are not permitted, under the Articles of War, to serve on general courts-martial. In the writer's opinion Congress should permit them to serve on such courts whenever an enlisted man is being tried.

Mr. Rosenblatt makes the surprising statement that "there is no habeas corpus in the army," and his first recommendation is that the protection of habeas corpus be extended to the army. But habeas corpus does, and always has, extended to the army. As many a judge advocate and district attorney can testify, the courts do not refuse to grant writs of habeas corpus. They are zealous, as they should be, in making the army show that the legal rights of the accused are being protected.

The Articles of War prescribe the manner of trial and set up safeguards to protect the accused. They incorporate the basic rights of any accused person given in the Bill of Rights and administered in civil courts. They also provide additional protection not available to persons tried before civil courts. These include the following safeguards: (a) Before trial the accused is given the right not only to give evidence in a pre-trial investigation but to face and cross-examine witnesses in order to

show his innocence. (b) Defense counsel is furnished at no expense to the accused. (c) At the trial, if the accused does not elect to testify, he may make an unsworn statement without subjecting himself to cross-examination. (d) Previous convictions cannot be considered by the court in determining guilt. They are only admissible after a finding of guilty, as an aid to the court in determining the sentence. Even then the evidence is limited to convictions within the immediately preceding year. (e) The accused receives, without cost, a complete copy of the record. (f) In every case an automatic appeal from the court-martial goes to the reviewing authority, and then to the Judge Advocate General. The sentence is not effective until this review is completed. This is done without any request on the part of the prisoner. (g) Six months after confinement the case of every man sentenced to a disciplinary barracks is reviewed for clemency by the Under Secretary of War. A further review is had every year thereafter until he is released from confinement. At any time during this period, by showing proper conduct and attitude, a prisoner may be restored to duty as a soldier and become entitled to an honorable discharge.

These steps, and particularly the provisions for automatic appeals and clemency, are of vital importance. Contrast them with the complicated and costly steps that a person convicted by a civil court must take to appeal his case or present it for clemency.

It is charged that military justice is overrun by the "congealed caste system" and "the inflexibility of the military mind." Who are the persons against whom this charge is leveled? Even the extremists who assume that regular army officers, including such persons as General Marshall, General Eisenhower, and General Bradley, are constitutionally incapable of administering justice fairly cannot escape the fact that the administration of justice in the army was largely in the hands of men from civil life. All general court-martial cases were taken before boards of review in the office of the Judge Advocate General, who himself practiced law as a civilian before he went into the regular army. Throughout the war these boards of review were composed solely of officers from civil life, including former judges, law-school professors, and other outstanding lawyers. Final authority was vested in the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, who, besides being an outstanding statesman, is a distinguished lawyer. He delegated his direct responsibilities to Under Secretary of War, now Secretary, Robert P. Patterson, one of the country's ablest lawyers and judges. Both gave their personal attention to these matters.

They were assisted by specialists in the field who utilized modern methods to the fullest degree. Individual case studies were made for each general prisoner. Austin H. McCormack, former Commissioner of Correction in New York, has stated that civil institutions can learn a

great deal from the way in which the army has done this work. A Board of Consultants of which he, together with other leading penologists, is a member has given the army expert help and guidance. Among these penologists are Commissioner Sanford Bates of New Jersey; James V. Bennett, director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons; Edward R. Cass, general secretary of the American Prison Association; Warden Joseph W. Sanford of the United States Penitentiary in Atlanta; and Warden Walter M. Wallack of the Wallkill State Prison in New York.

One of the army's biggest problems was man-power. A man in the guardhouse is no asset. Accordingly, both for its own interest and to help the individual, the army did everything in its power to regain convicted men by restoring them to duty as soldiers. To accomplish this, it established rehabilitation centers here and abroad. The prisoners sent to these centers were given individual attention, and more than half of them were restored to duty. Ninety per cent of those restored acquitted themselves well on their second try in active service.

To aid him in passing on clemency cases the Under Secretary of War created a Clemency Board. Its chairman is Owen J. Roberts, former justice of the United States Supreme Court. This board reviews each case, considering not only the court-martial proceedings but the prisoner's home conditions, family background, and behavior before and after joining the army, together with the report of a Psychiatric and Sociological Board.

In spite of these and other measures to protect the rights of the individual, inequities and abuses undoubtedly did occur. This was inevitable in an organization so vast and widespread. Justice is dependent upon the manner in which it is administered, and no perfect method has yet been attained. But before the army's system is called "drumhead" and condemned, the facts should be ascertained and carefully weighed. None of the improvements which should result from our experience in World War II will be achieved unless the subject is approached with an open mind and without bias.

It's Double Justice

BY MAURICE ROSENBLATT

IN HIS defense of khaki justice Edward S. Greenbaum, an erstwhile general, exerts himself principally to prove that an army of ten million must have some system of law and order. He seems to feel that the present system, as expressed in the 122 Articles of War, is, with a few qualifications, both humane and fair, and that the criticism I voiced in *Justice on a Drumhead* in *The Nation* for April 27 was "the particular gripe" of one presumably maladjusted member of that army.

I have given respectful attention to Mr. Greenbaum's

recitation of "facts," and I fail to find anything which would change one jot the belief expressed to me personally by hundreds of men, repeated by thousands in mail to *Yank* and *Stars and Stripes*, and still firmly held by practically all veterans, that in the army they lived under a system of double justice. In effect, soldiers brought up to respect the American tradition of impartial justice without regard to station or class felt that they were living, not under a system of law, but under an archaic, capricious, and frequently brutal system of punishment.

To refute the daily experience of millions of men Mr. Greenbaum refers to "the book," summoning a series of paper regulations as proof that all went well and that the soldier really enjoys every guaranty for a fair trial. I have never doubted that army justice squared on paper. But it was clear to me and to several million other men that the spirit and the letter of the code were cruelly perverted in practice.

Mr. Greenbaum quotes my statement that "there are practically no instances of innocent men being convicted or framed." He ignores the rest of my point—that every officer and man in the army has committed some infraction which his superior can press or overlook. Under the elastic ninety-sixth article of war charges can be preferred on the vaguest of grounds, including "all disorders and neglects to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, all conduct of a nature to bring discredit upon the military service."

It is true that the Articles of War "set safeguards to protect the accused." But how have some of these safeguards worked? The pre-trial investigation has served frequently, not as an impartial attempt to evaluate evidence and decide the charge, but rather as a means of collecting new evidence for the prosecution—in some instances it has been used to obtain admissions and confessions from the accused.

The fact that defense counsel is furnished free is neither a safeguard nor a bargain. In civil life the first thing a man does when he gets in trouble is to call a lawyer. In the army the accused usually meets his lawyer only after the military police, the prosecutor, and the investigating officer have all had their chance at him, and after he has made statements which his lawyer would have prevented. The defense counsel is usually a junior officer unschooled in military law, and sometimes he is no lawyer at all. By the time the defense lawyer meets the accused the prosecution has finished preparing its case, and there is not much the defense can do except decide how to plead.

It is true that the accused receives, without cost, a complete copy of his trial record. But it is completely untrue that the sentence is not "effective" until reviewed. While the case is under review the soldier is a prisoner, confined at hard labor in a guardhouse. Mr. Greenbaum's statement holds only in the case of a convicted

officer; while awaiting a review an officer enjoys the freedom of the post, sleeps in quarters, and eats at the officers' club.

To show that officers did not escape their share of courts-martial, Mr. Greenbaum calls attention to the fact that of the 64,189 general courts-martial held from Pearl Harbor to February, 1946, 8,125 were of officers. These figures prove nothing, since general courts-martial were the only ones with power to try officers, and the 8,125 were *all* the officers tried, for both petty and major offenses. Enlisted men were usually tried by summary or special courts, and were brought before a general court only for the gravest crime. Although I have been unable to ascertain the total number of war-time courts-martial, a conservative estimate indicates that more than 300,000 enlisted men were tried by the three types of courts.

Furthermore, the punishment varied radically with the rank. Mr. Greenbaum's own figures indicate that 1,413 officers were punished by dismissal from the service, a sentence carrying no dishonorable connotation. For similar offenses common soldiers faced hard labor and dishonorable discharge. Even the violations of security were treated inequitably. An army orientation lecture on secret military information cited the fate of eight security violators: four enlisted men received long prison sentences; four officers were either reduced in rank or sent home. Consider the episode of Colonel William Coleman, the commander of Selfridge Field, Michigan, who in a drunken fit shot and wounded his Negro chauffeur. A general court convicted Coleman of

"careless use of firearms" and sentenced him to be reduced to captain and denied promotion for three years. According to my experience and that of other criminal investigators, it was extremely difficult to bring officers to trial despite mountains of evidence. The troops' morale suffered continuously as officers who were known to be guilty of flagrant violations of the rules imposed guardhouse sentences on enlisted men for small infractions.

Mr. Greenbaum invokes the names of Secretaries Stimson and Patterson and ex-Justice Roberts as proof that military justice was in competent legal hands. I recognize also that thousands of anonymous officers were extremely scrupulous and sought to be impartial and fair. The failures of justice in spite of the quality of the men responsible demonstrates that the entire system was so ill contrived as to defeat the best intentions of the personnel.

The War Department and its apologists would do well to stop whitewashing and suppressing the army's justice record. The current attempt to bury or edit the valuable report of the Military Affairs Subcommittee on this subject and the deliberate bungling of the Lichfield trials indicate that the military do not want to reform their judicial system. Apparently they still feel that democracy is incompatible with discipline. The public, which likes to forget about the army, must realize that a feudal caste, sustained by arbitrary court-martial justice, will not liquidate itself. If we are to have an efficient army, there must be changes, and these must be forced by the public.

Daughters of the Counter-Revolution

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

Formerly on The Nation's editorial staff

Atlantic City, N. J., May 21

SOMEHOW one expects the Daughters of the American Revolution to meet in Boston or Philadelphia rather than in this convention playground of furrriers and traveling salesmen. One associates them willy-nilly with Faneuil or Independence Hall, not with the auditorium-on-the-boardwalk, which at the moment is host also to the Order of the Golden Chain, the Order of the Eastern Star, and the National Association of Master Plumbers.

The first D. A. R. delegates arrived in time to see a parade by 7,000 Tall Cedars of Lebanon (a branch of the Masons), led by an eighty-two-year-old member of Atlantic City Forest No. 11 on a high bicycle of the type that was popular in his young manhood; the \$75 prize for the funniest float went to New Brunswick Forest

No. 12 for a bathroom with a man in the tub, the shower running on his head. Apparently the Daughters don't sense the incongruity of holding their Fifty-fifth Continental Congress in this innocent Edom.

Sunday was devoted to milling around in the lobbies of the Marlborough-Blenheim. A cheery din of talk filled the rooms, but running through it was a tone of lower pitch and softer timbre than the rest, and whenever this could be isolated it dealt with That Resolution. Wherever two or three were gathered together in a quiet corner the talk was of Constitution Hall and Marian Anderson and Hazel Scott and Clare Boothe Luce and the Resolutions Committee. The air was murmurous with rumors of war.

By Monday afternoon the rumble of artillery being rolled into position was unmistakable. The press com-

mittee gave a party for reporters in the solarium of the Claridge, and Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge of Athens, Georgia, president general of the D. A. R., put in an appearance. She is a remarkable woman, charming, energetic, and stupid. She announced that she would make no effort to hush up the controversy raised by the D. A. R. Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall, a group of sixteen dissidents headed by Mrs. Luce, which had submitted to the Resolutions Committee, for presentation at this congress, a resolution that the words "for white artists only" be deleted from the leases of Constitution Hall. She intimated that the mavericks might do their worst, the 'D. A. R. was ready. I asked Mrs. Talmadge, "Are you related to—?" "No," she replied, smiling bravely. "I've been answering that question all day."

Two hours later the first formal session opened with a parade of colors—the United States flag, the banners of the D. A. R. and the Children of the American Revolution, and the state flags. Then, to the roaring of the organ, Mrs. Talmadge and her cabinet paced slowly down the aisle. The occasion really called for the March of the Peers from "Iolanthe," the one with the gentle spoofing of Handel's grand style and the lines,

Bow, bow, ye tradesmen, bow, ye masses,
Bow, bow, ye lower middle classes.

In her opening address Mrs. Talmadge fired the first gun. It was quite a blast. The whole thing, she said, was inspired by foreign elements in our society—"Americans by adoption only"—who wished to undermine the American economic system, to discredit the D. A. R., and to get free publicity for certain artists. But the D. A. R. would stand fast: the national board of management had appointed a committee to review the rental provisions of Constitution Hall, with legal assistance, in order to make sure that no changes in policy were necessary.

In her prepared address, mimeographed copies of which were distributed to the press immediately before delivery, Mrs. Talmadge had said, "I call upon D. A. R. members to strike at Communists, pacifists, fascists, and radicals who are seeking to destroy the foundations of our liberty by causing strife and discord." But in the reading she omitted the word "fascists." It was replaced by a brief interval of silence, indicating that the omission was deliberate.

She was followed by Senator C. Wayland ("Curly") Brooks of Illinois, who said it was too bad we hadn't attached political conditions to lend-lease "when the nations that were fated to be our allies had their backs to the wall," and by Mrs. George Everett Parker, national president of the Daughters of the Revolution, who in extending the greetings of that sister organization called for the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Russia.


Mrs. Luce was not on hand. From Washington she issued a statement to the effect that individual members of the D. A. R. must choose between "those who want to follow Abraham Lincoln and those who stand with Senator Bilbo," and asked, "If our committee and the actions of our committee are unconstitutional and illegal, why doesn't Mrs. Talmadge take the constitutional and legal means which she thinks exist to cause us to disband? . . . I think the reason she doesn't is that she knows the cause we are fighting for . . . is a just, a liberal, and an American cause."

This morning Mrs. Talmadge replied through the Resolutions Committee: "WHEREAS, There has been formed in recent months an unconstitutional committee, . . . and Whereas, The termination of all committees rests with Continental Congress only, *Resolved*, That the Fifty-fifth Continental Congress now in assembly orders the immediate dissolution of said unauthorized committee; and further forbids the use of the terms 'D. A. R.' and 'Constitution Hall' by any person or group of persons now and hereafter without its expressed consent." (The ladies are innocent of the subjunctive.)


Mrs. Talmadge observed the parliamentary amenities scrupulously. She had the resolution read twice, and twice invited discussion. There was none. The vote brought a thunderous chorus of "Ayes" and one faint "No." Mrs. Luce's group, leaderless and unprepared, gave up without fighting.

A second resolution, expressing confidence in the national board of management for its handling of Constitution Hall, was passed unanimously. Other resolutions, also passed unanimously, were to engage in a campaign of education so that people would no longer "erroneously apply the word 'democracy' to the United States form of government," to commend J. Edgar Hoover "for his courage in opposing subversive elements," to commend the House Committee on Un-American Activities for "the service rendered to the Congress of the United States and to the people," to ask Congress to enact legislation requiring all national organizations that collect money to file annual reports with the Department of Justice, and, in regard to the United Nations, to continue the D. A. R.'s campaign of education "to prevent the confusion of this plan of world responsibility with any plan for world government."

"Whereunto shall I compare the Kingdom of God? It is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, and the whole was leavened." This Fifty-fifth Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution has been a jamboree of the unleavened. Perhaps, after all, Atlantic City is the most appropriate setting for it. The ladies are quite in place here—more so, one feels, than they would be in Boston or Philadelphia.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



Chester Bowles: Evangelist of Plenty

ONE exasperating fact about Chester Bowles, from the point of view of the numerous business men for whom he is Public Enemy No. 1, is that he cannot be written off as an impractical professor, a man who never met a pay roll. Former head of a phenomenally successful advertising agency, he appears now as a traitor to his class. The talents he might so usefully employ in merchandising lipstick and laxatives are being prostituted in the public service. He has gone out and sold price control to the public, and his presentations of the case for OPA before Congressional committees are being flattered by business-lobby imitations.

This same gift for clear and convincing exposition is now displayed in a book in which he looks beyond the daily problems of this transition period to America's economic future—"Tomorrow Without Fear" (Simon and Schuster, paper \$1, cloth \$2.50). It is a very good-tempered work, which avoids all name-calling and even throws a bouquet to Congress. But it is also a very earnest work, for Mr. Bowles is a man with a message—a message of more abundant life under a free-enterprise system provided we take the trouble to make that system deliver the goods of which it is capable.

There is nothing startlingly new in Mr. Bowles's ideas. His analysis of the causes of booms and slumps and the recipes he offers for stable prosperity are akin to those formulated by Henry Wallace in "Sixty Million Jobs." The chief difference between the two books lies in their angles of approach. Where Mr. Wallace emphasizes jobs and production, Mr. Bowles stresses incomes and consumption, which are, of course, both the fruits and the seed of production.

"Tomorrow Without Fear" starts with an examination of conditions in 1940, a year when the American economy had climbed a long way out of the trough of the early thirties. The volume of production was by then rather greater than it had been in 1929. There was at least an appearance of prosperity, and standards of living were high compared to those of almost all other countries. Yet, as Mr. Bowles reminds us, the lowest third of family income averaged only \$527, the middle third only \$1,365. This meant that tens of millions were ill-nourished and could afford to buy but few of the consumers' goods which factories were equipped to turn out in abundance. At the same time social capital was deficient. There were, for instance, no hospital facilities in 1,200 counties; millions of children were taught in overcrowded, rundown schools by underpaid teachers; a vast population lived in slums. Yet side by side with all this clear evidence of poverty was the equally clear evidence of unutilized resources—eight million unemployed.

In the war we mobilized our resources with such success that although at the peak half the aggregate production was for war, we were able to provide more goods for civilian consumption than ever before. "The \$200,000,000,000 question" now says Mr. Bowles, is: Are we going to keep

national income at its war-time heights or are we going to return to 1940? We have proved the possibility of producing \$200,000,000,000 worth of goods and services annually. Every dollar of that production is necessarily represented by a dollar of income in the form of wages, salaries, or profits; so that if all income is utilized, either for consumption or for investment, production will be fully absorbed. The trouble has always been, however, that there is no necessary correspondence between willingness to save and willingness to invest. Sometimes business men attempt to invest more than is saved from current incomes, and the result is inflation; at other times, lacking confidence in profit prospects, they hold back, and start a deflationary spiral.

Like many economists, and a growing number of business men, Mr. Bowles sees a partial remedy for this situation in fiscal policy. By accumulating surpluses in boom periods and undertaking deficit expenditures when private investment lags, the government can do much to offset irregularities in capital formation inherent in the private-enterprise system.

But it is doubtful whether government action alone can insure the complete purchase of the national product under conditions of full employment. On the basis of the present distribution of income between the spending classes and the saving classes it seems probable that after a few years the volume of savings generated will be too large to be absorbed by either private investments or genuinely useful public investments. To overcome this difficulty, Mr. Bowles suggests, we must give the lower-income groups, who are in a position to expand their expenditures for consumption, a larger share of the income pie. Otherwise we shall find our economy moving into the same blind alley as in the twenties, when, as Mr. Bowles explains in a particularly striking chapter, the lag of effective purchasing power behind productivity caused business to choke on its own profits. In the six years 1923-29 output per man-hour in the manufacturing industries increased 24 per cent, while average hourly wages increased only 3½ per cent. Profits, on the other hand, were 57 per cent higher. "If our wage-earners," writes Mr. Bowles, "had received a higher share of the growing national income to spend for additional goods and services, and if our stockholders had received a lesser share, everyone including our stockholders would have been better off."

In order to bake the biggest cake of production of which we are capable, capital will have to accept a smaller slice, which, however, will represent a larger total amount. But can private enterprise be persuaded to follow this path to salvation? Mr. Bowles, who is inspired with evangelical optimism, is sure that it can, though he recognizes the necessity of pushing business in the right direction by such measures as incentive taxation, the stiffening of the minimum-wage law, the extension of social security, and government stimulation of foreign trade. In addition, however, it will be necessary for business to trim profit margins as the volume of business rises, and so insure that either labor or the consumer, or both, gets most of the benefits of increased productivity. Mr. Bowles seems to think that private enterprise, as a whole, is willing to adopt such a policy of enlightened self-interest. I hope he is right, but the current eagerness to exploit a sellers' market, regardless of the consequences, makes me very skeptical.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS and the ARTS

Spain and Propaganda

WIND IN THE OLIVE TREES: SPAIN FROM THE INSIDE. By Abel Plenn. Boni and Gaer. \$3.

SPAIN never was a country one could write about dispassionately; but a new book about the plight of the Spanish people under Franco cannot be judged by the amount of passion it contains or the intensity of the feelings of loathing and pity it evokes. At a time when the enslavement of the Spaniards, in itself no more tragic now than at the start of the bondage but worse in contrast with the liberation of other victims of fascism, impinges upon the problem of making a decent and durable peace, a book like Abel Plenn's must be judged by its effectiveness as propaganda. Will it make Americans already opposed to Franco do more than they have in the past to influence official policy? Will it make them act more effectively? Will it convince Americans thus far apathetic?

As propaganda the basic trouble with "Wind in the Olive Trees: Spain from the Inside" is that it is Spain from the inside of some of its author's misconceptions of what he, as a professional propaganda analyst, might call the requirements of the "target area"—that is, the state of mind and feelings of his American public. The time has passed when it was enough to "convert the baptized" to the faith of freedom. Yet that seems precisely the goal this deeply human and often moving book seems to set for itself—to make anti-fascists feel more anti-fascist. Much that we already know is ably and with convincing emotion retold. There are a few, not many, new facts, some facts of questionable soundness, much "arrangement" and exaggeration to make debating points, and a great deal of feeling, hearsay, and unsupported gossip offered as facts. It all makes good reading for friends of the Spaniards and enemies of fascism. Yet the kind of hard, documented, and convincing new evidence which might have transformed doubting Americans into believers and believers into militants is not here, though Mr. Plenn in his seven months in Spain had an excellent opportunity to get it.

Mr. Plenn proceeds from the false assumption that for the Americans World War II remained an "ideological war" to the end and that, so far as American public opinion as a whole is concerned, the struggle to rid the Spaniards of fascism can be treated as its "natural" sequel. Francisco Franco knows better. He knows that the Spanish civil war was the first battle of what World War II might have been but wasn't—an international civil war of progress against reaction. He knows that maintenance of the Spanish status quo was part of Admiral Leahy's policy of expediency which began with President Roosevelt's approval of the Darlan deal and which is being continued by Secretary Byrnes. He understands that in the 1946 version of expediency few things are considered more important than keeping the "reds" away from Gibraltar, Tangier, and Dakar or than

currying favor with the Catholic vote, which in the United States, unlike Western Europe, is overwhelmingly reactionary.

And so long as the Spanish fascists and their friends understand and exploit the facts of the new power politics while American anti-fascists rely on an anachronistic and impotent propaganda, fascism is likely to survive in Spain, the Madrid-Buenos Aires axis to strengthen, Spaniards to be persecuted and butchered, and world peace to be endangered. In Madrid in 1943 and 1944 I elected to fight Ambassador Hayes's policies—with what Mr. Plenn calls "skill"—as I had fought Ambassador Murphy's policies in Algiers. Mr. Plenn elected to stay and get the material for a report to the American people. Excellent as it is, "Wind in the Olive Trees" is not the report it might have been. Its author listened and felt too much, watched and recorded too little, and wrote his report entirely for those who already shared his beliefs.

Mr. Plenn writes almost exclusively about Spain as a people, paying little attention to the tragic fact that it is Spain as a place which is the pawn of power politics. Yet there were political and geopolitical facts, clarifications of elements of geographic and economic strategy available to Mr. Plenn which might have dispelled the illusion that a Spain in the hands of free Spaniards would tip the power balance in favor of Moscow and against Washington and London. Mr. Plenn makes much of Franco's "drawn face of fear," of fear as the mortar holding the Spanish state structure together. Yet the New York Times correspondent in Madrid reports that Franco "is returning to Falange support and reapproaching the policies from which he withdrew in the closing days of World War II and the early days of the peace." This does not sound as though Franco felt he had much to fear; and it does not serve the cause of Spanish liberation to make Americans believe Franco is frightened.

Nor does it help to say—much as the wish-fulfillment propagandists said of Italy and Germany—that by a "conservative estimate" 85 per cent of the Spaniards are anti-fascist. Whatever the proportion, the fact is that the Junta Suprema is a numerical minority just as the French Resistance was; the Spanish people cannot free themselves without external help.

Mr. Plenn accurately says that American government policy has been and continues to be the strengthening of fascist power in Spain; but he suggests that the "bitter economic rivalry between Great Britain and the United States" is the primary cause, skipping lightly over the fact that Washington and London have made common cause in Spain against Moscow. The United Nations "investigation" is the child of Washington and London, and its seed is neither the fear of another civil war in Spain nor even the fear of communism in Spain; it is the fear that the civil war in Spain, which is almost inevitable, will lead to the triumph of an independent, republican, socialist Spain and the full emergence of an anti-imperialist Western Europe, neither

Communist nor capitalist, subservient neither to the Russians nor to the Anglo-Americans.

There are only two ways in which books about Spain can help the Spaniards. One is to assist the Spanish anti-fascists to get arms—without, however, telling them how or when to use them. The other is to broaden the basis of the anti-fascist front in this country in such a way as to give it the domestic political leverage which can effectively influence foreign policy.

There are liberal Catholics in this country who might cut into the reactionary Catholic support for Franco. The entirely sound argument that the Spanish Catholic hierarchy is fascist is weakened when Mr. Plenn says with dubious soundness—and thereby alienates Catholic opinion—that Spain has never been a truly Christian or Catholic country, and that it has been in Spain that the church has "perhaps failed most signally to spread the Christian faith and the Christian philosophy."

It does not broaden the anti-fascist front in the American South for Mr. Plenn to insist several times on a contrast between Franco's horrors and Lincoln's "just, sane, and charitable program" after the American Civil War, since such words are scarcely applicable to the Reconstruction. Nor do Mr. Plenn's rhetorical flights about Spain as "an inferno filled with millions of lost souls" make up for the lack of those facts which could and would convince large numbers of Americans that it is to their personal and practical interest to force their government to act against Franco.

PERCY WINNER

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Marxian Mole

JURGEN KUCZYNSKI, whose "Labor Conditions in Great Britain, 1750 to the Present" now appears in the United States (International Publishers, \$2.50), is a Marxian fundamentalist mole, industriously burrowing in the darkness peculiar tracks of his own and throwing up at intervals little molehills of statistics. Since 1926 he has written in German and English—with the help of two joint authors in four cases—nineteen books, most of them devoted to proving his thesis "that labor conditions under industrial capitalism have deteriorated absolutely as well as relatively." The delay in publishing this book in the United States is presumably due to the influence of "Browderism," since Volume II in the same series was published in 1943 in England. The author is described on the jacket as an "eminent British economist and statistician"; the jacket of Volume II, "A Short History of Labor Conditions in the United States of America, 1789 to the Present Day," published in England in 1943, says that the author "has worked on the staff of the American Federation of Labor and is regarded as an authority on labor problems in general and particularly qualified to function as an interpreter of labor conditions in the United States." On the title page he is listed as "Formerly statistician, American Federation of Labor."

Actually Mr. Kuczynski received a scholarship at Brookings Institution Graduate School, worked with the A. F. of L.

"DICKENS, DALI & OTHERS

is Orwell at his best. Which is saying a great deal. Few people have ever said better things about the culture of the masses. I would specify as little masterpieces the following essays: *Boys' Weeklies*, *The Art of Donald McGill*, and *Raffles and Miss Blandish*. I hope they stimulate American critics to analyze the comic-strips and the pulps. The brilliance of Mr. Orwell's pioneer effort should put them on their mettle."

—ERIC BENTLEY, *Saturday Review* \$2.50

by George Orwell

Published by REYNAL & HITCHCOCK
At all booksellers

A trenchant attack on modern drama and a brilliant study of great playwrights of the past.

With this incisive study of the theater, Bentley joins the current Broadway controversy. A sharp and witty attack on box office standards, his book is also an absorbing analysis of the great playwrights of the recent past, including Ibsen, Shaw, Wagner, Brecht, and Jean Cocteau. A thoroughly entertaining and thought-provoking book.

\$3.00

Eric Bentley's

THE PLAYWRIGHT AS THINKER

as a part-time volunteer, and was employed for a short time as a paid worker. He investigated available government wage figures to establish what he called "the social wage," and drew the conclusion that workers are better off during a depression than during a boom, since if the workers' lot is deteriorating, then their lot as non-workers must improve. The A. F. of L. disagreed; when his work was more carefully supervised, Mr. Kuczynski left. In the opinion of his co-workers, Mr. Kuczynski had little or no contact with actual labor problems in the United States and made his deductions solely from statistics.

The thesis of "Labor Conditions in Great Britain" is that of the second volume on American labor: workers have suffered an absolute deterioration in their standards. To support this, all sorts of statistical material are weighted and interpreted. The book's quotations from Engels, Marx, Rowntree, Booth, Hammond, and other authors who described the terrible human waste and exploitation of the Industrial Revolution, while not without their use, do the opposite of proving that the lot of the workers has continued to deteriorate. But let Mr. Kuczynski speak for himself:

Some people will say that the workers and their families are eating more and better today than fifty or a hundred years ago. Right! But the workers need more food because they have to work more intensely, and in fact the intensity of work has increased more than the quantity and quality of food they consume. Some people will say that the workers have more leisure today than fifty or a hundred years ago. Right! But the workers come home from work so exhausted that without increased leisure they would not be

able to work at the pace required today in industry. Some will say that the introduction of social legislation has brought more security to the workers. Right! But increased and long-time unemployment has brought much more insecurity into the worker's life than the pittance paid through unemployment insurance can compensate. . . . Whenever we are able to point to improvements we are at the same time, unfortunately, obliged to point to deteriorations which over-compensate the improvements in the condition of the working class during the last fifty or hundred years.

Right!—if by *we* Mr. Kuczynski means Mr. Kuczynski. If the working day has decreased, that has done the worker no good since he must work more intensely and thus needs more sleep. If the worker gets more food, then the vitamin content of the food is said to be less. If he is better educated, it is only to equip him for technical duties. If he has an automobile, he has to starve himself to operate it. Mr. Kuczynski is inexhaustibly good at his game of "interpretation."

Mr. Kuczynski states that a new era for British labor is beginning, thanks mostly to the help it received from the British Communist Party; but here his usual supporting statistics are lacking.

MARK STARR

The Pleasures of Dissenting

IT WAS OSCAR WILDE, I believe, who said that America's youth was America's oldest tradition. No less wisely, Dr. Alfred E. Cohn, in his pleasant little tract for the times, "Minerva's Progress" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2), tells us that America's great bond of unity is dissent. The American Way of Life is an agreement to differ. Good for the Doctor! Now we know what "hundred percentism" means. I might conceive of a fellow-American with whom I disagreed 100 per cent, but hardly of anyone with whom I could agree 100 per cent. For Dr. Cohn any institution of learning—college, university, commercial laboratory, research foundation—which tends to stifle dissent is inimical to culture; and he has on that score a few harsh words to say about some of our proudest centers of scholarship and science—including "nostalgic" St. John's.

So, to please Dr. Cohn, here is where I dissent from him. He is a victim of the national culture fallacy, which at the bottom is Hitlerism. He considers Ortega y Gasset as "the" Spaniard, bound to be totally different from "the" American, presumably Dr. Cohn. But Ortega y Gasset bears little resemblance to, say, Blasco Ibañez, definitely a "man of the masses." "The Revolt of the Masses" found great response in this un-Spanish country; and it could have been written by Joseph Wood Krutch. When we think of "the" American, we must never forget that T. S. Eliot is from Missouri. "The" Frenchman, by heaven's decree, has "an inescapable genius for unique clarity." Well, let Dr. Cohn tackle Paul Claudel.

This is a very enjoyable chat, on learned *but* vital subjects, with a very wise man, and, although he pulls no punches, a very kindly man. Old port and this little book: a sure recipe for a luxurious evening. But will the Doctor approve of port?

ALBERT GUERARD

A NEW APPROACH
TO THE STUDY OF
SCHIZOPHRENIA

The Biology of Schizophrenia

by

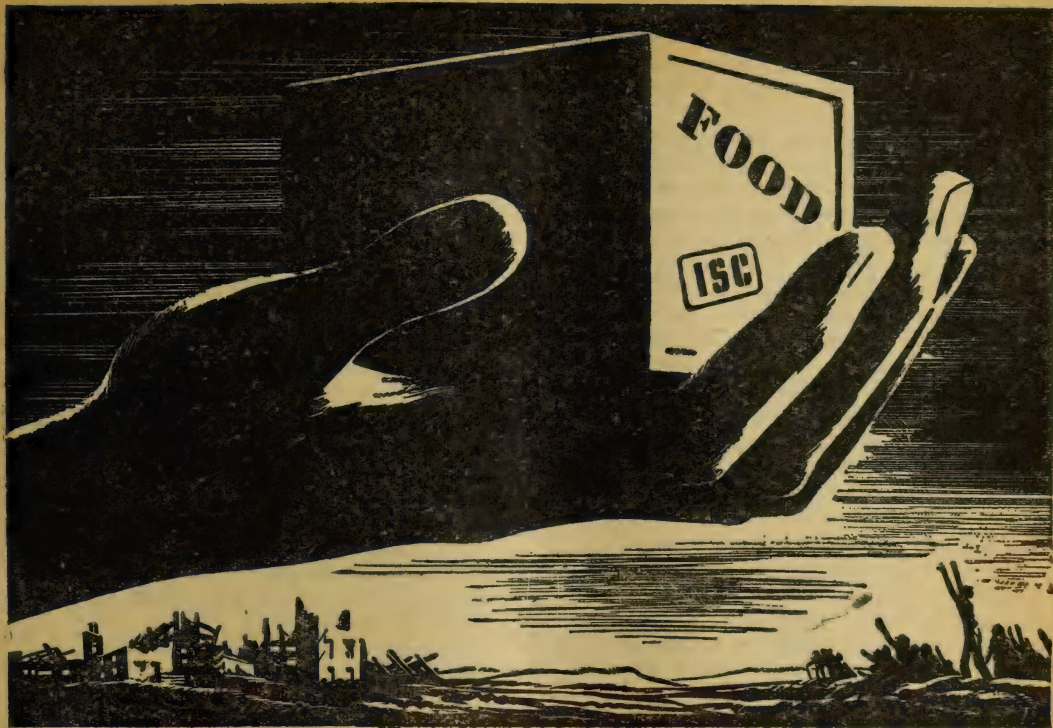
ROY G. HOSKINS, M.D.

Director of Research, Memorial Foundation
for Neuro-Endocrine Research, Harvard Medical
School and author of ENDOCRINOLOGY

Dr. Hoskins' work is distinguished from that of the psychiatrist, biochemist, physiologist and neurologist in that he considers the subject from the point of view of the biologist and discusses schizophrenia as a manifestation of disordered biology. THE BIOLOGY OF SCHIZOPHRENIA, dealing with an outstanding medical problem of our day, is valuable for its present applications and stimulating in its suggestions for further research.

At all bookstores • \$2.75

W. W. NORTON & CO., "Books That Live" • 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 11



“Without food there will be no peace”

General Eisenhower

SEND FOOD DIRECTLY to the sick, the wounded, and the orphaned of Europe... to the victims of the concentration camps... to the men and women of the Resistance...

STARVATION in Europe is killing off many brave men and women. Those who survived concentration camps... those who fought with the Maquis and were wounded... Spaniards who went through the Civil War and Nazi concentration camps... Jewish survivors of Bergen-Belsen... Germans who stood up against the Gestapo... proved anti-fascists of all nationalities.

Help as much as you can these fighters for freedom and democracy, so that our children may live in a better world. The ISC is in direct contact with European labor and anti-fascist centers and has received from

them lists of names and addresses of the sick and needy... Spaniards, Italians, French, Norwegians, Jews, Poles, Germans and others. We have just received 600 names from the Spanish UGT in France.

Write us for the name and address of an anti-fascist and send food and clothing *directly*. Or, if you prefer, you can contribute for food packages, and we will send a CARE PACKAGE at \$15.00 a month to one of these people; for a year for \$180.00.

This is a personal responsibility that every American progressive and trade unionist must share.

SPONSORS INCLUDE:

George Baldanzl	Harry W. Laidler
Leroy Bowman	Haakon Lie
Luis Araquistain	Louis Nelson
Roger Baldwin	Emanuel Novogrodsky
Joseph Baskin	A. Philip Randolph
William E. Bohn	Antonio Reina
M. J. Coldwell	Clarence Senior
James T. Farrell	Irving Stone
Joseph G. Glass	Michael Strange
Felix Gross	Norman Thomas
John Haynes Holmes	Oswald G. Villard
Sidney Hook	Samuel Wolchok
	Israel Feinberg, Chairman

PHIL HELLER, Exec. Director,
International Solidarity Committee,
303 Fourth Avenue, Department K
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Friends:

☐ Please send me the name of an anti-fascist and full shipping instructions.

☐ Enclosed is \$_____ for food packages.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

International Solidarity Committee

303 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

A Mountain School

THE COUNTRY PEOPLE of America desperately need for their children better education for modern rural living. Julia Weber, in "My Country School Diary" (Harper, \$3), appears to understand this well. Her really charming diary sketches in the contours of an education which could transform thousands of little country schools, where nearly four million children are receiving an increasingly inadequate preparation for the changing world in which they live.

Miss Weber's story is a warm and living account of what she and her children did during four years in an isolated mountain school. The story is one of excellent teaching and exciting learning. One sees develop in this little community a strong sense of group membership; the children's sense of isolation disappears as they explore a larger world.

If country people are to be able to live both happily and securely in our rural communities, education must provide them with some broad concepts of farm economics and some true appreciation of rural values. Miss Weber knows this. "We teachers," she says in one of the few passages where she puts down her philosophy in order "to clarify it," "have to have a picture; broadening as our own lives broaden, as to what we think is a good way of life for people. Then in the light of these values we must study our children to see how their lives may improve and develop in these desired directions. As it becomes apparent what our children need, we must try to provide the kind of program that will meet these needs." Julia Weber did exactly this during the four years about which she tells, and her book should prove a tremendous help to everyone interested in country education.

P. ALSTON WARING

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The Nation

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

FICTION IN REVIEW

JAMES FARRELL would seem to be a writer peculiarly designed to make his critics impatient. In the first place, there is the sheer quantity of his production: for while, as proof of his devotion to his art, his prodigality rouses our respect and even our tenderness, it exposes him to a kind of judgment he would probably be spared if he published less often. When anyone calls attention to himself so regularly, we begin to ask that he show himself especially deserving of so much notice; almost in the degree that, historically, a large body of work is associated with literary genius, we feel cheated at being presented with a large body of work without genius. And we are likely to express our disappointment in irritation.

Then there is Mr. Farrell's response to the criticism his novels have received. It is true that there have been reviewers of his books who have been less than objective—who, for reasons of political bias or emotional self-protection or simply because they lacked an understanding of what he was aiming at, have tried to drag some color of herring across his literary trail. But these have been few and unimportant. Against them we can set the many serious critics who have dealt fairly and cogently with his work. And among these there has been an extraordinary single-mindedness. Both Mr. Farrell and his readers have been told his merits with an enthusiasm that must leave neither in doubt that these merits are considerable; and both Mr. Farrell and his readers have been told what is missing in his work with a unanimity that must convey the impression of *some* critical truth. But however Mr. Farrell's audience may be influenced by these opinions, Mr. Farrell himself gives evidence of being influenced by them not at all. As a matter of fact, he even endows his fictional protagonists with a similar imperviousness to suggestion. I think it scarcely overvalues the pedagogic function of criticism that Mr. Farrell's critics are bound to be a bit wearied by his deep resistance to change.

It may be, of course, that Mr. Farrell is incapable of change. Certainly this conclusion is pressed on us by his new novel, "Bernard Clare" (Vanguard, \$2.75), which, despite certain token gestures in the direction of a wider fictional life, stands shoulder to shoulder with the last volume in the recently completed Danny O'Neill tetralogy. At the end of "My Days of Anger" Danny had left Chicago, his family, and his church, and was on his way to New York to test his fortunes as a writer. The hero of "Bernard Clare" has just left Chicago, his family, and his church, and has come to New York to test his fortunes as a writer. One wonders if it is possible that the mere change of name—from Danny to Bernard—or the mere shift of focus—from the domestic scene to the cosmopolitan one—or the mere passage of time—so that Bernard Clare, instead of being, like young Danny, a creature of his environment, has begun to move toward that expression of free-will which we call maturity—can actually constitute, for Mr. Farrell himself, a radical departure from his earlier work.

That there is something profoundly touching about Bernard goes, I think, without saying: this has been so of all

Mr. Farrell's main characters. The record of Bernard's eager and miserable days in the Public Library, in his cheap lodgings, and among his Y. M. C. A. acquaintances is bound to win our sympathy. But an emotional response is not the whole of a literary response, and however poignantly Mr. Farrell moves us with the demonstration of his right feelings, he fails finally to win our literary commitment because he fails to support the tenets of human faith with any recognizable act of the creative intellect.

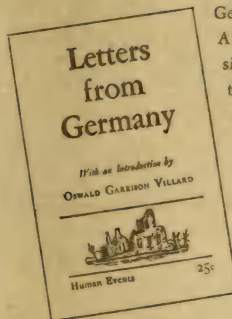
And in all fiction it is of course in the relation between the author and his characters that the creative intellect must manifest itself. I have recently been accused of making the assumption that the central figures in a novel are always the novelist himself—that is, of reading all fiction as if it were autobiographical. Now, obviously, I make no such *a priori* assumption. I do not for a moment think that either the deeds or the thoughts of fictional characters are necessarily the deeds or the thoughts of their creator. But what I do think is that every novelist is in every book he writes, even where he is apparently most out of it, and that if we mistake an author's relation to the people in his story, the responsibility is the author's alone. For if he does not wish his people to be read as himself—but wishing is here as much an unconscious as conscious process—they will not be read so. If he truly means to say of a character, "This person is this way, but I could wish it were otherwise," the "otherwise" will reveal itself as clearly as the "this way." Certainly—to take an easy example—Flaubert has never been accused of approving Madame Bovary's way of life just because he described it with so much sympathetic understanding. Yet we recall that Flaubert said, "Madame Bovary, c'est moi." Flaubert meant by this statement that he was aware of the large element of self-projection in the creation of his, or any convincing, fictional character; but by the evidence of his novel he was equally aware of the power of the creative intellect to control the projective imagination. What Flaubert *thought* about Madame Bovary is communicated in every page of the book, by his clear dissociation from her point of view.

Between Mr. Farrell and his Bernard Clare there is, unfortunately, no such dissociation of point of view. Every page of Bernard's story communicates Mr. Farrell's intellectual and moral approval of his young protagonist as much as his understanding of him. Because Mr. Farrell has neither provided any other mouthpiece for himself in his novel nor in any other way announced himself as being a different person from Bernard, we are forced to assume that Bernard is his spokesman. It is in this sense that "Bernard Clare" is an autobiographical novel—and such facts as that just as Bernard is a clerk in a cigar store Mr. Farrell was once a clerk in a cigar store, or that just as Bernard sells the Blue Book in Queens Mr. Farrell once sold the Red Book in Brooklyn are entirely irrelevant.

And once such an identification between author and hero has been made, it seems to me that certain conclusions are inevitable. We must conclude, for instance, that as Bernard Clare is at twenty-one, so Mr. Farrell supposes young writers must or should be at twenty-one—else Mr. Farrell would have broken the identification at least long enough to say the opposite. But I, for one, do not think young writers

either always are or should be as confused and half-baked and self-pitying as Bernard in his young manhood; I do think they often are—Mr. Farrell's portrait has great verisimilitude—but that makes me feel sad for them, and I could wish that Mr. Farrell, from the vantage point of his own maturity, made a similar judgment. Even more important, I think we must conclude that Mr. Farrell's view of himself in relation to the world is fundamentally the same as Bernard's view of himself in relation to the world—a very narrow one. Of humble origin, Bernard is chiefly concerned with emergence from his background and with the struggle to make a place in the literary sun; even his political radicalism, still necessarily primitive at this stage of his development, is deeply rooted in an emotion of social disadvantage.

Uncensored Word from Germany After 12 Years of Nazism



Moving letters from ordinary Germans, nearly all sent through American soldiers, telling simply and directly what dictatorship, the war, defeat and occupation has meant to them.

This is an authentic, human picture of present-day life in Germany and how individuals are now facing the task of building a new world.

Send 25¢ to

HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

608 S. Dearborn St.

Chicago 5, Illinois

(sold at Brentanos)

THE HUMANIST Spring Issue

QUARTERLY

Edwin H. Wilson, Editor

\$1.00 a year

25¢ the copy

WHAT IS HUMANISM? . . . E. Burdette Backus
PANHUMANISM: WORLD UNITY IN DIVERSITY . . . C. J. Friedrich
COLLECTIVE UNDERSTANDING BY EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES . . . Peter A. Carmichael
TO WIN OUT, MUST HUMANISTS EMBRACE SIN? (Reply to E. A. Burt) . . . J. H. Randall, Jr.
SCIENCE—THE FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACY . . . Emmanuel G. Mestheno
ALBERT SCHWEITZER'S REVERENCE FOR LIFE . . . Kurt Bergel
DEMOCRATIC SECURITY FOR JEWS—In answer to Paul Eldridge . . . Miriam Allen De Ford, L. A. Hawkins, Alfred Rau
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
1201 Union Street . . . Schenectady 8, New York

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
51st ST.
near 52d ST.
86th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 92 St.

RKO NOW

"Likeable tunes...enticing personalities."—PM

PERRY COMO • DENNIS O'KEEFE
VIVIAN BLAINE • CARMEN MIRANDA

'Doll Face'

Based on LOUISE HOVICK Play

—AND—

'SHOCK' VINCENT PRICE
with Lynn Bari

"Superlative, fine, sensitive."—N. Y. Times.

DANA ANDREWS
RICHARD CONTE

'A Walk in the Sun'

Produced and
DIRECTED BY LEWIS MILESTONE

From the Novel by HARRY BROWN

—AND—

Charles COBURN • Joan BENNETT • William EYTHE
'COL. EFFINGHAM'S RAID'

CHARLES BOYER • JENNIFER JONES

IN
ERNST LUBITSCH'S

CLUNY BROWN

with
PETER LAWFORD • HELEN WALKER
REGINALD GARDNER • REGINALD OWEN

Screened from the MARGERY SHARP Novel

A 20th CENTURY-FOX PICTURE

WORLD PREMIER! RIVOLI Saturday
JUNE 1st

The New Statesman and Nation

England's Leading Weekly Review

may now be obtained through

THE
Nation

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Yearly subscription \$6.50 including postage
SPECIMEN copy on request

For all his self-absorption, that is, Bernard estimates himself very low; his egoism is not—as may first appear—the result of an exaggerated but of a diminished notion of his own worth. And here, it seems to me, is the source of the sense of restrictiveness and confinement that is communicated by Mr. Farrell's novels. For in order to give a full sense of life a writer must think of himself as big enough to encompass all of life; he must "contain multitudes." Lacking this pride, he is likely to cut the world to a scander measure than it should ever properly have.

DIANA TRILLING

MOTION PICTURES

PARAMOUNT Presents

ALAN LADD
VERONICA LAKE
WILLIAM BENDIX

IN

'THE BLUE DAHLIA'

A GEORGE MARSHALL Production

Directed by GEORGE MARSHALL

NOW PARAMOUNT

TIMES
SQUARE

—IN PERSON—

DUKE
ELLINGTON
AND HIS ORCHESTRA
Plus
STUMP & STUMPY
Plus
THE CLARK BROTHERS

EXTRA!
THE MILLS
BROTHERS

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Richard Rodgers • Dances by Rouben Mamoulian • Agnes de Mille
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Jean Castro
44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

MAJESTIC THEATRE

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Richard Rodgers • Dances by Rouben Mamoulian • Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A smash hit of
enormous
proportions." —
Ward More-
house, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way CH. 4-4258
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40

LAST WEEKS!

"A SWEET AND HAPPY HIT."—Garland, Journal-American
Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 9-4836
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

"Musical tops on Broadway."—Garland, Journal-American.
RICHARD RODGERS and OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2d Present

ETHEL MERMAN in

"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN"

Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL THEA., 45th Street West of Broadway. Mats Wed. & Sat.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

CHEKOV'S "Uncle Vanya" is the second item of its repertory to be offered at the Century Theater by the Old Vic company. The play had not been seen here since Lillian Gish appeared in it a good many years ago, and the newspaper reviews of the present performance made it evident that most of the reviewers had at best no more than a polite interest in the author or his works. Perhaps the common opinion that "Uncle Vanya" is not so good as "The Three Sisters" or "The Cherry Orchard" is correct, but the three are so like one another, as well as so unlike anything else, that differences between them are not of the very first importance, and the thing which seems to me most worth saying upon this occasion is that the performance had exactly the merit which I thought the performance of "Henry IV" did not have: it made the play seem richer, more meaningful, and more interesting than I had thought it was.

Few modern playwrights have been talked or written about more than Chekov, and about no other have the things to be said become quite so stereotyped. Some of them, like the statement that nothing happens, are not really true. For instance, "The Sea Gull" ends with a suicide—which is certainly a happening—and in this respect it is like "Othello," the difference lying not in what happens or does not happen but in something which is suggested by the fact that one cannot possibly imagine Shakespeare's so denying himself the occasion for a big scene as to end the play in Chekov's manner by having one character whisper to another, "Don't say anything about it now, but the fact is that Othello has stabbed himself." In other words, the most striking characteristic of Chekov's method is the playing down instead of the playing up of what does happen. Because his characters are convinced that their lives are uneventful, their delineator tends to allow obvious action only brief moments on his stage, and to write at length the scenes where nothing seems to be happening, in order that he may be able to tell his story while at the same time he so communicates to his audience the romantic despair of his *dramatis personae*, whom nothing depresses more than their conviction that they have no story and that, therefore, life has obvi-

ously passed them by. In "Uncle Vanya" an absentee landlord returns with his beautiful young wife to an estate which has been self-sacrificingly managed for him by Uncle Vanya. The latter falls hopelessly in love with the young wife, the local doctor almost seduces her, and when Uncle Vanya discovers not only that fact but also that the owner of the estate is prepared to sell the house from over their heads, he tries to murder him. That may not be a very complicated plot, but many a play has contained no more without being described as one in which "nothing happens."

Some of the other things inevitably said about Chekov are true enough but fail to account for the strong fascination which he exerts, even though they may impressionistically suggest his quality. Inevitably his work is described as being "in a minor key," and, shifting the analogy to still another art, it is said with equal inevitability that his colors are "pastel." Even when a literary term is used it is likely to be one not originally applicable to drama, and he is said to be "elegiac." But the truest of all the accustomed descriptions is that which speaks of his "elusive charm"; and so elusive does it generally remain that only when one is immediately in its presence can one be sure even wordlessly what it is.

This charm must, moreover, always be granted a certain length of time in which to begin to work. Probably most American readers as well as most American audiences feel an impulse to titter at the extraordinary interchange which opens "The Sea Gull": "Why do you always wear black?" "I am in mourning for my dead life." And in the case of "Uncle Vanya" it is not until the beginning of the second act that the spell takes full effect and one finds both that one can no longer choose but hear and also that one has so entered into the mood of the characters that one is seeing things as the characters see them; or rather that one is sufficiently capable of doing so to make meaningful the simultaneous ironic detachment which is also Chekov's.

No doubt the Old Vic company chose to follow "Henry IV" with "Uncle Vanya" partly as a demonstration of its virtuosity, and if so the demonstration is genuinely impressive, for there can be few even among experienced repertory actors who could so satisfactorily turn—as Olivier, Richardson, and Miss Redman do—from Shallow to Doctor Astrov, from Falstaff to Uncle

Vanya, and from Doll Tearsheet to the gentle Sonya. But virtuosity is not so important as excellence; and while none of these actors has an opportunity to be as spectacular in the Chekov play as they are all invited to be in Shakespeare, the production to which they all more or less subordinate themselves evokes very successfully what I believe to be the effect intended—and that goes no less for the comedy, which seems to have mildly offended some spectators, than for the melancholy and the pathos. Whether or not Soviet Russia is justified in claiming Chekov as a sort of wistful John the Baptist of the revolution I am willing to leave an open question, though certainly one of the most effective scenes in the present play—that in which the Doctor tries to tell the bored beauty about the disappearance of the forests and the impoverishment of the land—is one they might seize upon. But I am quite sure that Chekov did not see his characters exactly as they see themselves. He is attempting to write realistically about a group of characters whose inveterate romanticism is one of their most prominent characteristics, and the result inevitably includes a kind of humor which is bound to be mocking, no matter how sympathetic it may at the same time remain.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE large retrospective exhibition of Marc Chagall's art now at the Museum of Modern Art (through June 23) makes it clear that his natural endowment, if not his actual accomplishment, enrols him among the very great artists of our time.

The earliest paintings in the show, executed before 1910—under the influence, it seems to me, of German expressionism and Munch—establish what remains narrowly and distinctively Chagall's color. The first picture to establish his style, however, is "The Wedding" of 1910—one of the best works in the entire exhibition, for all its maladroitness—which already reveals the dominating influence of cubism, then hardly born. Henceforth Chagall's development is synchronized with that of the School of Paris. Cubism gives him his style, his plastic conception, his aesthetic discipline, and the effects of cubism remain even when all visible sign of it seems to have disappeared. Matisse, in the course of time, teaches him how to

unify his color. But Chagall clings to the dark-and-light modeling of cubism even when his color is purest, flattest, and most immediate; rectilinear in his earlier and best pictures, this modeling changes later into soft undulations of warm and cool color along the axes of volumes and planes. And in his most recent paintings there still linger ghostly traces of those patterns of right-angled, open triangles, cutting across volumes and space, that more conspicuously governed his design in the beginning.

Chagall's strongest work and his greatest frequency of success came between 1910 and 1920, the period in which Matisse, Picasso, Braque, and Gris were also at their peak. A new conception of reality and a new accumulation of creative energy, opened up and progressively organized since 1900, had on the eve of the First World War ripened into a great historical style that decisively reversed the direction of Western pictorial art. The premise of illusion and representation was canceled out, and it was asserted that the genesis and process of the work of art were what was to be most prominently offered to the spectator's attention.

Since this aesthetic repudiated finish, polish, surface grace, Chagall's initial clumsiness became in this period a factor to be capitalized upon. And, indeed, the frank and unconcerned exposure of his *gaucherie* was an element indispensable to the power of the paintings of his best period. Coarse surfaces, caked paint, crude design in criss-crosses and diamonds, glaring contrasts of harsh and silky, of black or earth tones with complementary primaries—all these added up to virtue, just as a similar if lesser clumsiness in the same time and place added up to the grace of Juan Gris.

Chagall's clumsiness was in part a function of his situation, balanced as he was between the culture which had formed him as an individual and that which was shaping his art. If you are an East European in Paris and if you remain one no matter what sort of art you practice, then you are committed to errors of taste—good and bad errors alike. Chagall abounds in both. His "surrealism," with its dislocation of gravity, anatomy, and opacity, is, like the early coarseness of his *métier*, an error all to the good, though it might have struck the first observers as excessively declamatory and theatrical. But Chagall was also capable of knocking off postcard views and snapshots of romantic couples under the illusion, apparently, that these constituted lyric

poetry in the approved Western manner.

In the twenties Chagall set himself to assimilating French cuisine and suavity with the obsessiveness of a clumsy and sentimental man learning to dance. He overcame the provincial harshness that had once been such an asset, he polished, softened, and refined his art; and at the same time he sentimentalized and prettified it—relatively. By this time he was sophisticated enough to avoid bad taste. And yet in spite of the many beautiful paintings—the still lifes that a sweeter Matisse could have painted and the bridal couples hovering in luscious bouquets—Chagall has never recompensed himself with anything nearly as valuable as the roughness he sacrificed. His painting ceased to be an adventure in the sense that Picasso's and even Matisse's still are; it settled down to a routine on the order of Segonzac's, Vlaminck's, Derain's, Utrillo's.

However, it must be pointed out in partial excuse for Chagall that he was also the victim of a general tendency that overtook many other masters of the School of Paris after 1925 or so. At that moment Picasso too became softer and somewhat disoriented; Braque began to repeat himself with increasing sweetness; Matisse, as his influence spread, took to recapitulating his past; even Gris, before he died in 1927, had toned down his initial vigor; and Léger, becoming more and more eclectic, was departing from the high standard he had set in canvases like "La Ville" and "Le Grand Déjeuner." The heroic age of modern art was over; its heroes had come to terms with the pessimistic hedonism then reigning in society itself; and the younger aspirants of the School of Paris had turned to surrealism and neo-romanticism. Chagall was simply part of the general phenomenon. But like Chirico in those same years, he went in for "paint quality" in addition to poetry.

The large "White Crucifixion" of 1939 and "The Cello Player" of 1939 are strong pictures—particularly the latter—and the more recent "Revolution" (not in this show) demonstrates an amazing unity. But the bulk of Chagall's later production suffers chronically from the lack of concentration and pressure. We are given painterly qualities, but not whole works of art, not intense unities that start from an experience rather than from experience in general and subordinate general qualities to the total particular impression.

In the last analysis Chagall's accom-

plishment is incommensurate with his truly enormous gifts. Even in his earlier and best phase he failed to deliver himself of rounded, final, conclusive statements. His masterpieces, unlike many of Matisse's, Picasso's, and Gris's of the same period, leave something still to be said in their own terms; either they lack ultimate and inevitable unity, or else they achieve it only by a relaxation of level, by academic softening.

Chagall's early maladroitness, at the same time that it signified power, represented something impure—he went too far in emphasizing the uniqueness of his personality and he did not know at what point to humble himself and modify and discipline his expression so that it became eligible to take its place in the social order called beauty.

So much for his painting. His work in black and white is another story. Chagall is altogether great in his etchings and drypoints, a master for the ages in the way he places his drawings on the page and distributes his darks and lights. Here his unpurged academicism stands him in good stead; nor is awkwardness any longer a necessary concomitant of the force of his personality. Here his work emerges fresh, pure—and humble. Its passionate severity, its willingness to accept discipline have no parallel in his oils. It may be in part because the black-and-white medium depends on a tradition which Chagall understands more instinctively than he does the tradition of Western painting.

It must not be forgotten that when Chagall first came to Paris he had to assimilate the past and present of Western painting simultaneously, whereas he was already familiar with the past of graphic art through reproductions. And also, black-and-white has, since impressionism, always remained somewhat behind painting and therefore more responsive to academic tendencies. The revolution of post-impressionism was necessary to enable Chagall to publish his genius as a *Malier*, but no revolution at all was needed to prepare his way as a draftsman in black and white.

In any case and in spite of all reservations, Chagall's art remains a feat, in oil as well as in black and white. That a man from the Jewish enclave in the provinces of Eastern Europe should have so quickly and so genuinely absorbed and transformed Parisian painting into an art all his own—and one that retains the mark of the historically remote culture from which he stems—that is a heroic feat which belongs to the heroic age of modern art.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

PRESSURE of other matters has delayed certain final observations on the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe. My mind has retained images like those of a later performance of "Raymonda," which went off with the security and smoothness that the first performance had lacked—images of beautiful dance formations achieved with perfection and brilliance by the company under the stimulus of the art and personal radiance of its great ballerina. But I have also retained images of imperfections like those of the last performance of "Le Baiser de la fée," which I attended in order to see the new—and I think preferable—ending of the work. In the village scene Danilova's second entrance in the waltz was thrown into momentary confusion by the snarling-up of the orchestra by the solo horn. But most of the imperfections resulted from the Monte Carlo management's persistence in operating without enough first-rank dancers, and in particular without dancers capable of alternating with Danilova and Franklin and replacing them in emergencies. Because of this policy Franklin's injury, early in the recent New York season, had a disruptive effect on some of the performances that it would not have had if there had been in the company someone of the same stature who had rehearsed and appeared in the works sufficiently to be secure and effective himself and to enable the other dancers to be secure and effective with him—all the other dancers, but above all a Danilova, whose effectiveness in certain movements depends on supports and leverages provided by her partner, which must be made precise and secure by long practice. Apart from Bolender's occasional insufficiency in what he did himself in "Le Baiser," he caught Danilova badly in her leap in the mill scene; and Danielian not only smeared his personality all over "Mozartiana" but provoked Danilova to visible anger with his hampering clumsiness as a partner.

In addition I have retained images of beautiful performances wrecked by the various disturbances of latecomers. A reader who protested to the City Center passed on to me the reply which told him that the Monte Carlo management had found it "impossible" to eliminate the seating of latecomers; but if it is possible for symphony orchestras to

keep a small minority from disturbing the majority of the audience and the performers who have arrived on time, it is possible for opera and ballet companies to do so. The reply spoke of the problem it created "to hold out latecomers who then crowd up the passageways and become extremely annoyed and occasionally boisterous"; but if they don't object noisily when the City Center keeps them out at orchestral concerts there is no reason to expect that they will do so when they are kept out at opera and ballet performances. The only restriction the Monte Carlo management had found possible was to delay seating them "until here is a short break in the continuity" of a ballet; and this presumably was what was meant by the reply that I received last fall which promised to "keep seating after the ballets start to a minimum"; but since there are no real breaks in the ballets the result of the restriction was that the latecomers who were kept from wrecking the first movement of "Concerto Barocco" were then allowed to wreck the great second movement. Obviously there is no "minimum" seating of latecomers that will not disturb those who have come on time and who are entitled not to be disturbed.

I suspect that what the opera and ballet companies find "impossible" is to deny wealthy patrons the privilege of arriving in the middle of a performance after their fashionably late dinners, of sauntering down the aisles chatting at their ease, of continuing their commotion as they take their seats. But that is something I should expect the City Center to find not at all "impossible."

To come now to Ballet Theater, and to begin with its repertory—Edwin Denby, a few years ago, spoke of Ballet Theater's inclination toward "ballets intended as Broadway entertainment, making more or less witty jokes but neglecting the terrific or tender poetic possibilities of dancing." These have been pantomime ballets, of which this year's new examples are Semenov's "Gift of the Magi," which achieves the utmost in nothing at all, and Kidd's "On Stage," which—with its gags, its cutenesses, its falsifications of ballet itself for some of its jokes—operates on a shockingly low level of imagination and taste. But Jerome Robbins' "Interplay" shows that something just as bad can be achieved in a dance ballet by the misuse of dance terms for cheap Broadway smart-alecisms.

As for the other new works, it is hard to believe the feebleness one sees in

Bolm's new version of "The Firebird," on which are wasted some startlingly beautiful scenery by Chagall and the exquisite movement of Markova. And Taras's "Graziana" is only an occasionally ingenious use of the language he has learned from Balanchine. Only two works have the force of the operations of a powerful mind in terms it has made its own. One is the brief classical *pas de deux* of Oboukhoff—odd, sharp, and fascinating. And the other is the glory of Ballet Theater's season—Balanchine's revived "Apollo."

"Apollo," wrote Mr. Denby, "is about poetry, poetry in the sense of a brilliant, sensuous, daring, and powerful activity of our nature. It depicts the birth of Apollo . . . then how Apollo was given a lyre, and tried to make it sing; how three muses appeared, and showed each her special ability to delight; how he then tried out his surging strength; how he danced with Terpsichore, and how her loveliness and his strength responded in touching harmony; and last, how all four together were inspired and felt the full power of the imagination, and then in calm and with assurance left for Parnassus. . . . Balanchine has told this metaphysical story in the concrete terms of classic dancing, in a series of episodes of rising power and brilliance" which "create a sustained . . . impression of the grandness of man's creative genius, depicting it concretely in its grace, its sweet wit, its force and boldness, and with the constant warmth of its sensuous complicity with physical beauty. . . . It begins modestly with effects derived from pantomime . . . and it becomes progressively a more and more directly classic dance ballet, the melodious line and lyric or forceful climaxes of which are effects of dance continuity, dance rhythm, and dance architecture. And it leaves at the end, despite its innumerable incidental inventions, a sense of bold, open, effortless, and limpid grandeur. . . . You feel happily the nobility that the human spirit is capable of by nature."

8 of MERCHANT the MARINE

Drawings, Paintings, Sculptures
THE TRIDUNE INT'L BOOK and
ART CENTER
100 West 41st St. So. W. Cor. 8th Ave.
6th Avenue Subway Arcade, downstairs
in the building of Schulte Cigar Store

★ BUY BONDS ★
FOR KEEPS

Letters to the Editors

Race Relations

Dear Sirs: The third annual Institute of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association will convene at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, for a three-week period from July 1 to July 20. It will be led by distinguished figures in government, religion, social service, education, the press and radio, and industry and labor.

After an initial orientation in the scientific background of race relations, the sessions will consist of seminars and panels to work out practical programs.

The institute is designed for educators, social and religious workers, labor and civic-group leaders, government employees, journalists, members of interracial committees, youth leaders, advanced students, and other interested persons.

Application for membership may be addressed to me at the Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Director
Nashville, Tenn., May 2

Disturbingly Reminiscent

Dear Sirs: Mr. Sternberg's article in *The Nation* for April 27, Germany: Political Battleground, displays a spirit disturbingly reminiscent of pre-Hitler liberalism. While mindful of the catastrophic terror that the parties of the left eased into power under the Nazi banner, he invokes a renewal of that tragic pattern with misty-eyed innocence. A recurrence of those divisive antagonisms would only bring new sufferings for Germany and the world.

Curiously enough, he even notes the German workers' recognition of the above-mentioned ineptness: "Even before the war many German workers realized that the bitter dissensions in their own ranks had facilitated the Nazi victory. After the collapse of the Nazi regime, it was very natural for them to resolve not to repeat the old mistakes but to form one united German workers' party." By rejecting the past's grim lesson, he persists in irresponsibility.

Voices similar to Mr. Sternberg's intone from within Germany a chant fearfully akin to that of yesteryear. The Communist bogey has been exhumed.

Germany's development as a peace-loving, self-supporting democracy will

not be realized in the never-never land of Anglo-American intentions. By cleaving to the anti-Communist clamor, and cowering before Soviet ambitions, Mr. Sternberg is renewing internecine warfare between Germany's leftist groups.

Mr. Sternberg must allow that socialism and communism can coexist harmoniously in the struggle for humanity's betterment. Adherence to reactionary artifices will not circumscribe Communist influence. To counter its growing dominance requires a superior intensity of socialist purpose coupled with an irreconcilable disdain for outworn institutions and attitudes. Communist inroads cannot be wished away by polemics. The atomic bomb ticks away with undiminished constancy. There will be no time off for bad behavior.

ARNOLD DENMARK

New York, April 25

Weitling Writings Wanted

Dear Sirs: I am engaged in the preparation of a biography of Wilhelm Weitling, and would be very glad to hear from anyone who has Weitling letters or other manuscripts. My address is Office of the Dean, Oberlin College.

CARL WITKE

Oberlin, Ohio, April 22

Correction from Korea

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading Crossfire in Korea by Andrew Roth in *The Nation* of February 23. There is one mistake that I would like to point out. The error is not Mr. Roth's but is in a quotation from Robert P. Martin, New York *Post* correspondent. The statement quoted was to the effect that as many American combat planes were massed on Kimpo Field outside Seoul last November as had been massed on any Pacific island except Guam during the war. That statement is fantastic. I have been on Kimpo Field since September 22, 1945, and know quite well the strength of our air force here. At no time was the field in a position to put up more than ten fighter planes at one time, and the great "mass" that Mr. Martin referred to comprised about fifty to sixty P-38's, of which over 50 per cent were not flyable because of the demobilization of trained mechanics.

LT. ROBERT S. JUNGER

c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, May 2

Stuart Chase's Science

Dear Sirs: The challenging article Calling All Social Scientists by Stuart Chase in *The Nation* of May 4 should not go unanswered. After diagnosing Dr. Elton Mayo's social studies, Chase seems to arrive at the amazing conclusion that there are no economic laws and hence there is no science of economics.

One thing all social scientists have yet to learn: science, as such, does not rest on any one man, group, country, political or economic *ism* or *ology*. Science, including economics, rests on a scientific method. This method starts with verified hypotheses, observations, tests, and experiments made under specific and fair conditions. From such observed conditions we derive principles or laws, upon which in turn we formulate working theories—theories which can be successfully applied to the solution of social and economic problems.

This "clinical approach" is used by all genuine physical scientists. It is only by this scientific method that any social science can be established. As an economist of sorts Chase should know this. Yet Chase, like many of his "lost tribe," approaches his science by wholly unscientific methods, thus rendering his powers of prediction null and void.

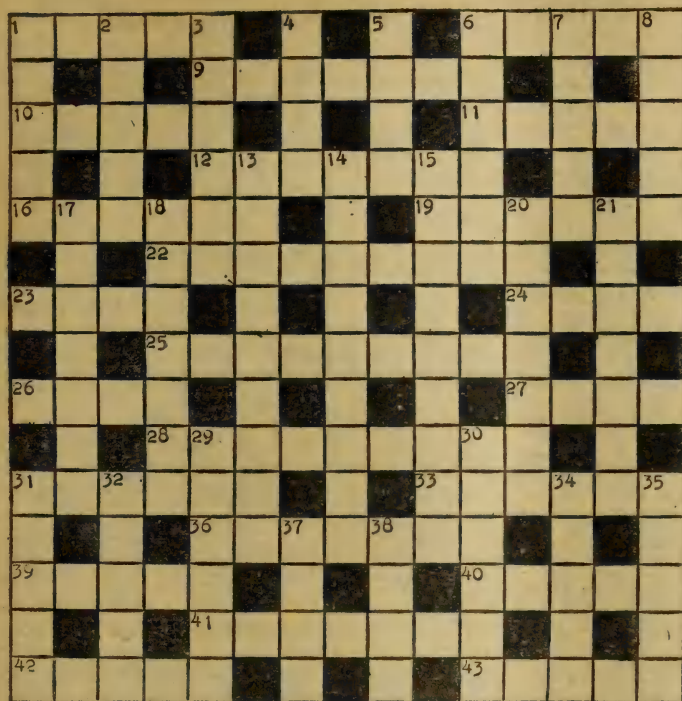
If Chase followed the methods of a Darwin, an Edison, or a Faraday in his studies of economics he would, in time, discover a few economic laws upon which, then, he could base the science of economics. One may read all of his books, as I did for years, and fail to find in them anything that could be classed as scientific. His faulty method defeats his every good intention.

Yet there is a science of economics, based on a few definite, scientifically discovered economic laws operative in every economically formed community, whether we are ignorant of or familiar with their operations. And like the laws of physics and chemistry, economic laws hold good for all mankind.

As an economist, Chase should know that economics is a study of the nature, production, and distribution of wealth; that wealth is all material things produced by human labor applied to land, having exchange value; that the three factors of modern production are land, labor, and capital; that in this science land means all things in the material

Crossword Puzzle No. 163

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be -----
- 6 Vamp that goes about on foot
- 9 Dye in the wool
- 10 Granule
- 11 Might be wrong were I not there
- 12 A steady influence at sea (hyphen, 3-4)
- 16 "This is so -----," she said, when proposed to in a downpour
- 19 Abuse (hyphen, 3-3)
- 22 Animal mentally and physically deranged internally
- 23 It is the end of certain complaints
- 24 Make the way hard, yet easier
- 25 An aid to advancement in coaching
- 26 Sip it, don't quaff it
- 27 Girl for whom everybody returns
- 28 Riotous reveler
- 31 Virtuous, but might be pursued from the sound of it!
- 33 He's sad (anag.)
- 36 Less formal than an oration
- 39 Rustic
- 40 What did I omit, Ermytrude? (hidden)
- 41 Greek? Not necessarily
- 42 "We have met the -----, and they are ours"
- 43 Squally

DOWN

- 1 Money goes to war
- 2 Article of food obtained by way of North Dakota
- 3 If you don't like him you can always make him resign
- 4 Threatening
- 5 That starchy stuff they put in cocoa

- 6 Not feeling too bad
- 7 French infantryman of World War I
- 8 He uses rouge in his make-up
- 13 Being single, they are unspoiled for the most part
- 14 Sort of days we like to celebrate (hyphen, 3-6)
- 15 Also known as sardines
- 17 It can't fly but might take to flight
- 18 They make a great show
- 20 Propels (anag.)
- 21 Spanish home of an operative factotum
- 29 Gay lot which gives us an earache
- 30 A singe is soothing
- 31 Scotland's man-made river
- 32 Low joint
- 34 Some are apparent, others presumptive
- 35 Say about a couple of thousand
- 37 Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we ----
- 38 Any Hollywood picture, according to Hollywood

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 162

ACROSS:—1 HARBOR; 6 BYRON; 9 SULLANA; 10 TOOLING; 11 ENTENTE; 12 REALIST; 13 RAN; 15 ASSAYS; 17 PER-SIA; 18 TRATE; 19 TRUSTS; 22 TRANCE; 25 ANA; 27 RECURED; 28 SCRATCH; 30 ORIFICE; 31 ESTIVAL; 32 NANCY; 33 TIP AND RUN.

DOWN:—1 HASTE; 2 RELATES; 3 BLAR-NET; 4 LOAFER; 5 SATURN; 6 BROKAGE; 7 RAISINS; 8 NIGHTMARE; 14 AGAIN; 15 AFTERNOON; 16 SIS; 17 PET; 20 UNCT-ION; 21 TARDILY; 23 RARITAN; 24 NOT EVER; 25 ADVENT; 26 ASLEEP; 29 HELEN.

universe outside of man and his products; that by labor is meant all human exertion directed toward the production of wealth, and that capital is simply that part of wealth which is used in the production of more wealth. Chase should also know that wealth produced in our society is distributed as rent for the use of land, as wages for labor exerted, and as interest for the use of capital.

Had he ever attempted to discover by a scientific method the laws regulating rent, wages, and interest he would, in time, have arrived at a number of reasonable conclusions that would be valid for all social scientists.

In short, the criterion for a social scientist is very simple. He is the man who has answers to the social problems that perplex our society: poverty amid a potential plenty; labor-management strife; problems of producing and distributing wealth; questions arising from unscientific uses of land, labor, and capital.

Is Stuart Chase a social scientist? Is Dr. Elton Mayo? Your guess is as good as mine. Meanwhile, I cast my vote in the negative.

A. BASIL WHEELER
Newark, N. J., May 20

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE to all your favorite magazines and newspapers with one order. One bill to pay after orders or renewals are accepted. Catalog free. John Crehore, Post-box 23229-N, Washington 13, D. C.

SUMMER WORKSHOPS

WANTED by professional adults, announcements of summer workshops, institutes, etc., on contemporary affairs, music, art. Box 1615, c/o The Nation.

TRANSLATIONS

MANUSCRIPTS, translations into English from French, German and Spanish, political background, overseas service. Box 1616, c/o The Nation.

FOR LEASE

55,000 SQUARE FEET. Two brick and stone, sprinklered buildings, 4 stories and basement (formerly textile mills); elevator in each building; about 14 acres land, at Stuyvesant Falls (9 miles from Hudson, N. Y.)—with perpetual use of 400 h.p. included in rental. Desirable for chemicals, textiles, bakery, etc. L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.

ABOUT 70,000 square feet (24-foot ceilings) at Bay and Greene Streets, Jersey City, opposite Harborside Terminal. Former Hudson Tubes powerhouse. Ideal for cold storage, warehouse, etc. Building is 143 x 123 feet with additional 136 x 123 feet land; ample railroad sidings. Building very best structurally but will require two inner walls and reconditioning. For long-term lease with option to purchase. L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.

FOR RENT

COTTAGE in Berkshires. Excellent piano just tuned; phonograph; good books; spring water. Not electrified. Season, \$125.00, Box 1617, c/o The Nation.

COURSE

ARE YOU OPEN-MINDED?

The ATOM BOMB swept the New Age into a ONE WORLD FACT. Let TRUTH sweep from your Mind the old relics of MYSTICISM, FEAR and SUPERSTITION. Live according to Nature's Laws.

THE NEW SCIENTIFIC METAPHYSICS shows the way.

It is vividly, forcefully and clearly presented in the

One-World Extension Course offered on a free-will payment plan. Blend your will with the Universal. Why struggle? Dare to live splendidly.

For information, write at once to

ONE-WORLD EXTENSION COURSE

Topeka, Kansas, Box 717, Dept. X
UNITED NATIONS

RESORT

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults. Swimming, boating, fishing, good food. Private baths. June 27th to September 16th. From \$80.00 weekly double. American plan. Box 77, Munsonville, N. H.

BOYS' CAMP

BOYS' camp beautifully situated lower Adirondacks. All sports, dramatics, nature, arts and crafts, trips, physician, co-religious. Walter Campbell, University of Rochester. Nat Hellenbach, 20 West 43rd Street, New York City.

BOOKS

OUT-OF-PRINT and hard-to-find books located free of charge. Send list of wants to J. Thompson, 1 Hillside Ave., Pelham, N. Y.

"STAGEFRIGHT, Its Cause and Cure." Booklet \$1.00. Goodhue Studio, 56 Payerweather Street, Cambridge, Mass.

COUNTRY BOARD

A FEW PAYING GUESTS in exceptionally beautiful spacious Vermont home on top of lovely hill overlooking all reaches of Green Mountains. RI 9-1574, mornings or evenings, or Box 1610, c/o The Nation.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

LANGUAGES

STUDY EASILY and quickly all languages by phonograph records. Also rentals. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17. MU. 3-1093.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.40 per carton, postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

3-ROOM Cape Cod; slate roof; new paint and shutters; electric; never-failing brook; pool; small orchard; 100 acres, \$4,500. Terms. Berkshire Farm Agency, Chatham, New York.

RESORTS

HIGH in the ADIRONDACKS
New Adult Resort

(Formerly Private Estate)

LIMITED ACCOMMODATIONS

SEASON: June 1 thru Sept. RATES: \$65 to \$85
ALL SPORTS

Stonegate LODGE
LONG LAKE, N. Y.

Dir. of Musical Activities: GEORGE KLEININGER

N. Y. Office: 150 Nassau Street • W.D. 2-2900

LOUIS A. ROTH, Director

Write for Booklet "N"

Informal • Charming • Congenial

SCHROON CREST

"In the Adirondacks" Putnamville, N. Y.

SPECIAL RATES UNTIL JULY 7th

Private Beach, Canoe, Boating, All Sports, Recor-

ding, Playhouse, Bar, Dancing Nightly, Juke, Adolph

& His Group, Harry Albin & Orchestra, Excellent

Cuisine • Make Reservations Early

N. Y. City Office: PHONE, Main 4-8570

LEAH OKUN — IRV. SCHROENBERG, Mgt.

An Adult Resort — On SCHROON LAKE

RELAX, REJOICE with SPRING at

Lakecrest

On Hudson's Lake • Stanfordville, N. Y.

10 miles from N. Y. City. Ideal location in the heart of

DUTCHESS COUNTY. Excellent accommodations.

Central hospitality. Recordings. Library. All seasonal

sports. Via N. Y. C. R.R. to Amenia, N. Y. Open all year

WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS

EVA BERG, Director Stanfordville 2328

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.

FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake,

10 miles long with good fishing and free use of boats

and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru wood-

land trails; fine country and handball courts, badminton,

shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping pong,

square dancing.

\$45 and \$50 weekly. OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

INVITATION TO RELAX

Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous country-

side, outdoor activities,

delicious food — and fun.

Only 15 miles from New York City.

MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY

plum point

"Year-Round Vacation Resort"

New Windsor, N.Y. Tel. Newburgh 8378

KUTAY'S LODGE

ACCORD, ULSTER COUNTY, N. Y.

Telephone: Kerhonkson 8014M

Informal Adult Resort

Moderate Rates • Jewish-American meals

BYRAM LODGE

ARMONK, N. Y. Tel. Armonk Vill. 906

Only 35 miles from N. Y. C. in Westchester. Comple-

tely remodeled, all conveniences, new furnishings.

Bestrest mattresses, all sports, bowling.

Rates \$88 weekly; \$10 daily. American Plan.

N. Y. Office 11 West 42nd Street PE 6-3243

This Adult Camp...

Sheltered cove near picturesque Gloucester. Salt

water swimming, sailing,

boating and fishing on pre-

mise. Dancing, tennis, trips

and all sports.

Gloucester, Mass. ABRAM RESNICK

Director Write for booklet and rates.

Cape Cod Squam

Gloucester, Mass. ABRAM RESNICK

Director Write for booklet and rates.

RESORT

SPRING

IN

THE RAMAPOS

AT ITS BEST ON OUR

1600 ACRE ESTATE



Ride along our 21 miles of woodland trails. Golf on our own excellent course. Indors — have game rooms and pleasant cocktail lounge. You can depend upon consistently fine cuisine and excellent accommodations. Open the year 'round.

Only 51 Miles from New York.

CHESTER, N. Y. Chester 200 [N. Y.] RE. 3-5407

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477

Delightful... Boating and swimming in our

private lake.

Different... The colonial atmosphere.

Delicious... Our unexcelled cuisine.

Diverting... Recordings for listening & dancing.

All this only 53 miles from New York City

A Resort for Adults Only

The LITTLE CUB
ON SCHROON LAKE
In the Adirondacks
NEW YORK

OPENS JUNE 1st

Early Reservations Suggested

Private beach, golf, outdoor activities, fine food.

Direct Bus & Train Transportation. T. H. FLAUM.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 8, 1946

NUMBER 23

The Shape of Things

THE McMAHON BILL FOR NATIONAL CIVILIAN control of atomic energy, unanimously passed by the Senate at the fag end of a Saturday session, while by no means a perfect measure, is certainly a great advance on the May-Johnson bill, which was designed to keep nuclear physics under strict military guard. If the House, as seems probable, confirms the action of the Senate, the control of all fissionable materials will be placed in the hands of a five-man civilian commission assisted by a nine-member scientific and technical committee, a military liaison committee with power to refer its disagreements with the commission to the President, and a bipartisan joint Congressional committee. This set-up should supply a sufficiency of checks and balances but may prove somewhat cumbersome. While private mining of uranium and thorium will be permitted under license, the commission will be the sole buyer of these ores and will have a monopoly of the production of fissionable materials. The use of atomic devices for peaceful purposes may also be licensed but only after a report on the social, economic, and international effects of such devices has been made to Congress. How free scientists will be to pursue their researches remains to be seen. Much will depend on the caliber of the men appointed to the commission, and it is to be hoped that the President in appointing its members and the Senate in confirming them will act with full consciousness of the responsibility that rests on them. It will not be enough to name respectable stuffed shirts. We shall need commissioners who combine a very broad scientific outlook with first-class organizing ability and, above all, with a sense of dedication equal to the power for good and evil which they will exercise.

✱

THE TERMS OF THE FINANCIAL AGREEMENT signed by the United States and France follow fairly closely the pattern established in the Anglo-American negotiations last fall. In addition to a loan of \$650,000,000, this time from the Export-Import Bank, it provides for a complete settlement of war accounts. The cost of lend-lease material consumed is canceled, and a separate credit of \$720,000,000 is made available to cover purchases by France of surplus American war material in French areas and payment for goods supplied to France since the end of the war. A further amount

of at least \$25,000,000 is earmarked for the purchase of Liberty ships. The total of around \$1,400,000,000 falls far short of French needs for rebuilding industry and restoring foreign trade, but it is about the maximum that could be granted without going to Congress for a special authorization. Both Paris and Washington maintain that no political commitments are involved in the agreement, but the loan will inevitably serve to strengthen the ties of France with the West. For one thing, the French government has expressed its readiness to support American proposals for eliminating restrictions on world trade, a program on which Molotov made a scarcely veiled attack in his recent *Pravda* article. French Communists, however, have not followed this lead. On the contrary, while admitting some reservations, they are claiming that the credits were made possible by "the success achieved in the field of production, notably through the efforts of the French Communist Party."

✱

SETTLEMENT OF THE SOFT COAL STRIKE HAS been greeted with relief and satisfaction from Wall Street to the mine villages. It was a typical compromise, with the miners getting from the government substantially less than they demanded of the operators but winning acceptance of safety guarantees and a welfare fund. Technically the wage increase was kept within the limits of the wage-price formula set earlier in the year and is in fact, no greater than had been originally offered by the operators. In view of the nature of the settlement one may ask why it was necessary to shut down the mines for two months, with tremendous losses to labor, stockholders, and public, in order to arrive at an agreement that should have been possible without a strike. The operators provide the apparent answer in their continued and violent opposition to the section of the contract calling for enforcement of a "reasonable set of safety standards." It is clear that without the strike and consequent seizure of the mines this basic safeguard would not have been written into the agreement; its inclusion even now is proving a serious stumbling block to acceptance of the contract by the operators. Without their acceptance the mines will not be restored to private management. Apart from the operators, the government is chiefly to blame for the long strike because of its

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	677
Writing on the Wall?	679
The Wages of Folly	680

ARTICLES

Washington Hangover <i>by Tris Coffin</i>	681
American Liberals and British Labor <i>by Reinhold Niebuhr</i>	682
Colonel Perón's New Order <i>by Virginia Prewett</i>	685
Small Town America I: Dalton, Georgia <i>by Alden Stevens</i>	687
Inside German Politics <i>by Saul K. Padover</i>	688
The House on 92d Street <i>by Carey McWilliams</i>	690
The French Elections <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	691
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	693

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Blind Leading the Blind. <i>A Poem</i> <i>by Robert Lowell</i>	694
War and Its Aftermath <i>by Ralph Bates</i>	694
Briefer Comment	697
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	697
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	700
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	700
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	701

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 702

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 164 703 *by Jack Barrett*

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.



failure, despite the experience of former coal strikes, to act promptly in seizing the mines. It is to be hoped that the mistake will not be repeated in the case of the anthracite mines, to which Mr. Lewis is now turning his ominous attention.

✱

IT WILL BE IRONIC BUT SOMEHOW FITTING if the Ku Klux Klan after a lifetime of lawlessness should, like Al Capone, meet justice in the form of the Collector of Internal Revenue. This appears to be the fate in store for the Georgia chapter, against which the Treasury has just filed a lien for \$685,305 allegedly due in back income taxes. Should the Kleagles successfully fight the revenue men in the courts, or raise the required sum by passing the hood, they will find their troubles have only begun. Governor Ellis Arnall, with courage to spare, has instructed the state's legal department to bring action to revoke the Klan's charter on six counts, including misrepresentation, "unlawful activities aimed at the destruction of civil liberties," and violation of state criminal laws. The Governor has also accused the Klan of illegally engaging in political activities, a charge that every Georgian knows refers to the campaign being waged by the hooded gentlemen to return the inefable Gene Talmadge to the governor's mansion. Should Arnall's move fail in the courts, he is prepared to call an extraordinary session of the General Assembly "to de-hood the Klan and prohibit activities . . . detrimental to the public good." The fact that a Georgia governor can and does stand up to the Klan in this fashion speaks volumes for the progress the state has made during the Administration of Ellis Arnall. We are delighted to note, incidentally, that the Wood-Rankin Committee has decided not to investigate the Klan as an un-American activity. It would be just as logical and just as fruitful for the Klan to investigate the committee.

✱

THE UPSHOT OF ROCHESTER'S GENERAL strike is a jolt to those who have been viewing the current anti-labor hysteria as the beginning of the end of the trade union movement. When word first reached the Republican municipal administration that a hundred city workers had joined an A. F. of L. union, the City Fathers, backed by local industrialists, sought to nip the budding movement by abolishing 489 jobs at one fell swoop. Later the discharged men were invited to return

as individuals, with a warning that the union would not be recognized. The men refused to return under these conditions and a picket line was set up, whereupon the police raided a gathering of strikers and hauled away more than 200 of them, half of that number war veterans. When the City Manager refused even to discuss the issue with representatives of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., the labor groups joined in calling a general strike. In all, 30,000 workers left their jobs. Rochester did without busses, taxis, and newspapers, and many business firms had to close. Concerned perhaps over the political aspects of such blatant strikebreaking in an election year, Governor Dewey intervened to force a settlement, which included recognition of the rights of a municipal employee "to join any organization he pleases which is loyal to the United States" and provided for qualified rights of collective bargaining. The victory was an indication of the potentially great strength of labor when it unites. It was also a reflection of the incredible ineptitude of the local Republican leaders—an ineptitude that so angered the public that not even the powerful local political machine could prevent a demonstration of overwhelming popular support for the strikers.

✱

FOR \$180 A YEAR OUR READERS CAN subscribe to *American Culture*, the "master magazine." A life term in this particular institution costs only \$5,000; for no more than this a well-heeled lunatic can spend the rest of his days mopping and mowing at essays with such titles as Achievement American Industry, Where Goes the World, The Economy, Great Stone Faces—Illustrated, the State—Maine, In God We Trust, and Vanishing Mothers. He may also—and this seems, one must confess, a far, far better thing—read advertisements, cunningly disguised as articles, for which capitalists high and dry in the confiscatory brackets of the income tax may pay two to four thousand dollars a page, and because of which the master magazine cannot legally reach its victims through the mails. The prospectus of *American Culture* is a rich mine of errors in grammar, absurdities, and pretentious humbug of a peculiarly infantile sort; it is sure to seem a fantastic joke to anybody capable of reading a word without running his finger under it. Yet anonymous donors, fascinated by the fact that the magazine will "oppose the subversive forces rampant in the country," are sending it, free, to more than ten thousand of our city or college libraries. The publisher and editor of *American Culture* is Earl Clemens Rayner. Mr. Rayner seems, primarily, a Swift eager to reveal mankind to itself as a laughable collection of fools; but he may, of course, be interested in picking up a little money on the side. His existence definitely disproves the old saying that, though there are many people with a passion for gambling, there seems to be nobody with a passion for running gambling-houses.

Writing on the Wall?

TWO weeks ago the Security Council's subcommittee on Spain faltered along aimlessly as it questioned Dr. José Giral on his government's brief against Franco. It seemed to many in the audience that they were witnessing one of those grim scenes at Geneva when a rising fascism flaunted to arrogance in the face of the helpless democracies. Now it appears that the history of collective impotence may not repeat itself. The report issued by the subcommittee, chaired in its last week by Australia's Foreign Minister Evatt, is a surprisingly firm and candid document. True, it does not call for the immediate action we should like to see. But it does set forth collective measures against the Spanish dictator which if carried out will put a long overdue period to his tyranny.

Accepting the whole damning case against the Franco regime—its fascist character, its record of close war collaboration with Hitler, its ruthless suppression of the Spanish people, its military establishment going far beyond the normal needs of a nation with peaceful aims—the report nevertheless questions whether Spain today constitutes an immediate threat to peace within the meaning of Section 39 of the Charter, the section under which Security Council sanctions might be invoked. The report insists, however, that we have in Spain "a situation the continuance of which is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." And for this reason recommends that the General Assembly call upon its member nations to break off diplomatic relations with Franco unless in the meantime the Franco regime is removed and political freedom restored.

Incidentally, the reference to the Assembly is fully in keeping with Mr. Evatt's continuing campaign to increase the prestige of the Assembly, representing all nations, as a democratic counterbalance to the Big Three.

In his reservation Dr. Lange of Poland made a good case in questioning the legal soundness of the position that immediate action by the Security Council was not called for. It is not enough to say as the report did: "No breach of the peace has occurred. No act of aggression has been proved. No threat to the peace has been established." Such reasoning provided the basis for the League of Nations' quiescence as Mussolini prepared for the rape of Abyssinia, and Hitler made ready to bomb the cities of Poland. "Unless threats to peace are taken care of at an early stage while they are still potential and easy to remove," Lange insisted, "the United Nations may find themselves in face of situations beyond their power of control."

But granting the weight of this reservation, the report represents a distinct advance in democracy's long-drawn-out battle against Franco Spain. The very fact that, as we write, Franco's friends in this country are questioning the subcommittee's competence to make recommenda-

tions and discounting any action the Assembly may take proves they got more than they bargained for. Now the matter is unequivocally the responsibility of the Big Three at the full meeting of the Security Council. During the investigation, neither the State Department nor the British Foreign Office showed the least impatience with Franco's continuing effrontery; at times they appeared almost as his advocates. Now they have the chance to prove whether their earlier anti-Franco protestations were worth the paper they were written on.

The Wages of Folly

HARRY S. TRUMAN has achieved what one would have thought might only be accomplished by war, natural catastrophe, or political genius of an inconceivable order. All unwittingly, he gave common cause—at least for a week—to Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, and Communists; to A. F. of L., C. I. O., and Railway Brotherhoods; to the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Daily Worker*; to Senator Taft and Senator Pepper, Philip Murray and William Green, Harold Stassen and Sidney Hillman, Henry Wallace and Burton K. Wheeler. All these warring forces and incompatible leaders the President, in a stroke of monumental folly, threw into a combination, reluctantly formed, unavowed, and temporary—but squarely directed against himself and portending nothing but grief for his party.

To achieve political effects on so grand a scale Mr. Truman had to make more than an ordinary blunder, offend more than a sector of the population. He did. In as heedless a way as he once announced our intention to keep the atomic bomb to ourselves, he went before Congress and blandly proposed a scheme that might easily have made this country a corporate state. How else describe a system whereby the executive is empowered to seize industries at his own discretion, fix wages and working conditions, draft striking employees into the armed forces, and compel them then to return to their posts at \$50 a month or face a court martial?

Fortunately the Senate saved the country from the worst of Truman's proposals. Whether it saved the President himself remains to be seen, but at this moment it is hard to see how he can recover from a blunder more appalling than Hoover's order to run the bonus marchers out of Washington at bayonet-point. In political terms his smashing defeat in the Senate has in fact served rather to compound his offense: he not only attempted an extremely dangerous maneuver, but failed in the effort. The attempt has cost him the support of labor, and the failure has cost him his political prestige.

Elsewhere in this issue Tris Coffin describes the chaos in Democratic circles on Capitol Hill, where overnight the anachronistic Senator Taft has become the key man in legislative strategy, respectfully consulted by leaders

of the supposedly majority party. Unquestionably some conservative Republicans opposed the President's emergency program on genuinely constitutional grounds. Others, like Senator Millikin of Colorado may have been sincerely shocked by a proposal "which violates human dignity, human decencies, and fair play." But such moral considerations need not have figured at all in the Republican opposition. For the truth is that the Truman proposals were no more anti-labor than they were anti-management. The wages fixed by government would ultimately be forced on industry, and profits acquired during the period of seizure would go into the Treasury. Thus the salient fact about the Truman move is not that it would have undermined the labor movement, though it would surely have done so, but that it would have made a terrific stride in the direction of the absolute state. Few people in this country are resigned to that ultimate "solution"—and among those who would be horrified by the idea, we suspect, is Harry S. Truman.

Granting the President's sincerity as a friend of labor and his attachment to the democratic way, we can only look upon his wild maneuver as a compound of public hysteria, his own indignation, and the incredibly bad advice of such incompetents as George Allen and John Snyder. The 1948 elections are still far in the offing; the President still has time to pull himself out of the abyss and save his party. The same Republicans whose hands are raised in holy horror over the President's assault on labor are gleefully pushing the Case bill, which would shackle the trade unions permanently instead of on the temporary basis provided in the Truman emergency legislation. The President can send the Case bill back to Congress and let the workingman's new Republican champions expose the depth of their devotion to labor by passing it over his veto. It is too much to expect him to withdraw his own proposal entirely, but he will have grounds for vetoing that, too, if the Senate removes the profits-seizure clause while leaving intact the provision for choking off strikes by injunction. Finally, it is not too much to ask that the President turn once and for all from a clique of advisers whose counsel boils down to the odd formula: please only those who wouldn't dream of voting for you.

Even if Harry Truman should adopt this three-point program, he could hardly expect the unbounded confidence of the liberal and labor forces of the nation; but he would doubtless salvage a large measure of their electoral support, without which no Democrat can carry the northern states. These forces are not likely to be taken in, after all, by the demagoguery of the Republicans, and few will follow the willow-the-wisp of a third party. Should the President fail to conciliate them, however, they can stage a political sit-down which—just as surely as their outright opposition—would send him back to Missouri on New Year's Day of 1949.

Washington Hangover

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, June 3

THE wild winds that swept over Washington in a furious blow against organized labor have, for the moment, subsided. The tornado has changed the whole scene.

There were strange freaks of the storm—Claude Pepper, angry and defiant at the Administration, in a huddle with Bob Taft, the shrewd Republican conservative. There was sweeping destruction. The Truman Administration was tossed into the air and dropped with a terrifying thud. The force of the storm literally shoved the house of American policy-making from the White House to the north wing of the Capitol. Organized labor was battered, divided, and driven off the path of progress.

The facts of the exhausting few days beginning Saturday, May 18, are just beginning to be brushed clear. What began days before as a personal feud between Harry Truman and his old friend and counselor A. F. Whitney, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, had developed into a paralyzing railroad strike. Truman, tight-lipped and furious, was goaded by that morose little man, John Snyder.

On Saturday morning two men were trying to see the President. Senator Pepper, with the blessing of New Deal colleagues, had proposals to end the strike. The other was Harry Byrd, conservative Senator from Virginia. A decision was made. The President would not see Pepper. The door was opened wide for Byrd. He proposed that Truman address a joint session of Congress and demand the same kind of bill that is the law in Virginia—drafting strikers into the army. (It is the militia in Virginia.)

That same morning a worried A. F. Whitney asked friends in the Senate what he should do. All agreed the strike would have to be called off. One adviser suggested a letter to Truman, to be made public, which would say the railroaders would return to their jobs. They would willingly submit to injustices temporarily because, as patriots, they were responding to the call of the government. But they trusted the government would see they got equity in their negotiations. Whitney, who is not a man of great imagination, turned down this bold stroke. He did not want to accept all of Truman's terms. Senator Morse suggested a few minor alterations which would not mean complete capitulation. Pepper wrote in the humble, apologetic tone. This note was sent to the White House via Secretary of State Byrnes. Stories went out on the wires—the strike is off!

The President's press office announced coldly, in response to queries, that Truman had not seen the Whitney-

Johnston surrender. He was not interested in looking at it.

Then came the address to Congress, the pell-mell rush in the House to vote "Aye," and the quick trick of Taft in holding up Senate action. Over Sunday the winds shifted. Monday morning a tired, dejected Senator Barkley stood by his desk defending the Truman labor bill. The usual self-assurance and calm authority of the majority leader were gone. He was struck from all sides. Taft, smiling and bright-eyed, teased and then stabbed sharply. What was the final sanction against the strikers who defied the government? Wasn't it court-martial? Revercomb, a Republican from the coal-mining state of West Virginia, stubbornly insisted on pinning Barkley down. Didn't this give the President the right to send a striker to his death before a firing squad? Vandenberg, august and courteous: the President had enough moral authority to have ended the strike problem weeks ago. Democrat Downey of California shouting, "... the most dictatorial and harsh law of which human minds can conceive." Millikin, the bald constitutional lawyer with an admiring intent ring of Senators around him, saying, of the Truman proposals, "... anti-constitutional, brutally sadistic." Over in the House remorseful Congressmen said piously, "I am for labor."

Truman himself was uneasy when on Monday he saw three Senators. Kilgore, the West Virginia Democrat, pleaded with him to withdraw the bill. Truman said wistfully he would like to but if he did John Lewis would not sign a contract.

Later that day two veteran Democrats, Wheeler and O'Mahoney, went to the White House. Wheeler, who has considerable influence with Truman, talked turkey. "You are committing political suicide and killing every Northern Democrat in Congress. Take us off the spot. Pull out the bill."

The President agreed but late that night called Wheeler at home and told him his advisers were against it. They were John Snyder; George Allen, the clownish RFC director; and Attorney General Tom Clark.

The Democrats made one last effort to save the day. Wednesday afternoon at five, the Senate was scheduled—under a unanimous-consent agreement—to vote on an amendment throwing out the draft section of the Truman bill. The last thing the Democrats wanted was a vote. Tydings moved to adjourn and was supported by Barkley. But the Republicans raised such a clamor about the sanctity of unanimous consent that both Tydings and Barkley withdrew. Then it was murder. Truman got thirteen votes—ten dyed-in-the-wool Southern Democrats, Barkley, Scott Lucas of Illinois, and Carl Hatch.

But thirty-four Democrats, including seven Southerners, voted against the Administration. Among them were McKellar, the presiding officer, and Hill, the Democratic whip. Few Presidents have been so soundly slapped.

The wind shifted suddenly on Friday. President Truman at his press conference criticized the Senate and solemnly announced he was not withdrawing or changing his bill. It was too much for Senator Barkley. Truman had gone too far, even for the good soldier. That afternoon in the Senate Barkley was once again the self-assured commander. He, not Truman, was calling the shots. Barkley drove the Senate to the adoption of some weakening amendments, held the line against others. The balloting on Friday was a pattern for future American policy. The liberal strength on one vote sank to as low as twelve. This included the two Republican liberals Aiken and Morse, plus Taft. Taft stuck to his new friends on five out of six ballots and was able to bring over as many as fourteen middle-of-the-road Republicans. But without organized party support the coalition could not hold more than thirty-four votes. The amended Truman bill was passed sixty-one to twenty. In the

twenty were thirteen Democrats, six Republicans, one Progressive.

John L. Lewis is now the cock of the walk. While Whitney was castigated on four radio networks as an enemy of the nation for refusing to tell his workers to return, Lewis, who acted in identically the same manner, got his coal contract signed in the White House.

The New Dealers are depressed. They don't know whether to leave the Administration or go underground and burrow from within. Some, like Chairman Murray of the Senate Labor Committee, hope they can get Truman to change his course and his advisers. Many of his associates consider Murray an optimist.

Henry Wallace has made a great personal decision. It is more important to offer counsel and leadership to the bewildered, divided liberals than to play the cards close to the belly and hope for the 1948 nomination. He has no intention of resigning posthaste from the Cabinet, but, instead, will attempt calmly and clearly to state his views on every major issue that arises.

If Harry Truman doesn't like it and tries to shush him, then he can look for a new Secretary of Commerce.

American Liberals and British Labor

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, author of "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness" and other books

THERE was bound to be considerable tension and mutual dislike between Britain and America in post-war years. The one nation had lost power in the international community through the exertions of the war; the other had gained it. The relations between the two nations today, in both their causes and their consequences, are not unlike those which obtained between Britain and France after the last war. The friction is augmented by the fact that the United States lacks the experience to wield the phenomenal power which the war has thrown into its lap. Our political influence is derived from our military and naval power, real or potential, which in turn is derived from our technical efficiency. It has not been achieved by the slow accretion of authority through successful manipulation of power.

America's intellectual unpreparedness for its role in world affairs was fully revealed in the Senate debate on the British loan. In this debate many of our chosen representatives displayed such abysmal ignorance of the problems which a very wealthy nation confronts in dealing with an impoverished world that the loan would have been defeated but for the skilful leadership of Senator Barkley. British resentments against our ignorant pretensions and irresponsibilities, long smoldering, were

fanned into flame by this debate and will probably become even more explicit when the House begins to air its views.

One might have hoped that American progressive opinion, seeking to discern the purposes of the British Labor Party, would have bridged this chasm of national misunderstanding. But it has not done so. The chasm between British labor and American labor and liberal opinion is almost as deep as that between the two nations.

The British Labor Party has been in power for almost a year. During that time it has consolidated its position, already fairly secure by reason of its five-year parliamentary tenure. It is the first labor party in the democratic world to gain this unequivocal lease on authority, as it is also the first to deserve it by becoming the instrument of a clear majority in the nation, comprising middle-class as well as industrial-labor elements. It has moved steadily forward in its program for nationalizing banks and mines and has maintained and extended a program of exercising political controls over the basic economic relationships of society within the framework of freedom, which is the ostensible purpose of all democratic socialism and of the less explicitly socialistic American progressivism. Our nation, in comparison, is harassed in meeting its post-war problems by irrelevant laissez faire

ideologies; and our progressives cannot be certain that the ambiguities of New Deal progressivism may not be reduced to a consistent liberal-conservatism. For the conservatism of America expresses itself in terms of classical liberalism. Jefferson is appropriated by Herbert Hoover, and the early democratic fight for a free economy has become, in this period of late capitalism in America, a fight of large aggregates of economic power against attempts of the community to check their power. This development causes a tremendous sense of frustration among American progressives, which does not, however, prevent them from being unduly critical of British Labor's policies. British Labor may be right in suggesting pointedly that the frustration of American progressive thought is partly the cause of its hypercritical attitude toward British Labor.

In foreign policy the Labor government has had the almost impossible task of relating an impoverished nation and a shaken empire to the new realities of the world community. Among those realities is the rise of two very powerful nations, one of which has little sense of direction, while the other betrays an increasing lack of any responsibility for maintaining accord between the great powers. The British government has the task of eliminating the oppressive aspects of empire without liquidating the securities of this complex of power. Naturally the task involves it in some serious contradictions. Its strategic needs in the Mediterranean have prompted policies in Italy, Greece, and the Near East which do not commend themselves to democratic opinion, in either Britain or America. It has been slow to substitute more democratic foreign policies for Churchill's discredited monarchism in Italy and his abortive course in Greece.

On the other side of the ledger are some very great achievements. The agreement reached with Egypt must possess some merit or it would not have earned Churchill's denunciation as a piece of "shame and folly." India has been offered freedom without qualifications. It has so far been prevented from accepting the offer by the intransigent separatism of the Moslem minority, which should prove to American critics of British policy in India that the communal cleavage there is deeper than they have been willing to admit. But no American critic has yet offered a confession of error.

The Labor government has brought consistent pressure upon the Dutch for a democratic settlement of their imperial problem. For this it has received little credit from American liberals. Nor have they appreciated the peculiar position in which Britain found itself as agent of the Allies in accepting Japanese capitulation in Indonesia.

The friction between Britain and America on Palestine is part of the general picture. Britain possesses quasi-sovereignty there, while American Jewry, as the only potent representative of world Jewry, has greater inter-

ests in Palestine than any similar group in Britain. This is an intolerable situation for which the only solution is increasing harmony between the two nations in wielding the political power of Britain and the economic power of America. The joint Palestinian commission of the two nations was a necessary first step toward a common policy. American liberalism has been rightly critical of Attlee's reluctance to carry out the recommendations of the committee, but it has not been equally critical of the reluctance of America to assume continued responsibility for the economic and political reconstruction of the Near Eastern world, without which a generous policy toward the Jews becomes an insufferable policy toward the Arabs. It may be observed incidentally that the critical attitude of most Americans toward British policy in Palestine is a potent cause of friction between Britain and America, only equaled by the traditional anti-English resentments of the Irish.

If we seek for the special reasons why American liberalism is unable to understand the complexities of the British task—beyond the general causes of anti-British sentiment which liberalism unfortunately shares with the nation as a whole—we may find them in two sources. One is the abstract character of American liberal idealism. The other is the fantastic devotion of a portion of the American left wing to Russia as the fixed pole of political virtue.

American liberalism, partly because it is impotent and frustrated and partly because it has learned scarcely anything since the eighteenth century, has little understanding of the fact that politics are morally ambiguous even on the highest level. It does not understand that politics deal with power and that inequalities of power in any given situation introduce moral irrelevancies which cannot be completely overcome. Furthermore, politics never achieve a clear triumph of the general interest over a particular interest, but at best merely the highest possible concurrence between a particular interest and the general welfare.

Lacking understanding of the obvious facts, American liberalism would solve the problems of imperial power simply by liquidating empire. It does not understand that every community, whether imperial or national, has a strong survival impulse, and that not even the most idealistic political party can simply negate it and survive as the bearer of the national will. Nor does it understand that such a liquidation of empire might not be in the general interest. A power vacuum might be created which would bring in greater confusion rather than a higher integration of the international community.

American liberalism is equalitarian without understanding there are functional and fortuitous inequalities in even the most ideal community, whether national or international. Democracy must bring all power under social control, but this will never be done absolutely;

so that some power will be ethically used only if it is under the check of self-control. This applies to the relations between strong and weak nations just as much as to groups of unequal power within a nation. British idealism thinks primarily in terms of the responsibilities of power; American idealism thinks primarily in terms of the disavowal of power in order to escape its corruptions. British liberalism rightly detects an affinity between the American idealist's belief that power should be disavowed and the American cynic's desire to use power irresponsibly. The two, taken together, make for irresponsible international politics.

In the same manner American idealism is libertarian without understanding the relation of freedom to the necessities of the community. We are the only nation which seriously entertains the idea that unrestricted liberty would automatically serve the purposes of the larger community. American progressivism rejects this idea in national politics but still clings to it in international politics. The late Wendell Willkie, for instance, spoke of the necessity of an international freedom which would guarantee that no soldier would be quartered anywhere upon foreign soil.

The ambiguities of politics are unfailingly recognized in British practice though frequently obscured by "British cant" in theory. The Continental resentment against this "cant" has a certain justification, though it must be observed that the greater degree of moral cynicism in the political theory of the Continent has led to a lower level of political practice. Hypocrisy is the tribute which self-interest must pay to virtue. If the tribute is not paid, self-interest may express itself more nakedly. American criticism of British hypocrisy is unjustified, for this cant is in fact Anglo-Saxon rather than British. We have our own version of it. The more our economic power grows the more we are inclined to assume that political power, being more overt, is less ethical than the more covert economic power. This illusion is generally shared by American liberalism and is one of the most fruitful sources of friction between the two nations, which are enacting on an international scale the old tension between the landed aristocrats and the rising bourgeoisie. The British own more castles than we; we, increasingly, own the mortgages to these castles. We do not quite know whether we ought to resent the fact that we do not live in the castle or rejoice that we have the mortgage. In this moral predicament we resolve our difficulty by calling attention to the fact that the owner of the castle has not liquidated serfdom on his estate, but we do not mention that the owner is in danger of becoming our serf.

The other reason for liberal hostility to Britain is much simpler. A large part of labor and liberal thought in America has committed itself to Russia to such a degree that every issue of international relations is judged

by Russian criteria. Thus American progressives can stage a "Win the peace" conference, as they did in Washington recently, in which a covert effort is made to defeat the British loan and almost every implication of British foreign policy is criticized without a suggestion of criticism for a Russian policy which has brought the whole of Eastern Europe under Russia's sway. Russia's power is exercised with few, if any, scruples of democratic justice. American liberals all believe, or profess to believe, in freedom as well as justice. They naturally desire, as even those of us who do not share their illusions desire, to find some way of getting along with Russia. But they refuse to believe that there is anything in Russian policy which makes that difficult.

Subsequent historians will probably record this strange preoccupation of Western liberals with Russia as one of the queerest phenomena of twentieth-century history. It will not contribute to peace, for no final accord between nations can be achieved upon the basis of obvious illusions.

Whatever the reasons for the failure of American progressives to understand the purposes and the difficulties of British labor, we should seek for a higher degree of appreciation. This is important for many reasons, not the least of which is that the British Labor government has a better chance of helping continental Europe to escape both reaction and communism than any other force. The ideological map of the world is very interesting. One of the great powers wants to preserve democracy without socialism. Another has sacrificed freedom for collectivism. The third, together with the Scandinavian nations, is seeking for a synthesis of freedom with social control of economic processes. This is also what the continent of Europe, or at least Western Europe, seems to desire, despite the present confusion of its politics and the chaos of its economic life. It is in the interest of both world peace and the survival of democratic civilization that the Continent should not be forced to make a choice between reaction and communism but be allowed to chart a political course in which the Scylla of tyrannical political power and the Charybdis of tyrannical economic power are avoided. Britain has not yet played an unequivocal role in helping the Continent to achieve this end, but it is increasingly recognizing its proper role. It cannot fulfil its function if that part of American opinion which, despite confusion, has essentially the same objective fails to support it. An American liberalism which supports totalitarianism on the one hand and fails on the other to set up every possible check against a ruthless display of American economic power will earn the derision of the world—and lose its own self-respect. It may try to salve its conscience by offering the world irrelevant schemes for world government, but its essential bankruptcy will not finally be obscured by such manifestations of abstract idealism.

Colonel Peron's New Order

BY VIRGINIA PREWETT

Buenos Aires correspondent for the Chicago Sun

Buenos Aires, May 27

AS BUENOS AIRES is polishing and gilding itself for Colonel (retired) Juan Perón to take over as the elected chief of state on June 4, five major policies seem clearly set for the new administration. First, Perón intends to get all the advantage possible out of the world tension now being increased by all Russophobes, using it to play off the United States against Russia. Second, Perón is turning his personal attention to tightening the bonds with the nearby South American countries which Argentina has long attempted to weld into an "austral bloc." Third, he is solidifying his power on the home front by setting strict controls over all the organizations that sparked the recent electoral opposition. Fourth, decrees have already been issued giving the incoming regime complete control of the economic life of the nation. Fifth, and most spectacular, Perón's political brain-trusters are swinging more and more toward the centrist dissident Radicals led by Vice-President Hortensio Quijano, and these dissident Radicals are fighting a province-by-province battle with the more energetic leaders of the pro-Perón Laborista Party, who are now anxious to share in the spoils of the victory they helped Perón win.

This antagonism burst into open conflagration on May 17 when police charged and fired on a Laborista crowd in Cordoba. The Laborista leaders, after the arrest of more than a hundred party members, sent the following telegram to President Edelmiro Farrell and Colonel Perón: "In this moment, which should be one of general rejoicing, the barbarous police are beating women, men, and national representatives. The shadow of counter-revolution is closing down on Cordoba."

Perón and other officials received the Russian trade mission here with the utmost cordiality. Yet shortly before their arrival on April 20 Perón asked John Moors Cabot, the American chargé, to come to see him and suggested that the United States tie up with him against Russia. Cabot replied that he did not see how Russia could be considered a danger and emphasized the defensive strength of the inter-American system. In this conversation Perón spoke of General George Brett as the "perfect Nordic" and mentioned "geophysical considerations"—two well-worn terms of Nazi ideology. What Perón obviously wants from bargaining with the United States is to save his Nazi friends while getting the weapons the Argentine army so desperately needs.

The real touchstone of Argentina's world relations

continues to be the position of the German Nazis here. Our new ambassador, George Messersmith, has come with the assignment of seeing that Argentina fulfils its Chapultepec pledges to root out the dangerous and virtually intact Nazi bridgehead, but he is not to tangle with Perón. Recent Argentina court decisions have turned back the German properties that had been seized and have freed a jailed spy held for deportation. Ludwig Freude, who claims to be a genuine democrat but is wanted by the United States government for deportation as the most dangerous German here, continues to be a personal friend and occasional host to the newly elected President. Freude, it is reported on excellent authority, is willing to ditch all the other Nazis in order to save his own position. However, we have still failed to root out quite a number, notably Heinrich Dörge, whose close connection with the planning of the recent economic laws was so plainly indicated by informed sources that he felt called upon to issue a personal denial of it.

In polishing Latin American relations Perón is personally seeing to it that Brazil is kept buttered up; for instance, he issued a written order to his Propaganda Office that his "Shirtless Ones" should give the Brazilian ambassador, Baptista Lusardo, a rousing welcome on May 18.

Genuinely democratic little Uruguay, long the refuge of the opposition to both the Argentine and the Paraguayan dictatorship, was first softened up by being for months denied vital wheat, until it had to appeal to the Combined Food Board for relief and got a promise of aid. Next, representatives of the reactionary and fascist Herreristas of Uruguay were received in Buenos Aires with all honors and are now actively trying to elect the next President of Uruguay. Already such pressure has been brought on Uruguay that radio stations broadcasting underground programs to Argentina and Paraguay have been closed down. This means that the last free voices in South America have been silenced.

The idea of a South American customs bloc is persistently agitated here. Perón himself brought it up in a recent interview with Peruvian newspapermen, mentioning especially Argentina's need for Chile's minerals. Bolivia, meanwhile, has sent its Minister of Commerce, Jorge Sanos Cramer, to Buenos Aires to negotiate for Argentine foods and arrange to divert to Argentina, when our present agreements end, Bolivian tin and rubber now exported to the United States. Little Paraguay will be sewed up with the recent ten-million-peso loan;

It is now being wooed with decorations for the military clique that holds the country in a tight dictatorship.

Meanwhile on the domestic front decrees nationalizing the Central Bank, giving this bank control of all the banks of credit, and establishing strict exchange control supply the new administration with all the power it needs to control Argentine economy to the last flip of the wheel. The bank measures open the way for the regime to continue its deficit spending and huge military program. Exchange control makes it possible for the brain-trusters of the Central Bank to carry out their ideas of speeding Argentine industrialization.

The Argentine Democratic Union has been dissolved, and the opposition as such has made only one important open move since the election. This was the traditional official charge of the Radicals that the election was stolen through smooth padding of the electoral register. Opposition Representatives have a plan to snipe at the regime from Congress by proposing social and economic laws even more extreme than anything thought up by the Peronistas, thus forcing them to go beyond their own program or appear to be checking the wheels of progress.

The political parties have evolved, since the election, a realistic plan of working for a victory in the Congressional elections two years hence. However, a monkey wrench has been thrown into this scheme by the sudden passage on May 15 of a decree ordering that all political parties be completely reorganized under the control of federally appointed authorities within ninety days. This law, which gives the government absolute control of the activities of political parties, caused a national and international furor when first passed last year, and it was revoked during the brief eclipse of Colonel Perón in October. Ostensibly it has been reimposed to enable the regime to deal with the revolt of the Laboristas. Actually it gives the pro-Perón dissident Radicals led by Vice-President Quijano a perfect mechanism with which to take over the entire party machinery of the Radical Party. Traditional Radical leaders today are in a panic over the way the ward politicians are taking the rank and file with them into the camps of the Perón Radicals and see the new law as realizing Perón's old dream of controlling the Radical Party. To offset this development, the young Radical fire-eaters are seriously thinking of taking up the rebellious Laboristas' offer to combine forces in opposition. These fire-eaters are relatively few, however, and the Laborista rank and file are a completely amorphous mass which can easily fall apart once official favor is withdrawn.

So far the pro-Perón dissident Radicals are winning over the Laboristas and even making heavy inroads on the traditional Radical politicians through control of the spoils system. But the Laboristas are in no mood to give in easily. They control absolutely only one provincial

government, that of the important Buenos Aires province. On May 18 this provincial government, as its first official act, served notice on the national government that it was challenging the constitutionality of the recent decree nationalizing the control of bank deposits. This action was universally interpreted here as meaning that the Laboristas are not going to take a brush-off lying down. Their leaders have talked of staging a march on Buenos Aires of the type that brought Perón back from political exile last October 17. This could have little success, however, if the police turned against them as they did on May 18 in Cordoba.

Internationally, the Perón regime is stretching forth an official arm in friendliness to everybody—with a slight accent on Brazil and Russia. Perón has long been an exponent of the theory that Argentina will have to choose between the United States and Russia, and he is in effect waiting to see which will make him the best offer. He hopes he can get the terms he wants from us. Meanwhile the growing possibility that Argentina will soon resume direct relations with Russia is sending Russophobes in our State Department into new paroxysms of insistence that we must do all the business possible with this man who used attacks on the United States as one of his chief campaign weapons.

Virtually all the organizations that spearheaded the resistance to the military regime have already been brought under official control. The universities have been put under the direction of federally appointed officials. The Central Bank, which made the mistake of refusing an official loan beyond the constitutional amount, has been nationalized. On strong official hints, the Stock Exchange and other financial associations have elected new pro-Perón officers. *Crítica*, the paper that in the final stage of the campaign made the most outright attacks on Perón, ceased publication voluntarily soon after the elections, unable to survive the effect of a fine imposed for failure to comply with the controversial wage-bonus law, which has since been declared unconstitutional by the lower courts. To sum up, the only forces in Argentina not hemmed in by official controls are underground.

The Argentine underground is looking forward to a long uphill struggle and is cutting out dead wood. Whether it will be able to accomplish anything remains to be seen, since the attention and sympathy of the world, which aided it so much in the earlier struggle, are entirely lacking in the present situation.

The United States is no longer discussed in Argentina as a world force for democracy. Our latest about-face on Argentine policy, coming after so many others, has made what we do seem of little importance to the democratic forces. Rightly or wrongly, they now accept it as an established fact that our desire to trade in the Argentine market is greater than our desire to follow a consistent political line.



Small-Town America

BY ALDEN STEVENS

I. Dalton, Georgia

PEOPLE around here used to think mill hands and factory workers didn't amount to much. But they know different now," said a man who had worked for forty-three years at the Duane Chair Company's plant at Dalton. The new dignity of the working people in this Georgia town of 10,000 exemplifies what has been accomplished in many places in the South.

Dalton differs from any other Southern industrial town only in being better organized than the average. In the business section Hamilton Street, named after a local industrial family, is a wide treeless avenue paralleling the railroad tracks. It is lined with squat, drab stores, from which the taller Hotel Dalton sticks up near the station. Scattered over the greener, hilly part of town are the three largest Dalton mills—Crown Cotton, Duane Chair, and American Thread—each with its dingy rows of company houses along back streets.

There is an atmosphere of hard work in the town. The garish green, red, and blue neon signs are turned off early, and even beer is unobtainable. The 7 a.m. starting time at many of the mills makes for early bustling traffic. The two-shift system is still in effect, and some of the mills are working a six-day week.

I called on the Otis Weavers in their neat, white company house beside the railroad. A train momentarily prevented conversation, seeming to come in one window and go out another. But this tall, slender man and his trim, chubby little wife were pioneers in Dalton union organization, and they talked long and freely about the job that had been done.

Weaver really is a weaver—a highly skilled operator—at the Crown Cotton mill. "There were no unions to speak of in Dalton before President Roosevelt and Section 7-a of the NRA," he said. "But we got started right quick after that. None of the managements would even talk to us at first. It was the same at each plant—we'd get it organized pretty well and then we'd have a strike. The strike at Crown lasted eighteen weeks. The company tried to bring in strike-breakers, and five hot heads beat up the manager. They got off easy. The judge fined 'em a dollar a piece. We had the police department and a lot of the town against us at first. But one grocer gave food to men on the picket lines and unlimited credit to strikers' families. Never crowded us to pay back, either. The members didn't forget him; they still buy

from him, and now he's got a real big store in a fine brick building and he owns quite a lot of property and we elected him ordinary."

Mrs. Weaver is an inspector at Crown. "When I started eighteen years ago we got \$9 a week," she said. "Now we get \$28 for a forty-hour week. You'd think they could see what they have gained, but there are still four or five women in my part of the mill who have no use for the union. It used to be that if there was a girl the boss liked he'd throw you out and give her your job. And when you got old or something happened, they wouldn't want you around any more and they threw you out. That's all over now."

The Dalton mills have yielded to the C. I. O. on other points, too. Crown now gives paid vacations and a small Christmas bonus. As for the company houses, Weaver says with a slight smile that "they've been putting a little work on them in the past few years."

The furniture workers at the Duane Chair Company's plant organized later and have had a contract for only a little more than two years. Eva Armstrong said they had less trouble than the textile mills: the town was conditioned to unions by then, and the merchants realized that higher wages to workers meant more business for them. The Duane workers got a contract without a strike. Since Negroes, in spite of the FBPC, do not work in textile mills here, this local is the only one in town with Negro members; of the twenty Negroes employed at Duane, sixteen belong.

Dalton has very little unemployment partly because, as the now inoperative Chamber of Commerce used to say, Dalton is the "Bedspring Center of the World." There are more than sixty bedspread factories, the largest employing 800 people, some of the smallest ones half a dozen or less. Within a radius of twenty miles approximately 20,000 people are engaged in this remarkable industry, which has mushroomed from a handicraft in fifteen years. Tufted bedspreads, bath mats, seat covers, and chenille bathrobes are strung up along all the roads for sale to tourists.

The bedspread industry in Dalton is unorganized. The C. I. O. regards it with a little disbelief. "It can't last, not the way it is now," said Charles Gilman, regional director in Atlanta. The expectation is that when the present high wages go down, when the industry begins to lag, the C. I. O. will move in. Most of the workers are from the surrounding countryside. Right now a good operator can make up to \$12 a day, while a union weaver in the other textile mills seldom exceeds \$45 a week.

Roosevelt gave these unions their chance, and the members will never forget it. The United Nations they regard as his, and they watch it hopefully. Of Governor Arnall, Weaver says, "There's nothing wrong with him—or if there is he's kept it under wraps." The union men elected their entire slate in the last municipal election. Otis Weaver is the first union man in Dalton to be a police commissioner, one of three. And there are union men on the town's new planning commission. The unions have backed almost every civic improvement in Dalton in the past eight years. They worked for a medical center, and for a badly needed new sanitation system. They got nutritious 15 cent lunches for school children. The C. I. O. National War Fund was the most important war-relief agency in town.

What has happened in Dalton is what the C. I. O. hopes will happen all over the South. A new kind of

citizen is developing, an educated and responsible citizen. The Dalton mill hand that people used to think didn't amount to much now knows how his community operates, and how his state and his nation and the world operate. What is more, he takes an active part in their operation. He is still a little surprised when a bank president or a city official asks his opinion. He gives it freely, now that he is not merely a factory worker but a member of an organization which is powerful in Dalton and throughout the country.

And as Otis Weaver says, "Union organization in Dalton is well rooted. You couldn't tear it out with anything less than an atom bomb."

[Mr. Stevens has been making a fifteen-thousand-mile motor trip through the United States gathering material for this series of articles. He is the author of "Arms and the People."]

Inside German Politics

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

Author of "Experiment in Germany: The Story of an American Intelligence Officer"

I. Alignments and Trends

ONE of the most significant developments in Germany is the gradual emergence of political consciousness and political conflict. The paralyzing apathy of the Hitler period, while still affecting large sections of the population, is slowly giving place to a participation, or desire for participation, in public affairs. The Germans still have a long road to travel, but the important thing is that they have begun the journey. In a recent survey 60 per cent of the persons interrogated thought that political activity was somehow desirable; 40 per cent were hostile or indifferent. But the gap between thought and action is still wide. In the same poll 95 per cent admitted that they were not politically active in any way.

The poll also threw light on the people's attitude toward political parties. For over two decades, it should be remembered, the Nazis carried on a smear campaign against all political parties in order to discredit the democratic processes. Hostility to a multi-party state is still, in fact, the basic tenet of the Nazis-fascists, and many Germans, especially the younger ones, condemn democracy mainly on the ground that it tolerated parties. The standard Nazi-fascist-conservative argument against the Weimar Republic is that it permitted "thirty or forty parties, which meant anarchy." Among the German youth the older ones are still firmly attached to the Führer principle—regardless of who the Führer might be. Asked how many parties there should be in the

Reich, about one-fourth of a carefully selected sampling of adults declined to answer—caution or no opinion?—and another fourth favored one party or none at all. Nearly half replied that there ought to be about four political parties. Only 1 per cent thought there should be no limit on political movements.

In actual fact, with the blessing of Military Government, there are in Germany today four major political parties, two on the right and two on the left. The two main conservative parties—included in them are crypto-Nazis, Pan-Germanists, militarists, and clericalists—are the Christian Social Union and the Christian Democratic Party. A third, the so-called Liberal Democratic Party, represents the big-business outlook and has but a small following; its slogan is "Freedom," which is explained as meaning the abrogation of all government regulations in the economic sphere. On the left the workers and liberals are grouped in the two traditional labor parties, the Social Democrats (S. P. D.) and the Communists (K. P. D.) The struggle between these two parties, now squaring off for a slugging match, may decide the future of Germany and perhaps of all Europe.

Some indication of the political drift in Germany can be obtained from the results of various surveys and local elections. I offer a word of caution, however, about the elections. Germans went to the polls because they were ordered to, not because they were anxious to express preferences. Some thoughtful Germans are convinced that Military Government has a mechanical concept of democracy, and that it made a mistake in ordering elec-

tions so soon after the defeat of the Nazis. They argue that it is unrealistic to expect a nation steeped in fascism for twelve years to be capable of democratic decisions. In truth, many anti-democratic individuals have been elected to positions of power in the Reich. In Bavaria especially the worst sort of reactionaries won fairly and squarely. To many a philosophical-minded German this looks like a case of "democracy" destroying democracy.

Taking Germany as a whole—outside the Russian zone, where the situation is exceptional and for which reliable figures are not available—we find that the trend is definitely to the right. In one poll approximately 54 per cent of the sampling questioned favored conservative parties and 46 per cent leftist ones. There are, of course, regional variations, due mainly to the economic structure and the people's religious affiliations. In the last local elections, for example, agricultural Catholic Bavaria voted 75 per cent conservative; industrialized Hesse 44 per cent Social Democratic. The strength of the right is actually greater than appears from the bare election figures, for millions of rightists—Nazi Party members and assorted militarists—have been temporarily disfranchised. The German Communists have trailed far behind all other important parties. In Baden they received less than 6 per cent of the last vote and in Greater Hesse a little over 8 per cent. Outside the Russian zone they seem to have no great following. This, however, does not mean that they have no future.

The causes of this rightward swing are extremely complicated. For one thing, it is a reaction from Nazism, which Germans consider a radical-revolutionary movement. Hitler, they say, was a true revolutionist and his followers were "idealists." The left, moreover, is identified with violent experimentation, and the Germans want no more violence, especially of a political nature. (Like other defeated people, Germans are concerned with the immediate problems of sheer existence; a poll showed that one out of four worries about food, one out of six is afraid of unemployment, one out of seven is troubled by a lack of housing.) Finally there is widespread hostility to Russia, and consequently to communism, caused both by a dozen years of Nazi propaganda and by the misbehavior of Soviet troops.

An analysis of political attitudes shows that the so-called left draws its strength from men rather than from women, from Protestants rather than from Catholics (three out of four Catholic churchgoers vote conservative, three out of four non-church Protestants vote leftist), and from persons between the ages of thirty and forty-nine. Policemen, professional people, business men, and apprentices—in that order—vote conservative; laborers, skilled artisans, and the unemployed support the left.

Many middle-class Germans support the Social Democrats because the word "democracy" is fashionable. As

for "socialism," that was popularized by the Nazis, who incorporated it in their party name. A political party that combines two such fetching labels has a powerful appeal. Recently I interrogated a number of ex-soldiers who told me they had voted Social Democratic. I discovered they were heavily tainted with Nazism. They neither sympathized with democracy nor knew the meaning of socialism. They simply felt that Social Democracy sounded good. "It's just like what you Americans have," they said proudly.

Today the Social Democratic Party is waging a determined struggle against the Communists on the question of the so-called merger. In the Russian zone the fusion of the two left-wing parties has been put through. Now the Communists are making every effort, propagandistic and organizational, to unite the workers in all Germany in one great party, the Sozialistische Einheits Partei. In the English and American zones the S. P. D. is resisting this Russian-inspired pressure with force and not without success. But as in the pre-Hitler days, the conflict between the two labor parties is creating an atmosphere that is not healthy for democracy.

The German Communist Party is insistent upon carrying through the merger for three reasons—one politically sound, the other two opportunist and cynical. The Communists say that the union of the two left-wing parties is necessary because the Nazi-fascist-militarist elements form the most powerful group in Germany today; unless the left fights in a united front, fascism will never be eradicated in the Reich. They are certainly not exaggerating the strength of the enemy—the Social Democrats themselves do not deny that the Nazi-fascists are still mighty and influential—but an anti-fascist front does not seem to be the K. P. D.'s main object. Though the Communists are in a minority, they want to gain control of the labor movement by taking over the Social Democratic Party. And as usual they are more concerned with advancing Soviet interests than with fighting fascism. Recalling the Weimar experience, Social Democrats are convinced that the Communists are essentially anti-democratic, that they fight Nazi-fascism not out of love of liberty but out of a desire to substitute one form of dictatorship for another. Rightly or wrongly, the Social Democrats are convinced that the Communists are not independent agents but instruments of Moscow policy. Would the Communists be so desirous of a merger, the S. P. D. asks, if the situation were reversed—if the Social Democrats were a minority and the Communists a majority?

Whatever the arguments for and against the merger, it is not popular with the rank and file of labor. A poll among the western Social Democrats showed that it is opposed by three out of four Socialist workers.

[Next week Mr. Padover will discuss the S. P. D. program and leadership.]

The House on 92d Street

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Author of "Brothers Under the Skin" and "Southern California Country"

Los Angeles, May 27

IN 1941 Henry Laws, a Negro resident of Los Angeles, built a small home on a lot he had purchased at 1235 East 92d Street. As soon as the house was completed, the Laws family moved in: Henry and his wife, Anna; their daughter, Pauletta Laws Fears, and her husband, Anton Fears; another daughter; one grandchild; and Alfred Laws, a son. The original deed for the lot on which the house was built contained a provision that the premises should not "be used or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian race." While Alfred Laws and Anton Fears were serving with the armed forces, a suit was brought and an injunction issued to prevent the family from using or occupying the premises.

The Laws family made every effort to rent or to buy another house so that they might comply with the court's order. They put advertisements in the Negro press; they interviewed real-estate agents; they spent their evenings and week-ends looking for a home. But between 1940 and 1944 the Negro population of Los Angeles had risen from 63,774 to 118,889—an increase of 86 per cent compared with one of 10 per cent for the white population. Between May 1, 1944, and October 31, 1945, Negroes, though they constituted but 7 per cent of the total population, filed 46 per cent of the applications for public housing in Los Angeles. Unable to find a place to move to, the Laws were haled before Judge Allen Ashburn on November 30, 1945, found guilty of contempt, fined, and imprisoned.

While the facts were by no means exceptional—many similar situations have arisen in the last few years—the Laws case upset public opinion in Los Angeles. Under the circumstances it seemed rather tough to jail a respectable Negro family, the adult members of which were either working in war plants or serving with the armed forces, for the offense of living in a home which they had built on property which they lawfully owned. A "Committee for the Defense of Henry Laws" was promptly formed under the chairmanship of Daniel Marshall, the energetic and forthright leader of the Catholic Inter-Racial Council of Los Angeles; the committee retained the law firm of Katz, Gallagher, and Margolis; and in a matter of days the Laws family was released on a writ of habeas corpus issued by the state Supreme Court.

This "house on 92d Street" may make legal history. The case represents the culmination of a fight against restrictive covenants carried on by Negroes in Los Angeles in the past several years. More suits contesting re-

strictive covenants were filed by Negroes in the courts of Los Angeles County in 1945 than in all the rest of the United States. At present some forty of these cases are pending. The so-called "Sugar Hill" case, which was pending when the court issued the writ releasing the Lawses, derived from an attempt by white property owners to enjoin Negro occupancy of homes in a section of the city into which wealthy Negroes in the motion-picture industry, including Hattie McDaniels, had moved some years ago. Judge Thurmond Clarke met the issue head-on in the lower court by holding that restrictive covenants violated the Fourteenth Amendment. In *Hill vs. Barbe* the Negro litigants seek a broader interpretation of the doctrine of "changed circumstances" as applied in restrictive-covenant cases.

Appeals in these three cases will be heard by the Supreme Court of California in June. The Negro litigants in each are represented by Loren Miller, who has led the fight against restrictive covenants in Los Angeles with consummate skill. The three cases bring before the court for consideration most of the important issues involved in restrictive covenants—their constitutionality, their application and construction, and their enforcement. A majority of the court, including Chief Justice Phil Gibson, are liberals. In the well-known case of *James vs. Marinship* the court ruled that the Boilermakers' Union could not Jim Crow its Negro members. If a trade union cannot segregate its Negro members, pursuant to rules and by-laws which legally constitute a contract between the members, can property owners segregate Negro residents by contractual agreement? This is the issue that Chief Justice Gibson and his colleagues must decide.

The appeals now pending in California are the first involving restrictive covenants to reach a state Supreme Court since the war. Since many suits attacking such covenants are before the lower courts of Michigan, Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, and the District of Columbia, and some of them are on appeal, a sweeping victory in California might tip the scales in a dozen jurisdictions.

The restrictive covenants found in most urban communities today are a result of the influx of Negroes from the South during and immediately after the First World War. In the ensuing struggle for housing they were used to keep the migrants from spreading out beyond the area of original Negro settlement. Before World War I more than half the Negroes in Chicago lived in areas less than 50 per cent Negro, but by 1930 more than two-thirds were living in black belts. Approximately 97 per cent of the Negroes in St. Louis are now hemmed in

by a wall of restrictive covenants. Nevertheless, Negroes have slowly and doggedly expanded the extent of these black belts. In not a single city have restrictive covenants actually prevented growth of the Negro section; they have simply retarded and impeded it. During the period between the two wars the courts met the social issue by utilizing the doctrine of "changed circumstances" to effect some slight relaxation of covenants. But the wave of new Negro migration during World War II, coupled with the general housing shortage, has created tensions which the "changed circumstances" doctrine, even when liberally applied, has not mitigated.

Much misunderstanding exists about the legality of restrictive covenants. During the First World War the Supreme Court of the United States ruled, in the case of *Buchanan vs. Warley* (1917), that cities were powerless to zone residential areas on the basis of race. After this decision, white property owners sought to achieve by the device of restrictive covenants what cities were unable to do by direct legislation. Later the court inferentially upheld these restrictive covenants in the case of *Corrigan vs. Buckley*, and a pattern of segregated housing was set up. In segregated schools and segregated public conveyances the courts have ruled that the segregated group must be provided with "separate and equal" facilities, but residential segregation has been sanctioned with no thought of requiring "separate and equal" living space for Negroes. This curious situation has been justified by the courts on the theory that the Fourteenth Amendment proscribes only discriminatory action by the states, not by individuals.

In the California cases it is contended that judicial action is state action and therefore falls within the prohibition of the Fourteenth Amendment. And, indeed, the Supreme Court has frequently ruled that judicial action may constitute state action within the meaning of the amendment: it did so in the *Mooney* case, the *Scottsboro* case, the *Bridges* contempt case. Admittedly, the refusal of a landowner to sell a home to a Negro, like the refusal of an innkeeper to serve a Negro, is essentially a private act. It does not require state action, judicial or otherwise, for its accomplishment. But the situation is different in restrictive-covenant cases. Since the seller is obviously willing to sell to a Negro, the wrong arises solely from the intervention of the state, through its courts, to prevent consummation of the agreement. In the appeals now pending in California the state Supreme Court has been given, in the parlance of lawyers, "a clear out." The court is not being asked to decide against a clear moral wrong and an admitted social evil, or even to enunciate a new principle of law; it is being asked to correct a basic misinterpretation of the law. The whole question of segregated housing is clearly before the court for decision.

Other restrictive-covenant cases are also pending in the

California courts. On returning from three years' service in the army Dr. DeWitt Buckingham, a prominent Negro physician, purchased a \$19,000 home in an upper-class Berkeley residential area. As soon as he moved into the property, seventeen members of the Claremont Improvement Association brought suit to have him evicted. Dr. Buckingham promptly announced that he intended to find out whether a man who had served in the army for three years could be evicted from a home which he had lawfully purchased. He further announced that at the trial of the case he intended to demand scientific proof from the seventeen indignant plaintiffs that they were members of the Caucasian race. It is interesting to note that Dr. Buckingham has been inundated with letters from white residents of Berkeley offering financial help and moral backing.

Under Articles 1 and 55 of the United Nations Charter the United States is pledged to promote universal respect for the observance of "human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." Under the Act of Chapultepec, the United States agreed with the other signatory nations "to prevent with all the means in their power all that may provoke discrimination among individuals because of racial and religious reasons." Can the courts continue to remain indifferent to these solemn declarations of public policy? In his closing brief to the Supreme Court of California, Loren Miller succinctly stated the issue: "It is an anomaly that the United States, the most democratic nation in the world, is the only nation in the world where a citizen can be deprived solely on the basis of his race and color of the right to live in his own home."

The French Elections

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, June 1

TO UNDERSTAND the political implications of the French elections, one must keep in mind the electoral campaign of the last three weeks. Contrary to general expectations, the fight has centered not on the constitution, which seemed to have divided France into two clearly defined camps, but on the issue around which all European politics have crystallized since the end of the war—the struggle for power between the left and the right.

As for the constitution, the two left parties have reached a measure of agreement that concessions will have to be made to those who voted "no" on May 5, and that it was hardly worth while to have invited defeat because of intransigence on certain points which are unessential but nevertheless go against the grain of the majority of the French people.

With the constitutional issue in a subordinate place in the campaign, the struggle between the left and right has assumed an extraordinary vitality. For the first time since the

liberation, French reaction has appeared on the scene in full force. If in the referendum the reactionaries and some of the left appeared to be voting together against the constitution, in tomorrow's elections the split between left and right is so sharp that the results must be considered decisive for the future of France.

People who are not too familiar with the intricacies of French politics have perhaps attached exaggerated importance to the Socialist-Communist quarrel; apparently they believe future collaboration between the two parties has become impossible. For a Socialist Minister publicly to denounce the Communist Vice-President of the government as a deserter would normally have provoked the most serious consequences. But Le Troquer's attack on Thorez did not produce a ministerial crisis, nor did it lessen the almost 99 per cent probability that the Socialists and Communists will again work together in the new Cabinet. Three days after the incident Socialist Minister Jules Moch, who apart from his own authority in the party is generally considered the spokesman for Léon Blum, emphatically declared that the Socialists would never enter a government without the Communists and that collaboration between the ministers of the two working-class parties was essential for the continuation of the social and economic advances realized in the past year. In less direct language Félix Guoin said the same thing. And the Socialist paper, *Le Populaire*, which had just published a series of articles by Daniel Mayer, general secretary of the party, attacking the Communists' tendency toward hegemony and absorption, played down Le Troquer's speech because of the bad effect it had had among the rank and file. Although at the recent extraordinary congress of Montrouge the majority of the Socialists favored "frank and serious criticism" of Communist tactics, they nevertheless resent having their party look as if it were participating in what the Communists call "the united front of Vichyism and anti-Bolshevism." The rank-and-file Socialist does not want to be a puppet of the Communists, but on the other hand he has learned enough from the past not to fall into the same error of systematic anti-Communism that sapped the strength of the labor forces in the thirties and made fascism possible.

The Communists, on their side, have quickly realized that they cannot treat the Socialists as a minor party. At the same time they understand that their slogan in the referendum campaign, "*Thorez au pouvoir*," frightened a considerable section of the voters, who saw in the Socialist attacks something more than a simple electoral maneuver. The strategy of the Socialists was in part an effort to win the votes of the radical wing in the M. R. P. by appearing to dissociate themselves from the Communists; but it also contained an element of bitterness and resentment for the contemptuous way in which the Communists had referred to the insignificant "Social Democrats." In the light of all this, the reaction of both parties to Le Troquer's brutal speech was very wisely restrained and indicated that the Socialists and Communists will be less quarrelsome as June 2 approaches than they were at the beginning of the campaign. The Communists also realize that the success of the French-Loan negotiations in the United States has strengthened the position of the Socialists and increased the tremendous personal prestige of Léon Blum in France.

But, above all, the fact that reaction has thrown all its effectives and reserves into the campaign has obliged the left parties to unite despite their differences. In February the French Institute of Public Opinion gave the new rightist Republican Party of Liberty, the P. R. L., no more than 8 per cent of the parliamentary seats; by March the figure had already jumped to 12 per cent, and now, on the eve of the elections, it stands at 18 to 20 per cent. Men who under a more thorough and logical purge would have suffered the same fate as Pierre Laval are vociferously campaigning under the P. R. L. banner. Though there are genuine Resistants in its ranks, the Republican Party of Liberty represents potentially the French version of fascism. Left versus right—this is the real issue on which the people of France will vote on June 2.

June 3

Paris seethed with excitement yesterday, as loudspeakers throughout the city announced the various returns, but in a flying trip to different sections of the capital I did not witness a single incident. There was only a wave of restrained indignation when it was announced that Daladier and Reynaud had been elected; the general comment was: "There are imbeciles who would vote even for Pétain because they once heard he was a great general." Until two in the morning right-wing supporters had a good time. The Continental edition of the *Daily Mail*, which goes to press at 2 A.M., carried the headline, "Right Parties Gain in French Elections." But by dawn those who had had the conviction and endurance to wait for later returns knew that the gain had been held to moderate proportions. Although the final results are not yet known, it is already clear that yesterday's elections have not changed the general composition of the Parliament. The three parties that constituted the majority in the last Constituent Assembly together retain their former strength. The Republican Party of Liberty, which had tried to rally all the forces of the right, will be but a poor fourth in the next Assembly.

While the Socialists lost ground, the Communists increased their popular vote. Two interpretations of this shift have been advanced: some believe the results of Léon Blum's mission came too late to have the effect observers had predicted; others believe a good number of Socialists who favor close collaboration between the two parties and resented last week's polemics voted for the Communist Party, which had made unity one of its major electoral slogans. As for the unexpected success of the M. R. P., the explanation is to be found, above all, in the militant address delivered by Pope Pius on Sunday. The Vatican has gone all-out in an effort to contain the advance of the progressive forces in Europe. There was not a single Catholic in France who did not go to the polls, and cables from Italy report that "Catholic priests and nuns, in response to Vatican instructions, turned out in large numbers to vote."

The failure of the Herriot Radicals to obtain the gains which many had anticipated proves there is little place in today's Europe for vague, contradictory liberalism. The M. R. P. is a reality; it has behind it an active political institution, the Catholic church. The Radicals have only the principles of the 1875 constitution.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

The Nullification of Potsdam

A FEW days ago Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay, American deputy military governor for Germany, ordered a halt of all reparations shipments from the American zone except for material already allocated. "Our primary purpose," he explained, "is not to bring pressure on anyone. We are thinking of the day when the zone may have to stand alone." Since the American zone of Germany cannot raise enough food to feed its population and also lacks most of the raw materials needed for its factories, it can only exist by paying for necessary imports with industrial products. The alternative is the indefinite continuance of American doles.

The situation in the British zone is similar, for while it is potentially better provided with raw materials, it is worse off agriculturally. Lack of food is proving the most serious handicap in raising the production of coal, greater supplies of which are urgently needed to stoke the economic recovery of Western Europe. Even to maintain the present near-starvation ration of 1,000 calories daily Britain is financing imports into its German zone worth \$280,000,000 in the present year. This is a burden the hard-pressed British taxpayer cannot long support, particularly as most of these supplies have to be paid for by drawing on dwindling dollar reserves. In these circumstances, the British command in Germany is expected to follow the American lead by postponing further reparations deliveries until some definitive decision has been reached about Germany's economic future.

It would appear, therefore, that the Potsdam program is doomed to be nullified even more quickly than was the Versailles system, thanks as much to its inherent economic weaknesses as to the quarrels of the victors. At Potsdam the Big Three sought to profit by the mistakes of 1919. Instead of assessing reparations as a global sum, which could only be paid by expanding German productive capacity, they decided to divide up a proportion of Germany's industrial equipment.

The Potsdam agreement provided general directives, and the task of drawing up a "plan for reparations and the post-war level of German economy" was left to the Allied Control Council in Berlin. But when the Council's economic experts got to work they found great difficulty in determining how much industrial equipment could be removed or destroyed while leaving "enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance." The Russians, acutely conscious of the enormous economic losses they had sustained at Nazi hands, maintained that very little would be enough; the British, aware that the reduction of Germany to a subsistence standard would harm the whole economy of Western Europe, wished to be much more liberal; the Americans were divided, first supporting the Russians and then the British.

The resulting compromise was sufficiently severe in that it proposed the halving of German's pre-war industrial capacity

and allowed for a standard of living 30 per cent below that of 1938. Proposed cuts in capital-goods industries were particularly drastic, with steel reduced to 39 per cent of pre-war (1936) capacity, light metals to 54 per cent, basic chemicals to 40 per cent, machine tools to 11.4 per cent, heavy electrical engineering to 30 per cent. Light industries were given much higher quotas or were unrestricted, but as the London *Economist* has pointed out, "It is a fallacy to suppose that consumers' industries can work at full capacity, or even at two-thirds of their capacity, if the supply of capital goods is reduced to slightly more than one-third of normal."

For this and many other reasons, the *Economist* of April 6 concluded the most detailed analysis of the plan that I have seen with the opinion that it was "negative, restrictive, and basically unworkable." This may be exaggerated, but it is generally agreed that the plan is only practicable on the assumption that Germany is treated as a single economic unit. That has not been done so far, for although Potsdam provided for centralized economic machinery, the French representative on the Control Council has vetoed all proposals to this end on the grounds that the Ruhr problem should be dealt with first. As a result Germany for the past year has been, in effect, four separate countries. There has been practically no exchange of goods between the zones, and in each the occupying power has dictated such economic policies as have been developed. The Russians have been moving rather rapidly toward an integration of the economy of their zone with that of Russia, and the French, to some extent, have been following suit. The Americans and British have been drifting, taking day-to-day measures while waiting for an implementation of the Potsdam agreement.

Obviously this situation cannot continue long. The Potsdam program assumes unity among the occupying powers, as well as German unity, and if neither of these conditions is forthcoming the political and economic reorganization of Germany is bound to follow entirely different lines. General Clay's order indicates that the United States is at least preparing a hedge against the collapse of the Potsdam system. The British, who have hitherto always strongly resisted any move toward the dismemberment of Germany, now seem to be resigning themselves to that solution of the problem. An article in the May issue of the authoritative magazine *The World Today*, published by the Royal Institute of Foreign Affairs, reached the conclusion that a united Germany, economically capable of standing on its own feet, would also be strong enough to rearm. The price of security, therefore, was either the reduction of Germany to an economic slum existing on foreign subsidies or partition. Pointing out that the "economic and cultural reorientation now proceeding is, month by month, hardening the distinction between eastern and western Germany," the author of the article plumped for the second alternative. He advocated inclusion of the Russian zone in the economy of Eastern Europe and suggested that the three western zones should form a state whose fortunes would be linked with those of Western Europe. In terms of economic geography there is much to be said for this proposal, but the very drastic changes it will make in the political geography of Europe are likely to postpone its realization.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Blind Leading the Blind

Nothing will hustle; at his own sweet time
My father and his before him humanized
The seedy fields and heaped them on my house
Of straw; no flaring, hurtling thing surprised
Us out of season, and the corn-fed mouse
Reined in his bestial passions. Hildesheim
Survived the passing angel; who'd require
Our passion for the Easter? Satan snored
By the brass railing, while his back-log roared
And coiled its vapors on St. Gertrude's blue stone spire:

A land of mattocks; here the brothers strode,
Hulking as horses in their worsted hose
And cloaks and shin-guards—each had hooked his hoe
Upon his fellow's shoulder; by each nose
The aimless waterlines of eyeballs show
Their greenness. They are blind—blind to the road
And to its Maker. Here my father saw
The leadman trip against a pigpen, crash,
Legs spread, his cospiece split, his fiddle smash . . .
These mammoth vintners danced their blood out in the straw.

ROBERT LOWELL

War and Its Aftermath

THE LAST PHASE. By Walter Millis. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.50.

ECLIPSE. By Alan Moorehead. Coward-McCann. \$2.75.

TOP SECRET. By Ralph Ingersoll. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN. By Crane Brinton. Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

BRITAIN, PARTNER FOR PEACE. By Percy E. Corbett. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.

MR. MILLIS'S brief book is of very great merit indeed; yet I cannot think it is of much importance to *Nation* readers at this date. It is a wonderfully lucid account in five firmly organized chapters of the events in the western theater of the war from June, 1944, to May, 1945. It represents what one may call the official view of the strategy and tactics employed on both sides, admixed with no political speculations and with an absolute minimum of descriptive digression. It is an admirable job, clean and swift in its telling; that is all that need be said.

I should hardly be inclined to say more of Mr. Moorehead's "Eclipse" if it were not so superior to the average war correspondent's book. It covers the campaigns from Sicily to the liberation of Denmark and the German surrender, and throughout bears the marks of a distinguished personality. It is not only in the ease and precision of his writing that Mr. Moorehead excels. He is so sensitive and mature

an observer that one constantly feels, no matter how many books of this sort one may have read, that one is seeing the whole period afresh. Mr. Moorehead takes a British view of strategy, though there is no dogmatism or constriction of outlook and appreciation in his account. It is the human aspect of the tragedy that he sees, but unlike some "humanists" he wastes no time on trivia.

To Mr. Moorehead the major problem of Europe is that which follows from the moral degradation and material ruin of Germany, and not Western relations with Russia. Mr. Ingersoll places this latter question in the forefront and declares that the absolutely essential element of any valid solution is a total rejection of every entanglement with Britain.

Make no mistake about it: Mr. Ingersoll has written one of the most brilliant and provocative books about the war that has yet appeared. It is unlikely that anything so brutally frank and so violent will be published in a long while. The majority of the reviews that I have read have evaded the main issue of the book by concentrating upon the author's scorn for Eisenhower and Montgomery. It is as well, then, to set it down simply and squarely.

Britain, Mr. Ingersoll argues, at all times fought the war with a political intent that constantly prejudiced the chances of speedy victory. Concerned with its position in the post-war world, it was obsessed with the maintenance of Mediterranean power, desired to invade Germany through the Balkans in order to frustrate Russian expansion or political influence in that region, and was opposed to an irruption into Europe via the northern French coast. Its strategy was consistently anti-Russian. British leaders sought by obstinacy, diplomatic finesse, trickery, and deceit to counter and nullify the American strategy, which was rational and non-political. British inefficiency and excessive caution contributed to the same end.

That is not an unfair statement of the author's main contentions, and I will say at once that its central point is undoubtedly true. There was a characteristic British strategy, and its central conception was that the post-war threat to the Empire and to the pre-war order of European society would be the Soviets and communism. Its unrealism consisted in this, that the predominance of Russia in Europe was the logical consequence of the defeat of Hitler. The fact should have been accepted as inevitable. And this, if true, must always be borne in mind when we are considering post-war problems.

A reviewer's task does not end with setting down and appraising an author's main thesis, however. The way in which he argues it, his temper, the judgment he brings to the assessment of complex events, is of the greatest importance. And here I should say that Mr. Ingersoll so resembles the Orangeman who declared that all theology was a Catholic racket that I wonder he does not suggest that the Channel tides were a British conspiracy. Again and again the objective reader will be forced to say that the facts, as set down in "Top Secret," are no illustration of Mr.

Ingersoll's premise. A case in point, and there are many such, is his view of the irruption into Germany itself. The British proposal, in 1944, to force the entrance by the northern route through the Netherlands was anti-Russian, the author says, for London's object was not merely the defeat of Germany but to reach Berlin before the Russians and to secure control of the German coast. It does not occur to him that Bradley's plan for a forcing of the southern route, had it been followed to success, would not have conflicted with those alleged intentions. Had Bradley's proposal been backed, the American armies might well have brought about a total collapse of the enemy, in which case the British armies would have swept, or would have been swept, into much the same coastal positions they were eventually to occupy. So, too, the German collapse which Mr. Ingersoll believes might have been achieved in 1944 would have resulted in a disposition of Allied power in Germany far more favorable to the British intention. It is surely evident that the British pleas for the northern route were based upon traditional strategic conceptions, which may be equated with ignorance if one wishes; distrust of Bradley's chances, which may be regarded as bumptious insolence; and prestige, an inadmissible sin of British pride.

It is the same with many of Mr. Ingersoll's judgments on tactics and the capacities of generals. That Bradley, the author's chief, was the most brilliant of the Anglo-American leaders is hardly to be doubted; that Montgomery is a very unpleasant egotist and an overrated soldier is also true. But the case against the British is written with such crackling, even sneering violence and with such rash judgment in technical matters that the real force of the book is diminished. It is impossible not to believe that the drive in this book derives not only from his perception of a cardinal fact but from less rational, emotional sources. Those sources are, I believe, his moving devotion to General Bradley, nationalism, and the confused and ambivalent political excitement which is manifest in the closing chapters.

In these closing chapters Mr. Ingersoll attempts to point the lessons of the war. I quote in the author's italics:

During the war the British attempted to manipulate our military policy so that we would fight the war the way they wanted it fought—which was an anti-Russian way. They did not succeed. Now, with equal determination, they are attempting to manipulate American foreign policy to link our future irretrievably with theirs. If they succeed, and if there is a third world war, we will surely fight it for them, against the Russians.

Again there is an important truth in this. But the Orange-man in Mr. Ingersoll is still at his elbow. It is, surely, a pitiful mistake to see the present American opposition to Russian policies as nothing but the consequence of a British seduction of American innocence. To reject this view one has only to look to the Far East, where our policy exhibits identical characteristics. Ambivalence and confusion are so evident on every page of these closing chapters that if one desired mercilessly to satirize the author one would need only to set down consecutively the contradictory propositions which are implicit or explicit in them. If "we" do not use our influence, Britain's concern with what it regards as the

*An amazingly interesting story
of woman's true place in history*

Woman AS FORCE IN History

By
Mary R. Beard

"It's a man's world!" This well-worn phrase expresses a tradition—but is it true? Definitely untrue, says the eminent historian, Mary R. Beard, in her new book, **WOMAN AS FORCE IN HISTORY**. She challenges historians to go back to the original sources, where they will discover that women have done far more than simply exist and bear children. They have been a powerful factor in all the infamies, tyrannies, liberties, activities, and aspirations that constitute the past. Through the stories of countless women who have fought, ruled, intrigued, and contributed to the arts and sciences, Mrs. Beard brings a refreshing new view of the relationship between men and women. This book is a revolutionary study with wide social implications—but it is also an amazingly interesting story of woman's true place in history.

\$3.50 at your bookstore

MACMILLAN

A FOR EDUCATORS, STUDENTS, PARENTS

College Program in Action

A REVIEW OF WORKING PRINCIPLES
AT COLUMBIA COLLEGE

By the Committee on Plans. The first complete account of the actual operation of a "general education" program in which Columbia has pioneered for twenty-five years. A candid review of policy and practice, telling what Columbia has done and what it plans to do.

"Consolidating the academic trenches won . . . and advancing on new objectives."—
William G. Avirett, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*.

At all bookstores • \$2.00

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
Morningside Heights • New York 27



H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

"CRUX ANSATA—An Indictment
of the Roman Catholic Church."

A historical summary of the Catholic Church's
political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the
Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis. Cloth Binding \$1.75

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS," by L. H. Lehmann.
A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist
collaboration. Cloth Binding \$1.75

COMBINATION Both Cloth Bound Books \$3.00
OFFER

New Pamphlet

"VATICAN POLICY

IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

48 pages of Documented Facts 25¢

Free to those who return this ad with their order
for the above books

Order From:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 651
314 WEST 46TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Russian threat to the Empire will surely bring war. At the same time Russia is a centripetal (the author's word), non-expanding power, which therefore can be no threat to the Empire. Russia is a peaceful country, but Mr. Ingersoll is opposed to giving atomic secrets to it. The Soviets have given up their international revolutionism, but it is the duty of America to force Britain to accept in Europe a social structure which will be a compromise between the prevailing Western view and communism. At the same time we should not be too concerned about the possible demise of parliamentary institutions.

In all this confusion, this pseudo-Marxism and pseudo-nationalism, the colloidal cornerstone of Mr. Ingersoll's fantasy is a false image of America. What is America? one asks. What are the social forces and the political chances summed up in this "we"? And why does Mr. Ingersoll tell us that this socializing moderation is our role when he admonishes us to have no faith in the U. N.'s powers to solve the world's problems because "these are dependent upon three great national wills which cannot be held together by any organization or piece of paper"? The powers, he says, will never surrender their sovereignty, and therefore he urges us to insist upon an Anglo-Russian compromise in social matters, while we tell Britain bluntly that all disputes between it and Russia are no business of ours.

Communism is, I believe, a rigorously logical doctrine. So, too, is liberalism. They exclude surreptitious commutation between each other. To integrate the logic of left-wing socialism is less easy, but if we attempt to build a radical socialism upon an emotional bridge between the two first doctrines, we shall merely light votive candles to incompatible ideals that the gale of discord will surely blow out.

It is, I suggest, as impossible for non-Communist socialists and liberals to say that Britain is always wrong as to say that Russia is never right. And it does not do to overlook the fact that American disinterest in the British Empire is of itself insufficient to prevent the emergence of an Anglo-American "bloc." Professors Corbett and Brinton, though they would deny that such an association must necessarily be anti-Russian, both argue for what in effect would constitute a bloc. Neither takes much note of the fact that Moscow will have its own opinions as to what is an undesirable association. Mr. Corbett, who writes clearly and forcefully about external affairs, pays less attention than Mr. Brinton to Britain's interior problems. His "The United States and Britain" faces this dilemma, that the social route taken by British Labor may hinder the emergence of the Anglo-American association. He is therefore inclined to play down the Labor Party's socialism, and he seriously underestimates the necessity of radical reforms in Britain. Both authors see that the British Empire is necessarily in process of change, as Mr. Churchill angrily points out in defiance of Mr. Ingersoll's assertion to the contrary. But neither of the two writers on Britain is aware that the logical and emotional gulf between communism and socialism is so wide that any practicable British policy may of itself fail to guarantee comfortable relations with the Soviets. I would urge *Nation* subscribers to read the three last authors.

RALPH BATES

BRIEFER COMMENT

Ah, Brave New World!

REGIONALISM, which stresses the interaction between man and his environment within a specific geographic area, is one of the more meaningful of contemporary approaches to an understanding of America. The American Folkways series, of which Carey McWilliams's "Southern California Country" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, \$3.75) is part, is a systematic application of the regional hypothesis to American life. Like other historical series, the Folkways volumes are of uneven merit; however, the present study of the California area south of the Tehachapi range is a highly satisfactory account.

Beginning with a chapter on the geographic background, McWilliams has described the life of the region from the time it was inhabited by the Indians of the pre-Columbian era until the days of Garbo, Aimee McPherson, and the ham-and-eggs movement. While the author has done little spade research, he is familiar with most of the literature written about the region, and his synthesis is something more than adequate. There is, too, some excellent writing in this volume—which tends to compensate for a rather clumsy compromise with academic techniques whereby McWilliams, quoting extensively from secondary sources, barely identifies them. Nor does the absence of a bibliography contribute to the enlightenment of the reader. Yet the net cumulative effect of the material presented is that of a highly credible characterization of a most incredible region.

McWilliams believes that geographic influences, in the long run, will prove more determining than ethnic factors in shaping Southern California culture. His account of how Indian civilization was succeeded by Spanish, and Spanish by Anglo-American, and how the cultures of such ethnic groups as the Chinese and Mexicans have almost entirely vanished, is a challenge to the much-propagandized sentimental view of ethnic cultures as surviving and even flourishing in the American environment. In this connection, the sections which debunk the Mission legend and the highly romanticized Spanish tradition in Southern California are excellent.

The author anticipates the survival of a regional culture in Southern California which will derive its distinctive character from the unique geography of the area. At times he seems to underestimate the possibility that, with further development in the means of communication, the role of geographic factors as cultural determinants will be transcended. This, however, is a relatively minor defect in an otherwise noteworthy volume.

EDWARD N. SAVETH

Down with Functionalism!

I REMEMBER with what fascination I read Camillo Sitte's "Art of Building Cities" nearly forty years ago. He made me understand what I had felt obscurely: why the formulas of Haussmann, excellent in themselves, had on many occasions lamentably failed. So I heartily welcome this English translation, competently done by Lieutenant Charles T. Stewart,

U. S. N. R., with introductions by Eliel Saarinen and Ralph Walker, and a supplementary chapter by Arthur C. Holden (Reinhold, New York, \$5.50). On the face of it Sitte's book is a back number. He is little concerned with hygiene, transportation, or economics; he is attached to the traditional styles; he worked before the skyscraper became a menace and the automobile a decisive factor. His book is really a monograph: how to compose a plaza so as to provide a proper setting for a given edifice. A building designed irrespective of its site ("passe-partout"), a plan drawn without any relation to buildings (Burnham's weakness), cannot reach perfection. An architectural view should be guided by the same artistic rules as a camera shot: there are angles more interesting than others. The gridiron plan is of course an abomination. But Haussmann, continuing L'Enfant and the great planners of the baroque and classical eras, may also lead us astray. There is no doubt, for instance, that the plaza in front of Notre Dame in Paris is too large, and that the other buildings are obtrusively massive, pretentious, and commonplace.

It is a monograph then, but a monograph with a philosophy. For Sitte planning is not merely a technique but an art. He frankly seeks pleasure in beauty. I may be, with James Branch Cabell, the last fossil defender of Art for Art's Sake, in this world of Marxians, profiteers, and functionalists. Beauty is not a function; beauty is not a racket; beauty is not a by-product. And I shall not let Stalin, Hoover, and Le Corbusier bluff me out of my senses.

The message of Sitte will of course be particularly applicable to the salvaging and reconstruction of ancient cities in Europe. But, as Holden shows, it is of importance for us also. It does not interfere with efficiency. Even Florence would be all the better for super-highways—provided you do not route them through the Ponte Vecchio. Public buildings should not be placed flush with rectilinear streets, nor isolated in an enormous open square. Each should be set in an appropriate plaza, off the main lines of traffic. Our failure to grasp these "artistic fundamentals" accounts for the fact that elaborate civic centers like those of San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Denver are somehow disappointing. Sitte enables us to understand that old Italian and German cities have charm, not because they are old and strange, but because they are right. And by driving away the demons Mass and Symmetry, he might help us recapture some of that Old World charm in our own modern surroundings, without any thought of pastiche.

ALBERT GUERARD

FICTION IN REVIEW

NOWADAYS, when one is constantly amazed by the skill with which novelists who have nothing to say get the whole of it down on paper, it comes as something of a shock to find a novel like Merriam Modell's "The Sound of Years" (Simon and Schuster, \$2.75), which has so much more potential content than its author has been able to communicate. Not that Miss Modell's book suffers from any obvious technical deficiencies. It is more than competently contrived and written. But Miss Modell, whose stories in

the *New Yorker* have always suggested if not fully explored a psychological subtlety which sets them rather apart from the run of fiction in that magazine, has conceived for her first novel a psychological situation which is apparently beyond her present powers of projection. A book with a brave, bitterly valid basic idea can be read—I am afraid must be read—simply as a superior kind of comfortable entertainment. Its smooth execution quite hides the coarse grain of what I am sure was its original intention.

A few weeks ago, in reviewing Isaac Rosenfeld's "Passage from Home," I referred to E. E. Cummings's "And down they forgot as up they grew." The quotation is even more apposite to Miss Modell's novel than to Mr. Rosenfeld's. The clue to the fundamental conception of "The Sound of Years" is in its title. Here is the story of Ellen Cole, who, at twenty-one, might still have chosen between the line of her own youthful decency and generosity and the line of her unfeeling parents or of whom the fact that the choice had already been determined in favor of the parental direction could be discerned by only the most penetrating eye, but who, in maturity, has so accepted the parental way that it is as if the instincts of love and graciousness had never been. At thirty-eight, the potential rebel of seventeen years before may still parade the fashionable small flags of emancipation, but she has really become the very blood and spirit of educated conformity. She is married to a successful, highly ethical lawyer; she is the mother of a four-year-old exemplification of the best theories of child training; she is the mistress of a home built upon our most advanced and conscientious domestic principles. Indeed, Ellen might have been

dreamed up in a conference between the editors of *Good Housekeeping* and *PM*. Beautifully even-tempered with her family, just friendly enough with servants and elevator boys, just enough against fascism and in favor of ration points, Miss Modell's heroine is virtually the archetype of modern progressive young womanhood. She meshes perfectly with the wheels of our present-day practical idealism—until, that is, she must meet the kind of emotional test with which it is the proper task of the novelist to confront such a nicely packaged product. The test of Ellen Cole is the sudden appearance in her life of Brigitta, the seventeen-year-old child of her youthful indiscretion, who has been raised by acquaintances abroad. It is in Ellen's behavior to Brigitta that we discover the lack of all imagination, the depths of self-interest, the real atrophy of heart that can lie behind a front of so much seeming decency, alertness, and humanitarianism.

But although this, I feel sure, is the story Miss Modell meant to search for its psychological and social truth—and I think she may even have intended a good deal of satire of manners in her devastatingly accurate picture of Ellen Cole's way of life—actually what she has got down on paper is neither meaningful research nor satire, but only a middling-thick "problem" novel: "What would you have done in Ellen's place?" as one reviewer can inquire. The discrepancy may be accounted for in several ways.

On the most superficial level it may be the result of an error in the formulation of Ellen's character. For if Ellen is to be regarded either as the embodiment of the moral and emotional degeneration to which all people are prone as they advance in years, or as the symbol of a section of society whose gifts of self-deception are particularly well developed and peculiarly dangerous, her conduct must be held strictly within the sphere of the normal. And it is not normal for a woman to desert her child at birth as Ellen did, and it is distinctly pathological for her to forget the child's existence for seventeen years. In the light of Ellen's emotional history, her coldness to Brigitta when the girl reappears has only a personal, clinical logic; it has no general reference.

Then, on a considerably deeper level, Miss Modell's failure to communicate what she set out to communicate can be ascribed to the imbalance between the quality of her human insights and the quality of her literary standards—for I have the impression that the author of "The Sound of Years" has seen and felt much better than she has read, that she lacks, not the courage of her knowledge of people, but a literary ideal which would allow her to be as courageous as so much insight requires. This lack reveals itself, for instance, in her style, which creates no overtones of analysis or comment but many and unmistakable overtones of *New Yorker* chic. (One compares the evocative style of Elizabeth Bowen's "The Death of the Heart," on a similar theme.)

Finally, on the deepest level of all, the inadequacy of Miss Modell's performance to her idea must be understood as the responsibility of the segment of our culture that produced it. For surely there is a sharp cultural significance in Miss Modell's relation to her heroine. I speak of the error of making Ellen so pathologically cold. But is this merely an accident of conception? Is it not, instead, the only means available to her author to separate herself from a central character with whom at all other points our culture presses her to be

Important Notice to Nation Readers

BECAUSE of large increases in production and general overhead costs during the past six years, *The Nation*, like other established journals of opinion, has finally been forced to raise its annual subscription price to \$6, effective July 1, 1946.

► We can assure our readers that this action was delayed as long as possible; that we were obliged either to take this step or to sacrifice the quality of *The Nation*.

► However, with this advance notice of price change we want to extend to *Nation* subscribers the privilege of renewing their current subscription, no matter when it expires, for another year, at the prevailing low rate of \$5.00, provided they send in their remittance before July 1 next.

► That we appreciate the loyalty and interest of our subscribers goes without saying, and we sincerely hope to repay them with a magazine of ever increasing excellence.

sympathetic? After all, our society imputes an unquestionable virtue to Ellen's kind of woman. It insists that anyone so social-minded, so domestically dutiful, so slim, so tastefully dressed, so literate, so unfrigid (in her head), so colloquial, so able to mock herself, is the best possible modern female thing. Miss Modell knows better. But where does our society give her an ideal to set against the Ellen ideal? What language does it teach her for attacking the plausible idiom of our Ellen Coles? To attempt a true destruction of the Ellen-image of modern woman would constitute a revolutionary cultural act—by extension perhaps even a revolutionary political act. Although Miss Modell is enough of an artist to have conceived such a purpose, she is not enough of an artist to have executed it. In the measure that she herself takes refuge in the same culture that provides a refuge for her heroine, her novel must inevitably miss stature.

I have been judging "The Sound of Years" by what it promises but falls short of achieving; to do less would be a grave injustice to a writer of Miss Modell's potentiality. This is not to say that the novel, even as it stands, is not in many ways unusually pleasing. The writing of the child Brigitta is entirely delightful; the handling of the subsidiary characters in the story is deft and satisfying. And almost all Miss Modell's reporting of manners is, more than proof of a sharp eye, proof of a mind able to penetrate well beneath the surfaces of department.

DIANA TRILLING

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
80th ST.
90th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

RIKO NOW
"TRUE TO LIFE . . . INTERESTING."
—N. Y. Herald-Tribune

JOAN FONTAINE
'From This Day Forward'

with **MARK STEVENS**
From THOMAS BELL'S novel, "All Brides Are Beautiful"
— AND —
'JOE PALOOKA, CHAMP' JOE KIRKWOOD, Jr.
ELYSE KNOX

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
Conny Island

Queens
Kath's
FLUSHING
Kath's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 82 St.

'Doll Face'
Based on LOUISE HOVICK Play
— AND —
'SHOCK' VINCENT PRICE
with Lynn Bari

MOTION PICTURES

PARAMOUNT Presents
BARBARA STANWYCK
ROBERT CUMMINGS
DIANNA LYNN
IN
'THE BRIDE WORE BOOTS'
Directed by IRVING PICHEL
HOW **PARAMOUNT** TIMES SQUARE

— IN PERSON —
GLEN GRAY
And the CASA LOMA ORCHESTRA
Plus
LARRY STORCH
Plus
THE FOUR EVANS
EXTRA!
LOUIS JORDAN
And His Famous Tanyany Five

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY
CAROUSEL
Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Jean Caste
MAJESTIC THEATRE
44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT
OKLAHOMA!
Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
ST. JAMES THEATRE
44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A smash hit of enormous proportions." —
Ward Morehouse, Sun.
MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY
The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH. 4-4258
Evenings 8:40. Matinee Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

LAST WEEKS!
Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOILKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S
I REMEMBER MAMA
from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOAN TETZEL • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX
45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4636.
Evgs. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

"Musical tops on Broadway."—Garland, Journal-American.
RICHARD RODGERS and OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd Present
ETHEL MERMAN in
"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN"
Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL THEA., 45th Street West of Broadway. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

CONCERT

BUDAPEST String Quartet in the **BEETHOVEN** Quartets and Grand Fugue
SIX CONCERTS—MONDAY EVES. at 8:40 NOV. 4-11-18-25, DEC. 2-9, 1946
Subscription: ORCHESTRA \$8.40 inc. tax; BALCONY \$7.20 inc. tax
THESE L. KAUFMANN AUDITORIUM
"One of N. Y.'s Finest Intimate Air-Conditioned Concert Halls"
LEXINGTON AVE. Y. M. and Y. W. H. A. Phone ATwater 9-2400
at 92nd St., N. Y. 28

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

WITH a double bill composed of "Oedipus the King" and "The Critic" the Old Vic company has now offered the final items in the repertory to be presented during its current visit to the Century Theater. Sophocles has not generally been regarded as providing promising material for Broadway, but when the curtain fell on "Oedipus" Mr. Olivier and his fellows got the most tumultuous ovation yet accorded them and got it with good reason. Shakespeare has been successfully tested in the theaters hereabouts a good many times before; Chekov is well established as a locally viable playwright; but Sophocles had his New York reputation still to make, and the Old Vic company has helped him make it. It is using Yeats's straightforward, plain-spoken version, and the monstrous old story of primitive horrors, which was already archaic and far away when the play had its first night in Athens, comes alive again to stir atavistic terrors still leading subterranean lives in the hearts of a twentieth-century audience.

All the principal roles are well played, but the success of the presentation depends less upon individual performances than upon the fact that the general conception regarding the way in which the whole thing is to be set forth proves to be an effective one. It is stylized and ritualized to just the degree which the form as well as the spirit requires, and at the same time it is left human enough to make possible that partial empathy without which the action could have only a formal meaning external to ourselves. The stage setting is dominated by the two columns of Oedipus's palace rising at one side and by an ancient statue of a god whose primitive rather than Periclean face stares straight out into the eyes of the audience. That, I think, is precisely right, since it establishes the crucial fact that the story of Oedipus was old in theme and underlying meaning even when Sophocles used it for his play. Modern critics may discuss its modern, that is, its fifth-century, meaning. Oedipus, they say, was doomed by fate because his character—his pride and the heedless irascibility which made it inevitable that he would commit sometime and somewhere some dreadful, destroying mistake—is his fate. But that was as much a rationalization in Sophocles's day as it is in ours, a mere

concession, as it were, to the "modernism" of Athens or New York. The real appeal of the play is not to the superficial layer of civilization on the Greek mind or the contemporary mind, but to the ancient substrata where Fate and Prophecy are still shuddering realities, and where the taboo against incest—about which Freud may quite possibly have sensed an important truth—is still unutterably significant. What's Oedipus to us or we to Oedipus? Rationally he is nothing, instinctively a great deal.

In "The Critic" Mr. Olivier switches from Oedipus to Mr. Puff, the publicist and dramatic author, Mr. Richardson from Tiresias to Lord Burleigh, whose wordless soliloquy is one of the high points of Mr. Puff's play; and Miss Redmond from one of Jocasta's attendants to the inevitable "confidant" of Puff's tragic heroine. But in a way it seems to me that their versatility is no more remarkable than the mental and emotional versatility of the human-being-as-spectator who can, in no less time, switch from the mood in which "Oedipus the King" means something to that in which "The Critic" means something also.

If the former can be successful because it was already timeless two thousand years ago, "The Critic" can be successful now because in certain quite definite respects it is still timely now—though of course somewhat less so—as it was timely in the seventeen-seventies. Plays about plays were then already a familiar genre; but except for "The Knight of the Burning Pestle" none of the earlier ones, not even the long popular "Rehearsal," would be actable today—not only because none has wit enough to keep it sweet but also because the satire and the burlesque have lost their point. Much that Sheridan satirizes is, on the other hand, still open to satire, and that is often true of even the little collateral subjects, such as Mrs. Dangle's reproof of her theater-mad husband for not reading in the newspapers: "There are letters every day . . . proving that the nation is utterly undone; but you never will read anything to entertain one." The publicist who makes it his business to get into the public prints little items of news which have a purpose not always openly confessed was just beginning to be the recognized force he still remains; drama criticism had only recently become a real influence on theatergoers; and a very pretty antiquarian study might be made to show how the point of Sheridan's burlesque on theatrical conventions re-

mains a point because in his time as well as partly through his efforts the technique of playwriting was evolving in the direction of what it still remains.

Of all this the audience does not, of course, need to be consciously aware for it merely feels the timeliness of Sheridan as it felt the timelessness of Sophocles. Quite obviously the company has a thoroughly good time in the performance, which begins on the level of high satire and grows progressively broader until it ends in rough and tumble when the scenery for the big spectacle in Mr. Puff's historical tragedy goes berserk in an episode which reminded at least one spectator of the big moment in the adventures of the Marx brothers behind the scenes of the opera "Oedipus" purges the soul; "The Critic" tickles both the mind and the ribs.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

OUTSTANDING on Victor's June list is the record (11-9172; \$1) of Weber's Overture to "Der Freischütz," performed by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony. The piece is a fine one; the performance presents it to us with characteristic plastic modeling, organic coherence and continuity, and dramatic force; and the record reproduces its sound excellently—all except the bass, which lacks depth and solidity.

Also outstanding is the record (11-9175; \$1) of the superb duet of Violetta and Germont from Act 2 of Verdi's "Traviata," sung by Albanese and Merrill with an orchestra under Weissmann. It is the first part of the duet, *Dite alla giovine*, that I find superb; and first it is Albanese who amazes one with the vocal and musical art of her delivery of its sustained phrases; then it is Merrill who does so with the magnificence of the fresh voice that he uses with such discretion; and then it is the beautifully blended singing of the two. The record not only reproduces voices and orchestra excellently, but allows the orchestra to be heard clearly with the voices.

Any new recorded performances of Bach's "Brandenburg" Concertos have to meet the test of comparison with the ones that Adolf Busch's Chamber Players recorded in Europe a number of years ago; and I am sorry to have to report that the performances of Nos. 3 and 4 by part of the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky (Set 1050; \$4.85)

do not stand the comparison well. The Busch performance of the first movement of No. 3 has the lightness, clarity, and subtle inflection of playing by a small chamber group, and these qualities are preserved by recording which defines the sound clearly in live quiet; the Boston Symphony performance has the more massive and less flexible sound of a considerably larger group of strings in a reverberant empty auditorium. And to this difference there is added, in the last movement, a difference in pace that makes the Boston Symphony performance stodgy as compared with the brilliantly light-footed Busch. The first movement of No. 4 the Boston Symphony plays very beautifully—with lightness and delicacy and the exquisite sound of Laurent's flute; but Busch himself plays the violin part far better than Burgin, and the Busch group as a whole achieves a more integrated ensemble performance. And in the last movement there are again differences in sonority and pace which make the Boston Symphony performance opaque and stodgy where the Busch is clear and buoyant. The concertos take seven sides of the Victor set; and on the eighth is Pick-Mangiagalli's monstrous transcription for full orchestra of the great Prelude of Bach's E major Sonata for unaccompanied violin.

Two fine songs of Schumann, "Stille Tränen" and "Der Nussbaum," are sung by Marian Anderson with Rupp at the piano (11-9173; \$1). Anderson's singing is again uneven—with some tones that are opulent, but with more that are dry and metallic and not absolutely on pitch. Rupp provides it with contexts that are exciting in their beauty of sound and musical life, and that are reproduced in their proper relation to the singing.

Having issued performances by Toscanini and Koussevitzky on its new plastic records, Victor now issues one by Stokowski—of Brahms' First Symphony, recorded this time with the Hollywood Bowl Symphony Orchestra (Set V-4; \$10.85). It is a performance that brings out the worst of this dreadful work, intensifying what is excessive to start with. The orchestra is quite a good one; and its sound is richly reproduced, but blurred occasionally by reverberation in the empty auditorium.

I still have not been able to hear the new phonographs.

And finally, most of the tunes, lyrics, sketches, humor, dances and performances are good enough to make "Call Me Mister"—even with bad things like

the second-act ballet and the Jules Munshin burlesque of Maurice Evans—one of the best musical shows of recent years. But "Annie Get Your Gun" has nothing but a few good lyrics that provide Ethel Merman with material for her very efficient technique of being very funny.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

IN "The Blue Dahlia" a newly discharged veteran, Alan Ladd, spends a busy night raking the Hollywood half-world for the killer of his wife, whom he didn't much want anyhow. He becomes involved with a motel house dick, the deskman of a mean hotel, a couple of gunmen, a night-club proprietor, some detectives, and Veronica Lake, among others; and they and the sets and moods they move through all seem to me convincing and entertaining in a dry, nervous, electric way. John McManus of *PM* has recently objected to this and similar seamy melodramas, accusing Hollywood of neglecting to make films which can possibly interest, open, or influence honest minds on any social or political issue. I agree that the job has been neglected, and there is a good deal in that line that I wish was being done. But I don't think that is a criterion for good movies; I feel there is at least as much to be dreaded as desired in American films taking up such editorial "responsibilities" instead of just leaving it to Harry Warner and Eric Johnston to sound off about them; and I hope there will be more films of the quality of "The Blue Dahlia," rather than fewer. The picture is neatly stylized and synchronized, and as uninterested in moral excitement, as a good ballet; it knows its own weight and size perfectly and carries them gracefully and without self-importance; it is, barring occasional victories and noble accidents, about as good a movie as can be expected from the big factories. In its own uninsistent way, for that matter, it does carry a certain amount of social criticism. For it crawls with American types; and their mannerisms and affectations, and their chief preoccupations—blackmail and what's-in-it-for-me—all seem to me to reflect, however coolly, things that are deeply characteristic of this civilization.

"Her Kind of Man" is the same kind of thing, done, however, with much less taste and style, an ounce or two of un-

interesting interest in cause and motive, and an apparent desire, in which to a mild extent it clumsily succeeds, to present the world of gambling and show-business of the Year of Repeal as both attractive and repellent.

"Cluny Brown" is a comedy about English snobism on three levels; county family, backstairs, and lower middle class. For good measure there is also a plumber who, despite his loyalty to the labor ticket, wears a bustle on his brain. There are also a couple of patrician liberals, fatuously melodramatic in their eagerness to protect an anti-fascist refugee, Charles Boyer, from assassination. I would think better of the pasting of this kind of liberal, richly deserved as it is, if it had been done at a less safe time. All this social kidding turns on a housemaid, Jennifer Jones, who can never remember for long what is meant by knowing one's place. One main difficulty is that comedies about snobism seem, as a rule, to depend on stimulating and playing up to, rather than shriveling, the worst kinds of snobism in the audience. In spite of this, Ernst Lubitsch's direction—always, at its best, so shrewd about protocol—makes the film more amusing than there was any other reason to expect; and Richard Haydn's performance as a prissily bullying, mother-bound druggist is very nice caricature.

In "Without Reservations" Claudette Colbert, another kidded liberal, learns more about life in the course of a transcontinental romp with a couple of men in uniform, John Wayne and Don DeFore. Messrs. Wayne and DeFore have kinds of hardness and conceit, in their relations with women, which are a good deal nearer the real thing than movies usually get. A predatory toots is repeatedly spoken of as a beetle, a good word for the kind which I had heard of, before, only as German slang. Miss Colbert does another of those tipsiness acts of hers which do more toward reducing me to Pepsi-Cola than any number of Lost Weekends ever could. The whole business is fairly smooth and spirited without attaining to any of the charm, or for that matter much of the corn, of "It Happened One Night." One thing I really enjoyed in it was the flooding of landscapes past the train windows, which were the most satisfying—if not nearly satisfying enough—that I remember seeing in an American movie. I was also glad to see Mervyn Leroy destroy the Hollywood convention which forbids shooting such things as a scene in a railway coach in such a way that the

landscape moves now left-to-right, now right-to-left. And late in the film Louella Parsons appears, in person, at her microphone, also in person, with all the bewildering force of a chenille sledgehammer.

Announcing the

SCHOOL of POLITICAL ACTION TECHNIQUES

Conducted by the
**NATIONAL CITIZENS
POLITICAL ACTION
COMMITTEE**

89 classes covering every phase of political campaigning, from "Building Ward and Precinct Organizations" to the use of radio, leaflets and posters in political campaigns. Faculty of over 80 prominent professional and political experts.

Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.
June 26 to June 29, 1946

SEND FOR CATALOGUE
NCPCAP, 205 East 42nd St., New York 17, N. Y.

GOOD USED BOOKS

History, Philosophy, Art,
Biography, Fiction, etc., etc.

Free Catalogs on Request

H. H. EVANS, Bookseller

3319 Sacramento • San Francisco 18

The New Statesman and Nation

England's Leading Weekly Review
may now be obtained through

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Yearly subscription
\$6.50 including postage
SPECIMEN copy on request

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Angell: Distorted

Dear Sirs: If one were looking for examples of how facts can be distorted, Sir Norman Angell's article, *Leftism in the Atomic Age* (*The Nation*, May 11), would make a perfect exhibit. Almost the entire article is based on half-facts and speciousness. . . .

Angell refers to the constant warning of Stalin and other Russian leaders concerning the threat of Western capitalist powers. His implication plainly is that this threat is unfounded. Possibly he has not seen the latest Gallup poll, showing that most Americans believe there will be a third world war in the next generation. And guess with whom.

A. H. PERON

Chicago, May 15

Angell: Disillusioned

Dear Sirs: I did as requested—read Sir Norman first, then *The Nation's* comment. This was merely technical observance, since I was in Geneva to hear Sir Norman despair in 1937. He has written cogently in *Free World* since then, with deceptive show of the ancient wisdom, but he is a disillusioned man and—what is no disparagement—so typically an Englishman in his espousal of gradualism that he cannot sympathize with the rebellion of his own countrymen, a healthy and worldwide symptom that the old order changeth. . . .

DOROTHY HOWELLS

New York, May 9

Angell: He Was Right

Dear Sirs: I cannot understand why you devote a whole page in *The Nation* to a dissenting opinion on Sir Norman Angell's article when your attack on him seems to be entirely due to his merely implying that we did not fight the war for the primary purpose of establishing a new social order. Well, we didn't. America fought because she was attacked and England because it was obvious that she would be, after Hitler had conquered and occupied every country in continental Europe.

What your argument in rebuttal of Angell amounts to is a labored defense of Russia's actions both prior to and since the war, and of Communists in other countries, and their fellow-travelers like Professor Laski, whose

speech at *The Nation* dinner might as well have come from the lips of Molotov. . . .

HANSON LEWIS

New York, May 14

Angell: Stimulating

Dear Sirs: Please spare us the rush of words to the page exemplified by the editorial *What Did We Fight For?* It is discouraging to us unfortunate capitalists who are trying to find out what we did fight for and are completely baffled by such a running around in circles.

To one of my simple mind Norman Angell's *Leftism in the Atomic Age* was informative, stimulating, and encouraging. Certainly it was no Taftish argument for "free enterprise." But I am afraid that when it indicated that not every single step ever taken by Russia had been perfect, straightforward, and honest, it upset you too much. A second thought would have reminded you that no single government in the world's history has ever been thoroughly honest and straightforward.

I am for letting Russia be Communist or whatever else it chooses to be. I am for letting England decide what it wants to be. And I am likewise for letting the United States decide what it wants to be, without having that decision made in Moscow, London, or Madrid.

I agree completely with Angell's statement of the situation in the next to the last paragraph of his article. Congratulations on running it. And let's have some editorials that would not indicate that everything capitalists do is always wrong and everything Russia does is right.

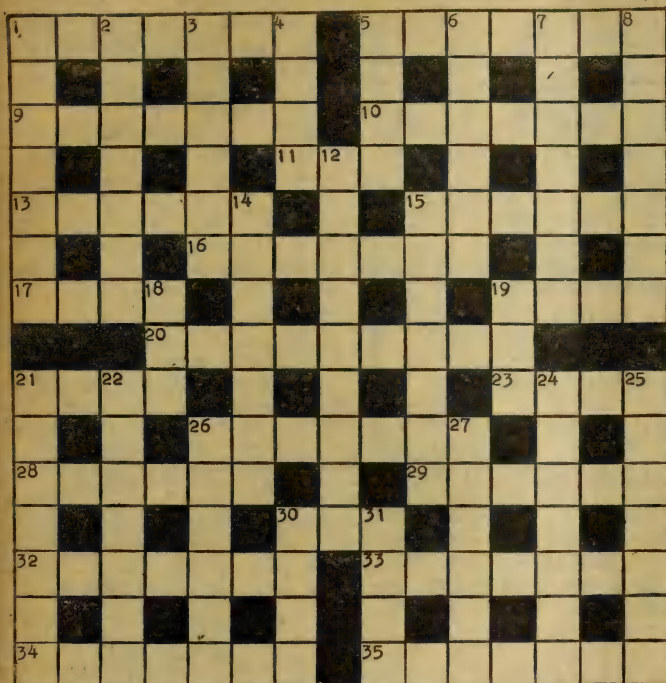
FLOYD J. MILLER

Royal Oak, Mich., May 18

[The editors recommend that Messrs. Lewis and Miller give the editorial in question a second and more careful reading—particularly that section which reads: "Nor have we ever suggested that the problem (of misunderstanding between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union) can be solved simply by saying 'yes' to all Russia's demands and proposals and so achieving 'unity.' It is as disastrous to assume with the Stalinists that all dissenting positions of the democracies are further evidence of the anti-Soviet conspiracy as it is to assume with our civilian and military reactionaries that war with Russia must come and we had better get ready."]

Crossword Puzzle No. 164

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 A fishy sort of woman
- 5 Kind of eucalyptus (two words, 4 and 3)
- 9 Book of the Pentateuch
- 10 Aren't obelisks darn things?
- 11 Sounds more like you than me, doesn't it?
- 13 Let go
- 15 Good-humored but eccentric captain in Dickens' *Dombey and Son*
- 16 Of local interest in the Capitol
- 17 An Amazonian kind of rubber
- 19 A liar in retreat
- 20 Give a friend a piece of furniture that is to his taste
- 21 Everybody should be able to draw this
- 23 Biblical king who walked delicately
- 26 Leap in the trap
- 28 U.S.S. Leo (anag.)
- 29 Salad herb I've put an end to
- 30 Dew you pronounce it do?
- 32 Tummy trouble, perhaps
- 33 A tall, cool drink—but not for the toper! (two words, 4 and 3)
- 34 Students taking them are not markedly hot or cold
- 35 "Tis not in mortals to command success, But we'll do more . . . we'll ----- it"

DOWN

- 1 One educated beyond his intellect
- 2 A big stockman out West, perhaps
- 3 Describes a sailor away on a mission
- 4 Tragically Italian actress
- 5 Precious, in fiction
- 6 Serviceable

7 Statue (by Pygmalion) that came to life

- 8 Different kind of rubber to 17
- 12 A watch should be kept on this (5-4)
- 14 Lumps
- 15 Hardly the sort of rose for a buttonhole
- 18 Less petulant and mischievous than the monkey
- 19 The lowing herd wound slowly over it, in the elegy
- 21 "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the ----- his spots?" (Well, it can move from one spot to another)
- 22 Making a home in the bush
- 24 Brilliance
- 25 Missile delivered by hand which comes as a bombshell
- 26 Floodgate
- 27 Angna goes in
- 30 Changes color
- 31 Coil, and sounds like what the unhappy dog did

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 163

ACROSS:—1 WIVES; 5 UPPER; 9 IN-GRAIN; 10 GRAIN; 11 WRING; 12 GUY-ROPE; 16 SODDEN; 19 ILL-USE; 22 ARMA-DILLO; 23 ITIS; 24 PAVE; 25 HORSE-WHIP; 26 WINE; 27 ELIA; 28 ROISTERER; 31 CHASER; 33 DASHES; 36 ADDRESS; 39 YOKEL; 40 IDIOM; 41 GRECIAN; 42 ENEMY; 43 GUSTY.

DOWN:—1 WAGES; 2 VIAND; 3 SINGER; 4 UGLY; 5 SAGO; 6 UNWELL; 7 POILU; 8 ROGUE; 13 UNMARRIED; 14 RED-LET-TER; 15 PILCHARDS; 17 OSTRICH; 18 DASHES; 20 LOPERS; 21 SEVILLE; 29 OTALGY; 30 EASING; 31 CLYDE; 32 ANKLE; 34 HIRS; 35 SAMMY; 37 DIET; 38 EPIC.

COURSE

ARE YOU OPEN-MINDED?

The ATOM BOMB swept the New Age into a ONE WORLD FACT. Let TRUTH sweep from your mind the old relics of MYSTICISM, FEAR and SUPERSTITION. Live according to Nature's Laws.

THE NEW SCIENTIFIC METAPHYSICS shows the way.

It is vividly, forcefully and clearly presented in the

One-World Extension Course offered of a free-will payment plan. Blend your will with the Universal. Why struggle? Dare to live splendidly.

For information, write at once to

ONE-WORLD EXTENSION COURSE
Topeka, Kansas, Box 717, Dept. X
UNITED NATIONS

LANGUAGES

STUDY EASILY and quickly all languages by phonograph records. Also rentals. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17. MU. 3-1093.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.40 per carton, postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

BOOKS

OUT-OF-PRINT and hard-to-find books located free of charge. Send list of wants to J. Thompson, 1 Hillside Ave., Pelham, N. Y.

"STAGEFRIGHT, Its Cause and Cure," Booklet \$1.00. Goodhue Studio, 56 Fayerweather Street, Cambridge, Mass.

INFLATION IS COMING by Ralph Borsodi—a practical post-war plan by an economist who foresaw the crash of 1929. Send \$1.00 to Downtown Book Bazaar, 212 Broadway, New York City 7.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

40 MILE VIEW; one acre garden; six-room house with new cellar; new white paint; freshly plastered walls; 16 miles Tangewood; electricity; well. Asking \$3,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, Chatham, N. Y.

CHILDREN'S DAY CAMP

MIDTOWN CHILDRENS CENTER

at West 71st Street

SUMMER DAY CAMP — AGES 6 TO 12

Swimming, Sports, Outdoor Camping, Arts and Crafts, Baby Day Activity, LICENSED ADULT SUPERVISION

Please write or call

Miss ETHEL ABRAMS, Morningside, Schuyler 4-4208

Classified Advertisements

62 cents a line (six words)

MINIMUM — 3 lines

\$6.16 per inch

Attractive discounts for multiple insertions.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Barclay 7-1066

RESORTS

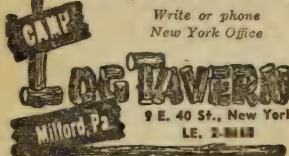
A JUNE SPECIAL at
Camp LOG TAVERN

Campers Reunion Weekend

Fri. Eve. June 14 • Sun. Eve. June 16

2 Full Days of Superb Sport \$15
Nights of Entertainment

Make your reservation NOW

Write or phone
New York OfficeBREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY
"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills
of Westchester County"The nearest of all nearby resorts. Exclusive
location. Luxuriously furnished. Dined.
All sport activities. Excellent cuisine.

OPEN ALL YEAR

Phone Armonk Village 955

CASA MANOR

ON BEAUTIFUL
LAKE COSSAYUNA
COSSAYUNA, NEW YORKOnly 20 miles from famed Saratoga. 50-guest limit to
preserve comfort, restful, informal atmosphere.
Excellent cuisine. Swimming, boating, fishing, tennis,
sunbath, etc. From July First. Write or call.JACOB M. OLSHANSKY
93 State Street, Albany, New York. Phone: 5-0363LAKE VIEW
LODGE BOLTON LANDINGon Lake George, N. Y.
A delightful secluded spot for a quiet, relaxing
vacation. Intimate, informal. Near all sports, in-
cluding golf—tennis—boating—riding—fishing. Newly
furnished—modern appointments. Excellent home cook-
ing and baking.OPENS JUNE 22. RATES FROM \$40
F. MARTIN, Mgr. For Illustrated Folder write
P.O. Box 377, Times Sq. Sta., N. Y. 18, N. Y."THE WEATHERVANE"
ON THE MOORS

East Gloucester • Massachusetts

Located in enchanting art colony. Five minute walk to
beach. Inspiring surroundings—intriguing people.

The Location Also of

FRANK PACK School of Painting

Write to: BERTRAM OPPENHEIM
1111 President Street Brooklyn 23, N. Y.An Invitation to carefree vacation. We take
pride in announcing the opening of
DEUEL HOLLOW HOUSEIn beautiful, historic Dutchess County. 70 miles
from New York. Delicious food served on ter-
race overlooking our private lake. Tennis,
handball, swimming. Recreation in antique
Quaker hall. A completely informal atmosphere.DEUEL HOLLOW HOUSE
Windsor, N. Y. Phone 2588

WESTERN VIEW FARM

27th SEASON

OPEN MAY UNTIL NOVEMBER

RATES: \$10 A DAY

Address: TED OLMER
New Milford Connecticut
Telephone New Milford 440

SACKS FARM

Saugerties, N. Y. Tel. 590-J

Unusually beautiful countryside, pine woods,
wood, homey Jewish-American cooking. All
conveniences. Intimate and restful. Swim-
ming, horseback, tennis and other sports.
Adults. Booklet.

RESORTS

50 MILES
to FOREST HOUSEYour vacation will be
truly an unforgettable
one. In this gay resort-
paradise. Forest House
achieves new levels of
relaxation, rest and
happiness. Superb
food, fine quarters,
congenial hospitality. 2
grand lakes, all sports.

LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y. TEL. MAHOPAC 508

ROSS COUNTRY CLUB
MONROE, New York
Honeymooners' ParadiseLOW SPRING RATES
To July 1stA PALATIAL ESTATE
In a setting of scenic splendor
All Sports • Dancng • Excellent Cuisine
N. Y. Phone MU 4-3803 — Monroe 8161
Location: 8 miles above Monroe. Rt. 208Only 50 miles
from New York

Yours for Vacation Enjoyment

HILLTOP
LODGE

On beautiful Sylvan Lake

HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.

65 mi. from N. Y. C. • R. R. Station Pawling, N. Y.

Every conceivable Sport and Recreation

with intimate, congenial people

Many improved features for the new season!

Open from May thru October

Under direction of:
PAUL WOLFSON &
SOL ROTHAUERNew York Office:
277 BROADWAY
COrtlandt 7-355850 MI.
FROM
NEW YORKRidgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A resort of distinction fashioned
from a country estate. Water
sports, hiking trails, tennis. Li-
brary, open fireplace. Congenial
atmosphere. Famous cuisine.

Indian Lake Lodge

In the Heart of the Adirondack

INDIAN LAKE, N. Y.

New York City Phone UN 3-0330
TEN MILE LONG LAKEA backdrop of 8,500 foot mountain
ranges, a hundred acres of lawn and
woodland.Scenic beauty plus all water sports,
tennis, hiking, informal atmosphere,
good food and comfortable quarters
are yours from

June 15th to September 15th

An ADIRONDACK Adult
Camp; Complete — Modern
Tennis and handball courts;
swimming, boating, etc.
Hotel comforts—camp in-
formality. All rooms for 2
June 15 to 28, \$45 weekly.

TWIN PINES

Joseph Saldel, Manager

P. O. Lake George, N. Y.

on Trout Lake

RESORTS



The Friendly Adult Camp

OPENING JUNE 21st

Gayly Informal

All Sports Facilities

FRANK ROTH'S ORCHESTRA

Broadway Stage Stars

GEORGE MARVIN, M. C.

Comfortable Cabins and Lodges
Excellent American-Jewish Cuisine

WOPOWOG LODGE

on Lake Salmon, East Hampton, Conn.

Write for Booklet to

300 5th Ave. N.Y.C. GRam. 7-1177

Managing Director Dr. Maxwell Keys

Associate Directors:

Sammy Kay Johnny Swedlin

WINDY ESTATE ON IVY SHORE



INTIMATE ATMOSPHERE, COCKTAIL PARTIES

SEARCH HIGH MEMBERSHIP, ALL SPORTS

SOLLYS, 50 MILES FROM N. Y.

8 MINUTES FROM

DATE TRAIL Tel. 6-000 BRANCH 2433

HATHAWAY LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the
beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms,
many with open fireplaces and private porches. Winding
Mountain Trails. Delicious food. Easy Transportation.

Special Spring Rates • Make reservations now

For reservations or further information write or call

HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.

Telephone: Tannersville 289



FORTY-LOVE

Because South Wind (with a ca-
pacity of 100) has built its four
clay tennis courts with extra, it
has attracted a "Tennis Crowd"

— a young, eager group of fine adults.

SOUTH WIND

WOODBORNE, N. Y.

LARGE PRIVATE LAKE • ALL SPORTS

Attractive June Rates

KUTAY'S LODGE

ACCORD, ULSTER COUNTY, N. Y.

Telephone: Kerhonkson 8014M

Informal Adults Resort

Moderate Rates • Jewish-American meals

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults.
Swimming, boating, fishing, good food.
Private baths. June 27th to September 16th.
From \$80.00 weekly double. American
plan. Box 77, Munsonville, N. H.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 15, 1946

NUMBER 24

The Shape of Things

FOREIGN MINISTER EVATT OF AUSTRALIA sounded a note long awaited in the Security Council, the note of moral realism. He recalled the speech of Cordell Hull two years ago in which he said, "We have moved from the careless tolerance of evil institutions to the conviction that free government and Nazi and Fascist government cannot coexist in this world." Franco Spain, said Evatt, is a fascist regime "which was introduced by force, was based on force, was associated with similar regimes in acts of violence, including the extreme violence of the World War itself, and is maintaining itself by force and violence." The report of the subcommittee, documenting the declarations of San Francisco, Potsdam, and London that barred Spain from the society of peace-loving nations, provided ample proof of the regime's potential menace to world peace. At London the Assembly requested the member nations to "act in accordance with the letter and spirit" of these statements. The Security Council now has the obligation of applying the principles of the declarations, of specifying the proper action to be taken. What action could be more fitting than that the Assembly, in which all the nations are represented, call upon its members to break off diplomatic relations with Franco? If unanimously adopted, such an action would be likely to prove effective in freeing the Spanish people from a tyranny too long endured. Why should the Spanish people, who first felt the cruelty of fascist war, be the last to experience the resurgence of European democracy? Evatt looked forward to the day when Franco would be gone and when the Spanish people would have "an opportunity to co-operate in the great purposes of the United Nations and to make their fitting contribution to the welfare of the world." This man was speaking not as an Australian, not as a representative of a power bloc, but as a member of the supreme council of the nations. No wonder the delegates from the United States and the United Kingdom required a few days to think it over.

✱

ONE EFFECT OF THE VATICAN'S POLITICAL excursions has been to spur the Protestant churches into united action without precedent in this country. A deep and growing sense of outrage has mounted among our citizenry over the campaign sponsored by the Knights of

Columbus and other Catholic groups in favor of the fascist Franco. The blatant interference of the Pope in the recent European elections has roused Americans who don't like to be told by any church how to vote and who cherish that basic tenet of democracy—separation of church and state. The fact that the leaders of seven great Protestant denominations representing more than thirty million members waited on President Truman to demand the recall of Myron C. Taylor from Rome should give pause to those Catholics here and abroad who debase the name "Christian" by applying it to the most reactionary of political faiths. When Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Churches of Christ in America, described the present diplomatic relations between Washington and the Vatican State as "unauthorized" and "unconstitutional" and demanded that they be permanently severed, he spoke for more than the delegation. He spoke for the vast majority of free Americans.

✱

MR. TRUMAN IS LIKE A MISCHIEVOUS BOY who seems to enjoy frightening people with no thought for the consequences. The President started off his press conference last Thursday with a sly grin on his face. He had a firecracker in his hand, and, oh boy, just wait until he threw it. With a bang the announcement came: Fred Vinson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; John Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury; the Office of Reconversion abolished. The correspondents trudging along Pennsylvania Avenue back to their offices were an awed and sober lot. They had not believed Mr. Truman even in his new reckless mood would go that far—John Snyder a Cabinet officer! Now the circle of White House advisers is narrowed: Snyder, the glum little Missouri banker who goaded Mr. Truman into his anti-labor stand and his neutrality on price controls; Admiral Leahy, a grim old reactionary; George Allen, the clown and one-time corporation lobbyist; John Steelman, more interested in keeping than in doing his job; Attorney General Tom Clark, Texas conservative. Vinson will fit easily into the Supreme Court. He is a friendly, tolerant Southerner of the Alben Barkley type, not a fighting liberal like Hugo Black or a thinker like Justice Douglas. The Republicans are delighted with the Snyder appointment. They will have good fun poking into his qualifications. As for

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	705
Last Chance to Stop Inflation	708
Europe Votes	709

ARTICLES

Information Please, Mr. Molotov by Harold J. Laski	710
British Labor Takes Stock by Aylmer Vallance	711
The New French Cabinet by J. Alvarez del Vayo	712
Yugoslavia Revisited by Hal Lehrman	713
I Was at Lichfield by Ashur Baizer	715
Small-Town America. II: St. Martinville, Louisiana by Alden Stevens	718
Political Psychotherapy by Martin Gumpert	719
In the Wind	720
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	721

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Anthropological Revolution by Nathan Glazer	722
Monopolies of the Mind by Henry Steele Commager	723
The Elements of Education by Agnes E. Benedict	725
Briefer Comment	725
Art by Clement Greenberg	727
Music by B. H. Haggin	728

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 730

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 165 by Jack Barrett	731
---	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

*Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kelllogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

the Democrats, the gloom last Thursday in their cloak-rooms and at national headquarters was as thick as a Washington fog. Some are going around muttering about the strange spell that has transformed Harry Truman, once so innocent and likable, into a character who takes a perverse delight in destroying the liberal movement, the Democratic Party, and respect for the office of President.

✱

THE SUPREME COURT HAS ONCE AGAIN tightened its noose around Jim Crow. In a recent six-to-one decision the court has invalidated a state statute requiring segregation of Negro passengers on interstate bus lines. The ruling was handed down on the appeal of Irene Morgan, a Negro woman, who was fined \$10 by a Virginia court for refusing to sit in the segregated section of a bus during a trip from Gloucester County, Virginia, to Baltimore, Maryland. The majority opinion, written by Justice Stanley F. Reed, is based on the sensible premise that "seating arrangements for the different races in interstate motor travel require a single, uniform rule to promote and to protect national travel." The principle used to uphold this rule of expediency was the familiar doctrine that the states cannot impose their regulations on interstate traffic. While the decision does not, of course, invalidate Jim Crow regulations on intrastate bus travel, it makes the enforcement of such regulations almost impossible. For it will be exceedingly difficult for the bus companies to apply one rule to interstate and still another to intrastate travel. That most of the increasingly important interstate bus travel is controlled by the same large companies which dominate the intrastate traffic will only complicate to absurdity any attempt to retain Jim Crow regulations on local travel. In this as in other recent decisions involving minority rights, the Supreme Court has not only cleared the way for affirmative Congressional action but appears to have suggested the advisability of such action. What is needed in this instance, of course, is legislation prohibiting all forms of segregation in interstate air, train, and bus travel. The Morgan case represents still another significant victory for Negro rights won by William H. Hastie in the Supreme Court. While Mr. Hastie will make an excellent Governor of the Virgin Islands, his presence will be sorely missed in Washington.

✱

ANOTHER COURT DECISION, THAT IN THE Lovett-Watson-Dodd cases, represented a significant victory in the often discouraging struggle against Congressional infringement of individual liberties. Since the establishment of the Dies committee some years ago, there has seemed to be no limit to the powers of a Congressional committee to slander respectable individuals and besmirch reputations by false accusations. In the case of Robert Morss Lovett, Goodwin Watson, and William

E. Dodd the House backed up its irresponsible committee by attaching a rider to an appropriation bill specifically denying salaries to the three men accused by the committee and forbidding their future employment by the government of the United States. Speaking for the court, Justice Black declared that the House's action "clearly accomplishes the punishment of the named individuals without a judicial trial." Thus the rider was, in effect, a bill of attainder, a legislative measure specifically outlawed by the Constitution. The decision does nothing to clear the reputations of the three accused men, or of the hundreds of others who have been hounded by the Dies and Rankin committees, but it at least serves warning to such committees that they cannot legally go beyond slander and seek to punish individuals for their political or economic beliefs.

★

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS HAS RESIGNED AS United States representative on the United Nations Security Council ostensibly on the ground that he feels he has completed the task intrusted to him by the President—the safe launching of the United Nations. Actually his departure is believed due to his chagrin at Secretary Byrnes's insistence on treating him as "a messenger boy." Mr. Stettinius would seem to have a right to object to such treatment except for the fact that he is a natural "messenger boy," lacking the qualities needed to command the respect of the Security Council. That respect, we are sure, will be won by his successor, Senator Warren R. Austin, a Vermont Republican who has never let party allegiance override his private convictions. Though a firm conservative in domestic affairs and a stalwart critic of the New Deal, Mr. Austin gave unswerving support to Roosevelt's foreign policies because he was convinced that fascism represented not only a physical but a moral danger. His willingness to accept his new post at a moment when the future of the United Nations looks dark is an indication that he holds tenaciously to his belief that the world can find security through collective action. "I would not have accepted the position," he told the Senate, "if I didn't have faith in the possibility of making progress."

★

THE ELECTION OF EUGENE MEYER AS HEAD of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has evoked general applause, in which *The Nation*, warmly joins. Of course we have often disagreed with Mr. Meyer on public questions and expect to do so in the future, but we respect his character and admire his ability. Having so far pursued three careers with distinction, he is clearly a man of parts. As a young man he headed his own very successful banking firm in New York. In 1917 he moved to Washington for a long spell of public service. In 1933, returning to private life, he

picked the *Washington Post* out of the gutter into which it had been pushed by the late Edward B. McLean and made it one of the best newspapers in the country. Now at seventy he is entering the service of the world as head of an institution which can play a great public part in fostering an expanding international economy. Mr. Meyer's reputation as a "sound" banker will, it has been suggested, encourage private financial houses to cooperate with the World Bank. That is important, but what is even more to the point is Mr. Meyer's broad understanding of the political and economic facts of international life and their relationship to American prosperity.

★

EATING AT CHILDS THE OTHER DAY—THE times are bad and, as the poet says, hourly worsen—*The Nation's* youngest and meekest staff member, a newly discharged soldier, sat glumly staring at his menu, debating whether to order Dutch Peace Cake or pie with Whipped Topping. Suddenly he began to laugh hysterically, and shouted: "This morning when I walked by the Dawn Patrol Barbershop it had a sign in the window, Black Eyes Made Natural; the shoestore sign says, Walk in Coward Comfort; and the restaurant next door says it's about to move into a building 'worthy of the name Chock Full O' Nuts.' The box of candy I bought for my wife says on the label that its made of lecithin, albumen, vegetable coloring matters, and gum arabic; when the army didn't send me overseas the bulletin board said, *Project Wonderful has been deactivated*; the new translation of the Bible says: Regard the log in your own eye; and the soap flakes at the grocery are named Atomic Fluff. Whipped Topping! Whipped Topping! I want cream!" The older members of the staff told the veteran that all this is Civilization As We Know It—something men neither understand nor change, but only adjust themselves to; they left him muttering, "And why do they have to call the good old League of Nations the UN?"

★

CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS ARE UNPREDICTABLE only to those who gaze upon the strange political scene from a distance. Far from being unexpected, Earl Warren's victory at the primary on June 4 was clearly indicated by every poll taken since the first of the year. While it has unquestionably made him a leading contender for the Republican nomination in 1948, it was the result, not so much of a swing to the right, as of "a crack at the left." And although Warren won handsomely, it can be safely predicted that the liberal nominees of the Democratic Party for Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General—John P. Shelley and Edmund G. Brown—will win in November. The liberal members of the California Congressional delegation all won renomination and should be reelected without difficulty. In fact, two of

these candidates, Cecil King and Chet Holifield, both Democrats, were reelected at the primaries. Scoring an impressive victory over Ellis E. Patterson in the hotly contested Senatorial race, Will Rogers, Jr., cut deeply into the Republican vote. On the basis of the primary returns, Rogers should defeat Senator William Knowland, the Republican nominee, in November. The conclusion would seem to be, therefore, that Warren's victory was a personal triumph, but such is not the case. The real story of the election is the defeat of Bob Kenny rather than the victory of Earl Warren. Complex and highly significant, the full details of this story must be reserved for a later issue. But this much can be said now: the defeat of Kenny was the result of widespread disaffection among California Democrats, the fratricidal feud between Patterson and Rogers which was permitted to become the major issue of the campaign, the complete disintegration of the coalition of forces that won impressive victories for Franklin D. Roosevelt, an outbreak of intransigent "infantile leftism," and a badly run campaign.

Last Chance to Stop Inflation

THE Senate Banking Committee labored and labored for seven weeks. Out came a creature so monstrous that it frightened and awed even the most callous member of the committee. The name it goes by is an example of the strange cynicism that rises occasionally on Capitol Hill. The name is "The Senate Price Control Bill."

When the committee doors opened last Thursday, the members were in an odd mood. Senator Millikin was struck by the humor of the situation. When asked if the committee action was unanimous he replied with a smile, "There was a unanimous lack of enthusiasm." Senator Taft was brusque. Senator Barkley, the Administration leader, grimly remarked, "I am making the report for the committee. But I will make it plain to the Senate I neither indorse or sponsor the bill." The Republicans, most responsible for the terrifying creature, disclaimed parentage. Said Senator Ferguson, "It's an orphan."

During the four weeks of closed executive sessions the committee was subjected to a barrage of pressure lobbying. Every group that could find a willing Senator used the closed doors and Congressional preoccupation with labor problems to tack on an amendment. Farm lobbyists, dairy interests, automobile and refrigerator manufacturers, cotton speculators, fats and oils professors, clothing manufacturers, retail merchandisers, all had their innings. In this "pin-the-tail-on-the-donkey" spirit Senator Hickenlooper even got in an amendment to help the work-glove manufacturers. On one amendment a

bewildered Senator voted yes, got scared and voted no, then decided to withdraw his vote altogether.

The forces were never equal. Senator Wagner, committee chairman, is a tired man and had to rely mainly on Senator Barkley to carry on the fight. But the majority leader could only be sure of Downey, Murdock, Taylor, and Mitchell—all Democrats—for support, and all his prestige and skill were not sufficient to halt the panicky rush to aid the pressure groups. Taft, with no special ax to grind but with an inveterate hatred of all government controls, led the opposition, skilfully encouraging everyone he could reach to put in an amendment. The resulting bill bears a close resemblance to the pork-barrel and graft bills that slip by in state legislatures.

All this time the White House was doing nothing. Chester Bowles, almost at the end of his string, prodded and pushed. But John Snyder was not interested in price controls: things would work out all right without them. In what may be his swan song Bowles made a dismal prophecy two days before the Senate committee reported. "If the price-control bill shaping up becomes law, instead of labor peace we can look for a renewal of wage demands, a renewal of management refusals, and a renewal of bitter and costly strikes to settle the issues."

He made another attempt to stir Truman into action. The afternoon the committee reported, the OPA sent a digest of the bill to the White House with a request that the President comment on it at his weekly press conference. To a reporter primed with the question Mr. Truman replied blandly that he didn't know anything about the bill, made it fairly evident that Bowles's resignation would not be unacceptable, and wound up by saying that just about all the reconversion problems were solved.

But public indifference has been the main factor behind the Senate committee report. The Senators felt secure behind the closed doors. The outraged constituents who had swelled the Congressional mailbags after the House action appeared no longer interested. The coal and railroad strikes were a helpful diversion. Then lobbyists whispered that all that mail had been just a lot of propaganda stirred up by the C. I. O., the Communists, and Walter Winchell. It was a one-letter shot; the people would forget.

Now the outcome depends on the people. The House and Senate are not determined opponents of price control. The number of Congressmen who are committed in their opposition is quite small—about equal to those who sincerely believe in it. The vast majority have what might be termed a political interest in the issue. Can they gain more by helping out the angry groups who contribute to political campaigns as individuals or by taking the side of the people? The fate of price control, the last check on inflation depends on what impression the American people can make on Congress. And the time is short—a week, or ten days, at the most.

Europe Votes

THE RESULTS of the French and Italian general elections held on June 1, added to those of the Belgian, Dutch, and Czech polls, which have all taken place since the beginning of the year, have afforded the trend spotters a wealth of material. Many of their published conclusions, however, appear to embody a good deal of wishful thinking. Certainly, it is difficult to discern, as some commentators succeeded in doing on the basis of the French vote, a definite turn of the Communist tide in Western Europe and the beginning of a conservative reaction. On the other hand, it is plain that the Communists are still a minority, albeit a strong and vigorous one, and that the Sovietization of Europe will not be a *blitz* campaign. Even in Czechoslovakia, where gratitude to Russia is a really potent factor, the Communists won only some 40 per cent of the total vote and, with the closely allied Socialist Party, command a bare majority in Parliament.

The fact is the political situation in Europe generally is still very fluid. There has been a widespread breaking of old allegiances, but new lines have yet to be firmly drawn. Only when the peace treaties have been written, and economic life has revived to some extent will any kind of political stabilization become possible. The one definite and permanent popular decision made at the polling booths has been the Italian choice of a republic. Paying the price of cowardly subservience to fascism, the House of Savoy has gone to join the band of royal exiles who now far outnumber the little group of enthroned kings. Monarchy is an expiring institution, surviving only in a few countries where monarchs have adapted themselves to democracy.

The European polls suggest that capitalism is dying out almost as rapidly. Everywhere political competition is not so much between socialism and private enterprise as between different varieties of socialism. Throughout Western Europe the right wing has been borrowing the social programs of the left. The variously named Catholic parties which have emerged with pluralities, though not with majorities, in France, Italy, Holland, and Belgium are all committed to a planned economy and extensive measures of public ownership. The real conservative parties, those with which American Republicans could make common cause, have all but evaporated.

Agreement on the shape of economic things to come is not, however, proving a unifying factor. The political pattern that seems to be developing is one of rivalry between two theocracies—communism and Catholicism. This can be most plainly perceived in France, where the Catholic Mouvement Républicain Populaire added impressively to its aggregate vote on June 1 and returned the largest number of deputies, thereby displacing the

Communist Party from the position it had won last October. However, the setback suffered by the Communists was very slight, for although they lost a few seats, they increased their popular vote. The real losers were the Socialists, who suffered from defections to both right and left. In Italy, on the other hand, the Socialists were able to take second place after the Christian Democrats. But the Communists were not far behind and rolled up a striking total of votes considering how much they were handicapped by Russian demands for reparations and support of Yugoslav claims to Trieste.

Judging by these results, Europeans are not approaching post-war politics in a very rationalistic frame of mind. They are seeking a faith to live by and are, therefore, attracted by parties that offer them a dogma. They tend increasingly to look either to the Vatican or to the Kremlin, both of which command a devoted, virile, and compact body of disciples in every country of Western Europe, excluding Scandinavia. As a result, the outlook for social democracy in Western Europe, for the growth of states where social ownership of the means of production is combined with the enhancement of civil liberty, is far from reassuring. For in the matter of civil liberty neither Communists nor Catholics can be trusted.

We make this statement though fully aware that the Pope has repeatedly claimed that the church is *the* great champion of liberty. In the electioneering address which he broadcast on the eve of the Italian and French polls he called on "the evidence of history to show the church's incessant solicitude to protect the peoples against the despotism of princes careless of the common good." So he dismissed without a qualm the long black record of cooperation between the papacy and lay tyrants, from Philip II of Spain to Mussolini; so he overlooked the fact that in Catholic Spain today hundreds of thousands of men are being imprisoned without trial without a murmur of protest from the church. History shows clearly that the Catholic church has supported liberty of conscience only in lands where Catholics are a minority. And the same is true of freedom of speech and the press, as may be seen today in Eire, where a censorship inspired by the church prevents the printing of books by nearly every well-known Irish author. The truth is that freedom is stifled by doctrines of infallibility whether they emanate from Rome or Moscow.

If either Catholicism or communism contrives to establish itself in a position of absolute power in Europe, liberty as we know it will be buried, for neither recognizes that the basic freedom is freedom for heretics. Europe's elections underline the danger. We can only hope that the two rival ideologies, at present fairly evenly matched, will by a process of mutual exhaustion prepare the ground for a reaction to the skeptical, libertarian tradition which is Western Europe's greatest contribution to civilization.

Information Please, Mr. Molotov

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

*Professor of political economy at the University of London
and chairman of the British Labor Party Executive*

London, June 7

I DO not think the two days' debate on foreign affairs in the House of Commons has solved any of our problems. It has made clear that Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin are genuinely anxious for Anglo-Russian understanding and, I think, genuinely baffled at the intensity of the refusal of Moscow to cooperate. Quite frankly, many of the questions put to Russia by Mr. Bevin are questions that the Kremlin can but will not answer.

I do not gain the impression that Mr. Churchill and his supporters are very deeply disturbed by these differences. They see Christian democracy growing everywhere; they are satisfied that the longer and deeper the split between Russia and the Western states the better it may ultimately be for reaction generally. And since Mr. Churchill obviously wants, first, an Anglo-American alliance and, second, a strong chain of anti-Bolshevik states in the west and center of Europe, all the present disharmonies seem to suit him very well.

But Mr. Bevin's questions to Mr. Molotov are based on the assumption that Anglo-Russian friendship is urgent, and I think we ought to be given what we have not been given—straightforward answers to them from the Kremlin. Particularly a British Socialist would like to know: (1) Does not Mr. Molotov agree that the sooner the European war is liquidated the better for everybody? (2) Does he take the view that on every issue the war can only be ended on Russian terms? (3) Does he think that an injustice to the Italians in Trieste can be compensated for by an injustice to the Senussi in Somaliland? (4) Does he propose to maintain without time limit the division of Germany into its present zones with the tragic economic consequences? (5) Does he assume that a regional arrangement under the principles of the United Nations is evil, but that the organization of Russian satellite states in the east is good? If so, why? (6) Can he see no way of giving Russia access through the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean without making Turkey a satellite power of Russia? If British ships, as Mr. Bevin said, can go to the Baltic without the subjugation of Scandinavia, why cannot Russian ships go to the Mediterranean without the subjugation of Turkey? (7) On the Persian issue, where the Russians have a real case, why not propose an international body both to develop oil and to end its shameless feudalisms? (8) In the Middle East why not offer cooperation through the Social and Economic, Trustee, and Security councils to settle differences which will

remain power politics on both sides on any other terms? (9) What specific proposals does Russia itself make to solve the Spanish and the Greek questions? (10) Does Mr. Molotov propose, in Germany, an enforced unity of the Socialist and Communist parties, and does he intend to push it at all costs, including arrest and imprisonment for its opponents and the conferring of favors upon those who support it?

All these questions relate to certain assumptions about which we ought to know the Russian view: (1) Is Russia's present attitude due to a sense of insecurity caused by the maintenance of atomic secrecy? If that secrecy ended, would the fear disappear? (2) Has Mr. Molotov made up his mind that Western democracy is a waning asset and that the greater its problems become, especially its economic problems, the more certain is a Communist victory? (3) If he believes (2), how does he account for the fact that save in France free elections have always resulted in Communist defeat? (4) Is it not possible that his policy is based on the assumption, made as mistakenly by Lenin after 1917, that a racked and tormented world turns to communism? Is not the fact rather that such a world hands itself over to counter-revolutionary adventures whose main safeguard is an attack on Russia?

I am quite certain that Mr. Molotov has grossly underestimated the desire of Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin for peace. I think he attributes to power politics judgments that are largely the result of his own curious maneuvers. I doubt whether his policies, as thus far revealed, enlist any support in any free country except from those who invariably give support to Russia, whether it be right or wrong. He seems to me to be asking for exactly that appeasement from the Western powers which Litvinov so strongly condemned from 1934 until his retirement, if that be the word, in March, 1939.

There is no reason for disagreement on any major issue between the British people and the Russian people. The response the former would make to one clear sign from Moscow of a genuine desire for understanding would be overwhelming, and the force of public opinion would compel the government to act without delay. It would dispel the bewilderment at Russian policy of which Mr. Churchill and his friends are taking such obvious advantages. It is no use saying that there is no iron curtain when the mind of the Russian government is obscured from us all, as Mr. Bevin made plain. It was obscure at the United Nations Assembly in London. It was still more obscure at the Foreign Ministers' Con-

ference in Paris. Nothing in Mr. Molotov's statement after Paris makes things any clearer.

I suggest with great anxiety that it is the duty of the Russians at this grave juncture to answer the questions we all asking and to tell us the motives upon which they proceed. Twelve months after the end of the war the prospects seem more grim than while it was going

on. No doubt we have all made mistakes: Great Britain has made mistakes in Spain and Greece, as America has made them in China and Japan. And I do not think Russia is entitled to throw stones when I look at Hungary, Rumania, Manchuria, and Austria. I think our business is to find terms of common understanding and not allow ourselves to drift to ever graver differences.

British Labor Takes Stock

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

The Nation's London correspondent

ONE thing can be safely predicted about next week's annual convention of the British Labor Party: none of the pianists—not even Mr. Bevin—will be shot; and the Communists' application to join the party's ranks, with a view to a little gun play "from within" in due season, will be firmly rejected. There is some doubt about the fate of the executive's proposal that the party's constitution should be so amended as to debar any future bids for affiliation. The Transport Workers and some other big unions have got round to thinking that it would be "undemocratic" to pass such an amendment without a poll of their membership. But whether or not the accession of affiliates is vetoed for all time, the material point is that the party has, in effect, made up its mind that it wants to stand four-square as a solid Social Democratic party, that there is no room in it for "intransigent" Marxists, and that in less than a year's tenure of office its leaders have shown remarkable competence in paving the way, along the acceptable lines of gradualist reform, for the eventual establishment of a Socialist state. The convention will have no new policy program before it; there is still plenty to do in Parliament before the program on which Labor fought last summer's election is executed in full. What delegates will be invited to affirm is that they are satisfied with interim progress. They will do so with enthusiasm.

This is not to say that there will be no critical voices when stock is taken of the year's performance. Apart from the group of Labor M. P.'s led by Zilliacus, whose chief complaint is that Mr. Bevin is getting Britain irrevocably on the wrong side of a barricade erected between the United States and the U. S. S. R., there is a much wider feeling in the party that British foreign policy, as conducted by a Labor government, has been conspicuously lacking in Socialist principles. There will be blunt expressions of disapproval about Greece, Indonesia, Burma, and Malaya, and, above all, about the failure, so far, to purge the Foreign Service of career diplomats steeped in the outlook and traditions of pre-war regimes. Nevertheless, Mr. Bevin will "get away

with it"—for several reasons. First, there will be a majority in the convention ready to applaud a policy of "standing up to Russia," an attitude which does not connote willingness to become junior partner in an Anglo-American bloc but simply a desire for a distinctive "British" line. Secondly, though the Cabinet's hesitations about Palestine have caused some disquiet, the party is almost unanimous in believing that the latest approach to the problems of India and Egypt is correct. And finally, the government's recent decision about future military service has gone far to reassure those—and they were numerous—who feared that Mr. Bevin's "imperialism" might be leading Britain into economically disastrous commitments. The party has been quick to seize on the point that, with military service cut down by 1949 to eighteen months, Britain's conscript forces in 1950 will be under 400,000. Add, say 300,000 for enlisted volunteers, and all three services will have a maximum aggregate strength 500,000 below the figure projected for the end of 1946. This entails a sharp curtailment of foreign commitments over the next three years and represents—so most delegates will feel—a victory in the Cabinet for the anti-imperialists.

Thus the convention, for one reason and another, will be content to let foreign policy go—with a few interrogation marks. Delegates, in any case, are keenly aware that the electorate is much more interested in domestic issues, and here there is no disposition to complain seriously of the record, administrative or legislative. Food, of course, is politically a tricky question. John Strachey, adept in the technique of "public relations," may be relied on to avoid the maladroitness and bluster of Sir Ben Smith. He will do all that can be done to secure a good press for unpalatable decisions; but though Labor is satisfied that the government is the victim of circumstances and cannot be held responsible for world shortages, the prospect of less milk and meat next winter, owing to the shortage of feed caused by 90 per cent wheat extraction, is worrying M. P.'s in constituencies where there is a large "floating" vote. It

means that if electors are to remain convinced that "Labor can do it," there has got to be a still more impressive showing of success in matters in which the government is master of its fate.

Is there any reason to fear that success may be lacking? Few delegates to the convention will have serious qualms about the outlook. Reconversion is going smoothly; apart from a few awkward pockets in the old depressed areas in South Wales and Scotland, there is little unemployment; exports are booming, and Mr. Dalton can borrow whatever he needs at impressively low rates of interest. After a slow start the housing program is now getting into its stride. Meanwhile Socialist legislation—national "all-in" insurance, Aneurin Bevan's Health Service, nationalization of the coal mines—is well on its way to the statute book. The monopoly of the steel magnates is being resolutely assailed: all the primary processes of iron and steel production are to be taken over by the state. And if the cotton employers make difficulties about the compulsory amalgamations and reequipment levies recommended by the majority report of Sir Stafford Cripps's Working Party, then, it is confidentially expected, the spinning section of the cotton industry will be nationalized too. In short, the government is making—is it not?—a remarkably good showing in "selective" socialism, not embarking on a head-on clash with every vested interest, not forbidding private practice to future state-salaried doctors, not discouraging capitalist enterprise where the community is benefited by it, but gradually taking control over enough key sectors of the national economy to create a "planned" state. How much farther this state is to go toward socialism is a question which the electorate will have to answer, say, in 1951.

Such is the government's, and the Labor Party's, case for its present policy and performance. It is a strong case. The left wing of the party may object that giving generous compensation to shareholders of every nationalized undertaking is consolidating the class of rentiers. "Leave them to to me," retorts Mr. Chancellor Dalton, with the serviceable instrument of high direct taxation in his hand. "Public boards, staffed by Mr. Burnham's managerial commissars, with no workers' control of industry, are not socialism," cry the leftists. To this the Cabinet's reply is that if experts are not available within the party's ranks they must be sought wherever they can be found: efficiency, in a hard world, is the prime need today. It will be time enough to implement the slogans of socialism when Britain's balance of foreign payments is no longer in the red, and when production has recovered sufficiently to restore at any rate the pre-war level of general living standards. Realism on these lines will certainly carry the day at the Bournemouth convention.

Yet among those in the British left who, like your correspondent, try to view the trend of events objec-

tively, without party attachments, there remains an uncomfortable doubt that the Labor Party, in its present mood, may be inclined to overlook one significant factor. The mechanics of the administration are admirable—social reforms competently drafted into bills, sound scaffolding set up for the building of a "controlled" economy—but what of the spirit of the nation? We are a long way from the Dunkirk mood today; there are no "voluntary work groups" in contemporary Britain, as there are in Czechoslovakia. Volunteers to help get in this summer's crucial harvests are hard to recruit; the coming of state ownership of the pits is making little difference in absenteeism among the miners; and in the building industry there is a lamentable picture of swindling and work-dodging on the part of operatives and employers alike. The facile explanation, "war-weariness," will not quite do: the Russians are as tired and as drably fed as we, but they are working hard, and so are the Poles, Czechs, and Yugoslavs. So are all the people in Europe where the partisan spirit of resistance carried on into the peace in the form of a compelling determination to reconstruct on new lines. The British Labor government, for all its merits and achievements, has kindled no such fire. Anxious, above all, to demonstrate its capacity to "run things" just as competently as the Tories, it may have forgotten that the people who gave it power wanted things run *differently*, above all else. If the convention of 1947 is confronted with inadequate national production—and that is the greatest danger ahead—the cause will be that social reforms and planning are no substitute for the collective enthusiasm that only a crusading idea engenders.

The New French Cabinet

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, June 8

THE formation of a new French Cabinet may take an entire week and give rise to a series of confusing moments, but in the end Félix Gouin will probably be reappointed as Prime Minister. The M. R. P., as the biggest party in the Assembly, is officially claiming the premiership, and for the next few days the name of Francisque Gay will be heard as the favorite candidate, since Georges Bidault does not want to leave his post at the Quai D'Orsay. In their hearts, however, the M. R. P. leaders want the Socialists to assume the main responsibility again for three reasons: first, despite the M. R. P. gains on Sunday, the Communists and Socialists together polled nine million votes to their six million; second, while the Socialists lost mainly for the reasons cited last week in *The Nation*, they also paid the price for having headed the government, thereby becoming the target of all the criticism and discontent; and third, once at the helm, the M. R. P. cannot continue its usual

tactics, which reflect its Jesuit associations, of reaping all the benefits of Cabinet participation and at the same time ducking every issue that might cost it votes.

In one of his best editorials since his return to France Léon Blum sharply denounces this double game: "On the constitutional issue the M. R. P., like the Socialists, worked for conciliation and agreement. The final project was as much their work as ours and certainly much more theirs than the Communists'. Then, suddenly, a change of heart. The spirit of conciliation gives way to intransigence—the M. R. P. *rapporteur* on the constitution resigns, and the party begins a noisy, spectacular campaign against it. What explanation is there for this shift of the tiller, for this whole behavior, if not the M. R. P.'s deliberate wish, on the eve of the elections and in view of the elections, to break the government solidarity?" By taking a position against the project on which it had collaborated, the M. R. P. hoped to throw the blame for the constitution on the other two parties. "This maneuver," Blum concludes, "has succeeded. But from the viewpoint of political morality, success is no justification."

Once the M. R. P. accepted responsibility for the new government, all their clever tricks would be finished. In the next elections, which may take place as early as Sep-

tember, they would have to answer directly for all the work the regime had done in the interim. The prospect does not appeal to them, and in the end they will no doubt "resign" themselves with Christian humility to second place even though they received the majority of the votes.

Since a Communist Premier is excluded, the burden will again fall to the Socialists. This week the Socialists also will officially maintain that they have been the *bouc émissaire* long enough and that the party which was most favored at the polls should preside over the new Cabinet. But the Communists will hardly accept an M. R. P. Prime Minister, and finally Gouin will have to step in again. The possibility of such an outcome was not denied by some of the most important Socialist leaders with whom I talked. On one point, however, they were very firm: under no circumstances will they accept the portfolios of Economy, Food, and Finance. These are posts in which the most able men can, and for one reason or another must, fail in the next few months. The Socialists held them in the last Cabinet; now they feel it is only fair for the M. R. P. or the M. R. P. and the Communists to try their luck and show whether they can do any better.

Yugoslavia Revisited

BY HAL LEHRMAN

One of The Nation's correspondents in the Mediterranean area

I

Sofia, June 1

I AM prejudiced in favor of being allowed to go and look. Last September I left Yugoslavia in a huff because I had spent ten weeks there and had stayed the whole time in Belgrade. When I tried to poke into Yugoslav Macedonia in order to check on charges that Greek rightists were beating the *onzo* out of Slavs in Greek Macedonia and chasing them over the border, the War Ministry in Belgrade said no. It kept on saying no until I packed up and announced I was taking off for Budapest; then just before I left it said yes.

This time Macedonia took and survived the risk of my personal inspection. I managed it by the simple guile of obtaining a visa from the Yugoslav legation in Athens and crossing directly into Macedonia from Salonika by jeep. After I was in I was able to move freely. In less than a month I covered more than two thousand kilometers. I needed permits, of course, but they were provided without fuss. I toured not only Macedonia—in Bitolj, incidentally, I found several hundred refugees from Greece and confirmation of last year's reports—but Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Serbia.

Here and there official stooges attached themselves to me, but usually I was able to get at the people and the facts without the inconvenient aid of Partisan shepherds.

Of all the federated Yugoslav republics Macedonia seems to be the most content with its new deal. Nobody is concerned about individual liberty, because nobody knows what it means. There is national liberty, at least the trappings of it, and that is what the Macedonians have been demanding for half a century. They have their own flag and an autonomous Parliament, and are happy, except that they would like to bring in Greek Macedonia and maybe a piece of Bulgaria. They are busy concocting a Macedonian culture; they have twenty-three high schools with 15,000 students, as compared to eight high schools with 3,800 students in 1940. A suitable proportion of these are for the Albanian and Turkish minorities, as was not the case under the old regime. The Vice-Premier of the Macedonian Republic is a Turk; the Minister for Social Welfare is an Albanian. A Rumanian sits in the Praesidium, and a Serb—washed of the sins of Macedonia's ancient Serb tyrants—is Minister of Health. Moslem women are being emancipated as fast as they can stand it. In Debar on the Albanian

frontier Zinet Krlija, eighteen, is a member of the town governing committee. Her mother, Finet, presides over the local Anti-Fascist Women's League. Zinet dresses collegiate, but Finet still wears the veil to placate the Debar Tories.

In Macedonia I had my first glimpse of the zest for work which the Partisan regime inspires. The citizenry streams out of Skopje, the capital, on Sundays to donate its labor to the state. Near Boletin I met a gang of two hundred youths cheerfully repairing the road without pay. Elsewhere in Yugoslavia there are not so many Partisans, but they have been able to restore the country's highways, bridges, and railways in the year since the Germans, Italians, Hungarians, and Bulgarians finished destroying them. Lately the public energy has also been applied to rebuilding Yugoslavia's homes. From Zvornik to Sarajevo, where last year every village lay blasted, this time I saw houses rising everywhere, everybody building everybody else's home, scarce materials carted painfully over rough mountain roads.

The same devotion has been spent on the land. Autumn sowing reached at least 95 per cent of the pre-war norm—a tremendous achievement considering the loss of draft animals and tools. Spring sowing was slumping to around 70 per cent, despite UNRRA-donated tractors, owing to the seed shortage. Nevertheless, thanks to the rain which finally soaked the thirsty fields, Yugoslavia may become uniquely self-sufficient in food by July.

Meanwhile UNRRA has saved large sections of the country from starvation, as officials admitted to me wherever I went. It is to the great credit of the Partisan regime that a nation-wide distribution system, facilitated by UNRRA trucks but impossible without Yugoslav energy and design, managed to spread our supplies fairly evenly. I was especially sensitive to the phenomenon of Yugoslav vigor because I had been so recently in Greece, where the only labors of note are politics and oratory. In Yugoslavia the black market has literally been choked by the rope. The same treatment has snuffed out monetary inflation. Alone of all the countries in Central and Southeastern Europe, Yugoslavia has prevented speculation in foreign exchange; the terroristic methods used against manipulators have kept the dinar at fifty to the dollar, when natural economic law, dearth of public funds, and absence of adequate cover should have booted it down long ago.

Having said all this, I am constrained to put my remaining stock of superlatives away. The rest of Partisan Yugoslavia, to this groggy but still convinced liberal, is on the edge of darkness.

Take first the army. The new Yugoslavia is a forest of uniforms. Just before I left, demobilization of a few classes was widely advertised, but the *Cluzbbeni List* (Official Gazette) for March 29 declared that over

half of the year's federal budget would go to "national defense."

Mihail Sergeicic, the Russian ex-colonel who is chief of the UNRRA mission delivering, mainly, British, Canadian, and American goods to Yugoslavia, denies that the soldiers are "unproductive mouths."

He told me that they help on public works. This may be, but I have never seen it. Driving down a road in Croatia I passed a solid mile of parked three-ton trucks and G. M. weapons carriers. The carriers were loaded with troops, the trucks attached to artillery. UNRRA has supplied thousands of vehicles like these to relieve the acute crisis in the transport of civilian food and reconstruction supplies.

The army is packed with political commissars, *à la russe*. I shared a train compartment with one of them, a lieutenant colonel, aged twenty-five, who as a Montenegrin peasant had had four years of elementary schooling before he went into the mountains and became expert at killing Germans. He teaches the troops how to think politically. He explained that the army was necessary "for the defense against fascist invasion." He said the chief danger at the moment was from "fascist Italy." This was when the deadlock over Trieste was beginning to harden.

There is certainly no danger from inside the country. The opposition is completely flattened. I sought out many of its former leaders—beaten, bitter men who blame each other for not having united in time and contested the elections. Hindsight shows that despite the obstacles to organizing and campaigning placed in their way by the regime, Subasic and Groll could have established at least a foothold in Parliament. Instead, Parliament is a unanimous nonentity. As for the opposition rank and file, they have been obliged to give up last year's pallid hope that the bankrupt Mihailovich would lead a rebellion in the spring. None the less, the liquidation continues. Anyone who was not a Partisan or does not bow three times daily in the direction of Tito is ipso facto a fascist reactionary.

The theory that workers should eat more than non-workers is admirable—provided that work is equally available to all. Every Yugoslav has a *karakteristika*, a sealed record of his political reliability. Not knowing



Marshal Tito

its contents, he cannot appeal its verdict. He must present it when applying for a job. If it isn't good, he isn't hired. If he isn't hired, he gets fewer rations, even UNRRA rations. Holders of workers' R cards pay ten dinars for a package of K rations. Holders of non-workers' G cards can buy the same package from the government's surplus supply for thirty dinars. Fuel and clothing are distributed on individual coupons, for which you apply to your trade union. Obviously, you have to be a worker to belong to a union. Furthermore, entry into trade schools or universities depends on a satisfactory *karakteristika*.

The middle class is being systematically impoverished. In Bosnia-Herzegovina no independent artisan, no self-employed worker or business man, no professional man may belong to a consumer cooperative (*zadruga*). At best he can buy at a state store (*granap*), where free-market goods sell at much higher prices than in a *zadruga*—a clearly discriminatory tax upon private initiative. Yugoslavia's nationalization laws are anything but terrifying on paper: the state has modestly taken over only such things as forests and mineral resources. But actually almost all industry and commerce above the level

of the crafts and small retail stores have been seized under the pretext that the owners were collaborationists or war profiteers. Assessments on war profits have frequently gone beyond the total value of profits, installations, and stock. The gouging has been so deep, in fact, that a halt was recently called while downward revision of the assessments was considered. Rents, one of the staple revenues of the Yugoslav middle class, have been slashed and frozen at an inequitably low level in a rising market. The national reconstruction program deliberately favors the provinces at the expense of the capital.

The irony of all this is that not even workers of Partisan persuasion have much beyond their enthusiasm to keep them going. Factory managers and their top assistants have been fired and their places given to "experts" chosen for political rather than technical qualifications. The dubious capacities of this new managerial "élite" have contributed in no small part to Yugoslavia's present industrial doldrums. Many state-controlled enterprises show a deficit. Despite the New Order's promises of joy everlasting, too many workers who are doing their jobs competently cannot rise above mere subsistence level.

[Part II of this article will appear next week.]

I Was at Lichfield

BY ASHUR BAIZER

Mr. Baizer served four and a half years in the army, starting in the field artillery and ending in radio intelligence

THE resignation of Captain Earl J. Carroll as prosecutor of the Lichfield trials must have afforded the defense profound relief. After he withdrew in April, the conduct of the case steadily deteriorated, prosecution witnesses became demoralized, and recently a number refused to testify.

Since so few people seem to be acquainted with the background of the story it may be well to begin with some basic facts. "Lichfield" is actually Whittington Barracks, a British army post between the Midlands villages of Lichfield and Tamworth which was taken over by our army during the war to serve as the Tenth Reinforcement Depot. Its function was to receive men on their arrival from the States and after the invasion to assign men who had been discharged from combat hospitals to "packages" for shipment back to the Continent.

The three guardhouses were only a small part of the post—it was one of several "detention training centers" in England—but the discipline enforced in them became such general practice that the entire camp gave the impression of being a prison. It was not unusual for arrivals, who often had to wait six weeks or more for their assignments, to spend the whole time confined to the

post, which was popularly called, in honor of its commander, "Kilian's Navy," because no known establishment of its kind existed in the army.

The policy of the guardhouses—most offenses occurred at No. 2, where I was a jailer for six weeks—was to make conditions there so tough that the men would prefer combat to confinement. Most of the prisoners were A. W. O. L. cases; some had absented themselves from companies about to leave for combat, or had been gone long enough to be classed as deserters. Generally they were held for a while and then escorted back to the front "under the gun." A few, who had been wounded, openly expressed their intention to remain in England, under any circumstances, rather than return to the line.

While it is undeniable that such an attitude could not be condoned, the methods employed in "correcting" it were unjustifiable. Moreover, many relatively innocent men, who had extended brief hospital passes for a few hours with no shirking of hazardous duty involved, were punished as severely as the serious offenders. The sentence passed almost automatically on prisoner after prisoner became a wry commonplace: "Six months and forty dollars. Parade Rest!"

The guardhouse schedule, particularly after the arrival of the savage Lieutenant Ennis as "disciplinarian" was spartan. Reveille at five was followed by a police of the barracks and breakfast at six. All movements had to be executed on the double. Anyone failing to run for a formation would be subjected to the quaint punishment of "nose and toes against the wall" for from fifteen minutes to an hour; sometimes double-timing in that position, encouraged by a jailer's club, was an added feature.

At the first formation in the prison yard after breakfast some men were called out on work details; the rest did calisthenics until noon. Frequently one or more of the prisoners was ordered to run around the wide circle of the yard until exhausted. "If you so much as look at me cross-eyed," thundered the provost sergeant one morning, "I'll beat you to death."

The same procedure was followed after lunch. After supper the men were left to their own devices until lights-out at ten—unless, that is, they had been penalized by assignment to the "swing shift," which worked from eight at night until the early hours of the morning, or unless one of the jailers decided it would be a good night for a thorough barracks cleaning, with the bunks moved out into the yard, which would take until two in the morning; sometimes a sergeant came back from town at midnight with an intoxicating sense of power and thought it would be interesting to wake the men up and have a roll call. The men were kicked awake, since Cell No. 3, the detention wing, was so crowded that most occupants huddled together on the floor leaving no aisle to walk through.

Smoking was denied all prisoners. They were "shaken down" on their return from formations, and all unauthorized articles were confiscated. At least one jailer I know promoted stealing among prisoners, the spoils to be delivered to him for special considerations.

Two of my colleagues who had been made prisoner-chasers but had not been acquainted with the peculiar set of rules that governed them took out a work detail on their first morning's duty. The prisoners asked them for cigarettes and my friends obliged. Some zealous member of the prison administration noted the incident and reported it, and my friends were arrested. Then they found themselves on the wrong side of the bars, dressed in blue denims with a large "P" on the back. One of our own officers went to see Colonel Kilian and told him the men had been uninstructed. (They, in the meantime, had been advised to sign a waiver stating that they had received full instructions before going on duty.) Our lieutenant obtained their release, but only after he had been reprimanded—for meddling; he told me later that the Colonel used the most foully abusive language he had ever had to listen to.

Since nearly all the prisoners were casuals, few were able to enlist the support of an officer courageous enough

to face the Colonel. They could take their troubles to the chaplains, but as several prisoners testified, they got cold comfort from them: they were either advised to take their punishment like men or were reported as having complained and then subjected to even worse treatment.

Besides, there was the constant threat of the "hole." This was a small, bare, dark room on the second floor reserved for prisoners in solitary confinement. They were supposed to be fed once every twenty-four hours—a loaf of bread and a cup of water—but jailers' memories were sometimes short, and one prisoner I know went without food or drink for at least thirty-six hours. Lieutenant Granville Cubage, then Police and Prison Officer, described the effectiveness of the "hole" in dealing with recalcitrant prisoners at a congenial bull session in the guardhouse office one night. "We had one fellow once, thought we couldn't make him do anything he didn't want to," said the lieutenant. "We put him in the hole and took his blankets away. I had to work here that night, and I could hear him running around all night to keep from freezing. The next morning he was ready to do anything we said."

When several of my friends wrote home to describe conditions at the guardhouse, their letters were intercepted by the censor and referred to the company commander. He called the men into the orderly room and threatened that if they wrote such letters again they would face twenty-year sentences, though there had been no violation of anyone's security but their own and that of the persons responsible for such conditions. It was not until last summer, after the war in Europe was over, that someone finally wrote to the *Stars and Stripes* to reveal the brutal treatment he had received at Lichfield. Publication of that first letter loosed such a flood of others confirming the authenticity of the account that the *Stars and Stripes* sent them to the Inspector General's Department for investigation. After several months the I. G. was satisfied that the number of specific complaints justified bringing the persons responsible to trial.

The trials began early last December, after numerous delays had been granted the defense, though many of us witnesses had been taken from our companies in September. The prosecution, under Major Leland Smith, who has resumed after Carroll's resignation, started out so innocuously that those of us who had hoped that finally, in its own obscure way, the army would effect the triumph of justice became disillusioned. It appeared that responsibility would be fixed on one or two enlisted men, who would be given exemplary sentences, and then the case would be closed. After Carroll arrived, matters began to develop more promisingly. From the first, however, he encountered, if not outright obstruction, such indifference and uncooperativeness as to make his task virtually impossible. He was flown from Nürnberg to

London without any preparation for taking part in the prosecution. Knowing nothing of what the prisoners had already testified to, he had to plunge into their cases.

Major Smith may be as sincere as Captain Carroll and simply less spectacular, but on my first courtroom appearance, after I had waited for three months, he questioned me just seven minutes in a rambling, inconclusive fashion. On my second appearance, as rebuttal witness, Carroll questioned me for two and a half hours, not only about the individual beating I had witnessed but about general conditions as well. He established the fact that I had seen orders to guards and jailers issued over Lieutenant Cubage's signature. As defense witness Cubage had denied any knowledge of the guardhouse, claiming he had been, in effect, merely a shipping clerk at Lichfield.

Colonel Kilian's several courtroom appearances were full of interesting contradictions. He denied, at first, knowledge of any irregularities at the guardhouse—even if this were true, it would not exempt him from a charge of neglect of duty—asserting later that if any had been committed he would surely have been notified, and no one had complained to him. Subsequently he said he was positive no unorthodox procedures were followed, since he made regular inspections and never found anything to criticize. In the six weeks I spent as a jailer I worked on each of the three daily shifts, but I did not know what Kilian looked like until someone pointed him out to me in London.

Kilian's reluctance to appear at the trials delayed them for more than a month. He had returned home, to be promoted and retired after thirty-three years in the army, when the defense requested him as a witness. When he finally appeared, it was not thought that the revelations would be such that he himself would be threatened with charges. A member of the Staff Judge Advocate's section told me that only the pressure of public opinion could force Kilian's trial. This was melancholy news, since friends and relatives at home wrote us that the papers carried little or nothing about Lichfield, though the *Stars and Stripes* headlined the story for at least two months. The suspicion that Kilian might be protected by obscure but powerful authority grew upon us and made us feel that we were wasting our time. If Kilian were not tried, the whole business would be pointless.

Whatever Kilian's power rested on, besides rank, it was legendary. When we returned to Lichfield last October to wait for witnesses to be assembled, a Captain Rose, with whom I rode to town one night, asked why prisoners had waited a full year before complaining about their treatment. It was suggested that they might have been afraid of worse punishment, and the Captain said, "Yeah, I know. I myself know enough about that man to send him up the river. I used to room above him. But I wouldn't say a word. You don't know the power that man has. He could ruin me for life."

Nevertheless, the sensational facts uncovered by Carroll made it seem inevitable that Kilian would be tried. After several days of questioning, Carroll induced Major Richard LoBuono, the former Provost Marshal, to confess that his previous testimony had been false and had been shaped by threats made to him in his hotel room by Kilian. He had been followed everywhere he went by Kilian and was fearful for his personal safety. Other defense witnesses confessed to perjury, saying they had been intimidated or were afraid of being beaten by Ennis.

Enraged at such tampering with justice, Carroll recommended that the court submit a request to the appointing authority for Kilian's arrest, so that witnesses might be able to testify freely. Whatever charges might be brought against Kilian for his responsibility for Lichfield, he was here guilty of perjury, subornation, and intimidation. But the court's request was rejected—with a sharp reprimand. Only Carroll's stubborn belief that he could fix responsibility on the commanding officer as well as on his subordinates and insure appropriate punishment restrained him from resigning months ago. Finally, however, his conviction wavered, and his patience gave out.

The first trial took fifty-four days, excluding delays, postponements, and holidays. Men in London or within easy reach on the Continent who had worked at the guardhouse were afraid of getting involved in the trials because it would delay indefinitely their prospects of going home. One man in London on furlough, convinced that it was his duty to contribute the information that he had seen Ennis beat a prisoner, submitted his name to Major Smith. He was told that when his information could be used he would be brought back from Germany. He was never called.

Lieutenant Ennis was in the hospital when the first trial opened. He asked that Kenneth Royall be designated his special defense counsel if he should be tried, unaware at the time that Mr. Royall had been appointed Assistant Secretary of War. He explained that Royall, who recently appointed a commission to supervise the trials, was a friend of his father's.

Witnesses who spent six weeks at the guardhouse have already spent more than that many months at the trials, unable to go home though eligible for discharge. When we were first advised, last September, that we would be called, we were told the trials would be held in the States. In London it was explained that they must be held in the place where the offenses had been committed. Now that the trials have been moved to Germany and additional postponements granted, despite repeated directives from top-echelon commanders urging expedition, the prosecution witnesses are reaching that final degree of demoralization at which they are unwilling to testify to anything and completely indifferent to the outcome.



Small-Town America

BY ALDEN STEVENS

II. St. Martinville, Louisiana

WE CAME to the Church of Notre Dame de Perpetuel Secours at dusk of a spring day. Live oaks hung with Spanish moss shadowed the front door, but light poured from the windows, and I stepped in far enough to see a long-robed priest kneeling behind the last pew and several Negro parishioners silent in the pews ahead of him. We walked around the church toward the vine-covered rectory.

There is a dreamlike, melancholy atmosphere in the Teche country. This was the place to which Longfellow's Evangeline came in search of Gabriel. When, with Father Felician, she reached this land of cypress and cedar, these "sluggish and devious waters,"

... o'er their spirits there came a feeling of wonder and
sadness,
Strange forebodings of ill, unseen and that cannot be
compassed.

The Evangeline oak still attracts tourists, and Louisiana has established a picnic ground with museum on the Bayou Teche and named it the "Longfellow-Evangeline State Park." Emmeline Labiche, the real Evangeline, is buried here. French, with an admixture of English, is still the language of both whites and Negroes, and the boys and girls spend their nickels in the juke joints to hear French songs.

It is a land with a long tradition of suffering and poverty—Catholic, feudal, almost European. On the great plantations are grown rice and sugar cane, beans and sweet potatoes, and recently the peppers of which the tongue-searing "Evangeline Hot Sauce" is made.

The rectory was dark when we reached it, but Father Roussève soon appeared from the church and took us into his office. He sat behind a desk. We took chairs in front of him. He is one of the few American Negro priests, a slender man with a finely chiseled, sensitive face, a member of the Order of the Divine Word.

We spoke of the parochial school connected with his church, which we had heard was unusual and excellent. He shook his head sadly. "The people here in St. Martin's Parish are the most illiterate in Louisiana," he said. "Some years ago someone found that three-fifths of them had had less than one year of school. It isn't much better now. We only go to the eighth grade, and until recently we only went to the sixth. We're working

up gradually, but it's hard because we have four hundred pupils and only five teachers. There's no high school for Negroes here—that's our next problem, but it's far ahead of us, I'm afraid. Now they have to go to New Iberia, nine miles away. They have to get there themselves, and few of them manage it. Many of the whites around here don't want Negroes to be educated. They want them to work on the plantations."

"How about the Farmers' Union?" I asked. I knew it had units not far away.

But Father Roussève shook his head. "There are no unions for Negroes around this place," he said. "A doctor and a lawyer and two other Negro professional men in New Iberia started a branch of the N. A. A. C. P. there a couple of years ago. They also tried to get a good school. They were beaten and run out of town. One of them was beaten unconscious right in the courthouse. They lost everything they had. I don't know what happened to them finally, but they had to go somewhere else."

"Of course the plantations aren't as bad as they used to be," he went on. "We can be thankful for that. They pay cash wages now—very little, of course. And our people don't have to buy at the plantation commissary any more. They don't have to, but they generally hear about it if they don't run up a good bill."

We asked about the veterans who were coming back. He hesitated a moment. "A few of them come back to visit," he said. "But they aren't going to stay. They've had a taste of freedom and a taste of justice, and they're through with the South forever."

"The whites don't think of us as human beings," he continued. "When there is a concert in town, for instance, it simply doesn't occur to them that we might like to hear it, too. They have no sense of responsibility toward us, of one human being for another. Our schools, our health are not their problems." There was acceptance of the fact that this lack of regard was deep-rooted in white upbringing.

We spoke of evidences we had seen elsewhere in the South of better understanding and better opportunities for Negroes, of political progress, and of the cooperatives which are multiplying rapidly.

"We have no cooperative here," he said, "mostly because of the extreme ignorance of the people. And as for progress, it doesn't start in places like this. It moves

out from the cities to the country. It will be many years before things are any different here."

"We are fortunate here," he said, "in that we are well treated as long as we stay in our place. The banks cash my checks without making a charge, just as they do for the white priests. And when we bought a small piece of land for the church a white lawyer took care of clearing the title without a fee. Things are really getting better.

The peonage system is gone. Yes, we are quite fortunate."

After we left Father Roussève we drove without speaking along the gravel road running northward out of the Teche country.

[Mr. Stevens has been making a fifteen-thousand-mile motor trip through the United States gathering material for this series of articles. He is the author of "Arms and the People.]"

Political Psychotherapy

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

A New York physician, author of "Hahnnemann, the Adventurous Career of a Medical Rebel"

EVERY look into a newspaper or into a neighbor's face, every conversation we take part in, every letter we receive, shows us the utter confusion and desperation into which the human mind has fallen as an aftermath of warfare. The physician is inclined to perceive history as a biological process; he recognizes that the symptoms of historical pathology are almost identical with the symptoms of individual pathology. Nobody who for any length of time has been confined to a hospital or an institution can be expected to return to "normal" life without going through a painful phase of reconditioning, of adaptation to a new reality. States, it seems, are not granted an opportunity for such adjustment—their leaders have no knowledge of or do not approve of psychological guidance. This ignorance of professional politicians is catastrophic in a time when existence depends on understanding and controlling the most complicated scientific processes.

Many of us today have experienced at least five sorts of reality, as different spiritually and physically as five centuries. There was the Victorian world, the world of World War I, the intermission world, the world of World War II, and now before us is the frightening post-war world. Whoever has failed to adapt himself to these changing "normal" worlds has had to bear the stigma of insanity or at least of mental imbalance.

Every relapse, every new trauma or shock, aggravates a neurosis. No wonder we are suffering from a mass neurosis for which we have completely inadequate facilities for treatment. Imagine your own state of mind reproduced by the million—in your contemporaries—and you have some explanation for the chaos that ranges from hysteria over nylon stockings and white shirts through the state of the stock market to hunger, hate, and the confusion in the arts.

This pathological condition is apparent in every nation. Neither the victors nor the vanquished nor the neutrals are immune, though affected in varying degrees. In this country 1,825,000 men, or 39 per cent of those

rejected by the army, were rejected for some type of mental or emotional disorder. In addition, up to July, 1945, mental causes were behind the discharge of 43 per cent of the soldiers released from the army for medical reasons, and other thousands were discharged because of "personality defects." Our mental hospitals for civilians are filled and have long waiting lists. Psychotherapists are besieged by patients. And not only are millions of people openly suffering from nervous breakdowns, but the fog of mental and emotional disturbance affects almost every public function and can be felt in the United Nations, in Congress, in our schools, and on our streets.

What happens when mental disorders are unrecognized or maltreated? A provocative paper in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* by Dr. A. E. Bennett, *Faulty Management of Psychiatric Syndromes Simulating Organic Disease*, shows what happens to the individual. One hundred and fifty neurotic patients singled out for investigation had a total of 946 completely useless courses of medical treatment and 244 courses of faulty surgical treatment—to say nothing of treatments by cultists. "This study indicates that the general medical profession fails to recognize and treat properly mental illness. The result is a tremendous army of maladjusted persons going from doctor to doctor and receiving illogical medical and surgical therapies that only aggravate their problems. Proper psychiatric treatment is shown to result in social rehabilitation of the majority of patients." Dr. R. P. Mackey remarks in the discussion of this paper: "There can be no doubt that the misdiagnosis and mismanagement of the so-called functionally ill patient is the medical scandal of the day."

But it is not only a medical scandal. It is a fateful social and political scandal. This "tremendous army of maladjusted persons" is not only an army of patients but an army of voters, of citizens. And if we fail so seriously in the treatment of individuals, we fail disastrously in the treatment of nations—many international problems are caused by mass mental disorders. Inflation, the

black market, the breakdown in housing, labor strife, minority persecutions, crime waves, juvenile delinquency are not only political but medical problems. Our relations with Russia, our attitude toward the atom bomb, are psychologically impaired. One wonders whether expert medical advice would not have prevented some of the blunders we have committed in Germany, which from a medical point of view is nothing but a huge insane asylum.

The whole of Europe is in a state of moral and physical exhaustion which must be considered when we weigh the statements and actions of European governments. Instead, we act as if we dealt with well-balanced human beings living in normal situations; our political actions everywhere rationalize madness.

The new French literary magazine *Les Temps Modernes*, in an article entitled *Crise d'Asthénie en France* (January, 1946), discusses the physical and psychological repercussions of the occupation on the French population. *Asthénie*, from which, according to this paper, most Frenchmen suffer at present, is described as "inability to react normally to a given situation, explosive emotion, anxiety, hypersensitivity to noise, loss of memory, restlessness, fear, and, most of all, lack of confidence, a collective inferiority complex, especially in young people, who show a violent desire to leave their country 'ou n'en ne va.'" "The Frenchman is at present a de-vitalized sanguinic," he is "indifferent, nervous, exhausted, unable to concentrate, asthenic." "One can call it a phenomenon of collective castration." The French have a convincing word for it—*zazou*. A mental climate of this kind must strongly affect social behavior and political action. It expresses itself clearly in recent French literature. It will have a decisive influence on Europe's fate.

We too have our *zazous*, and so has almost every country on earth. Dr. Karl M. Bowman, president of the American Psychiatric Association, said a few days ago: "A considerable number of returning service men . . . are being thrown into a neurotic state. It has given an unfortunate feeling to them to find that the country they were fighting to save is in a very chaotic condition—due, in part at least, to bad management on the part of government and others. They become embittered, distrustful, irritated, and they develop the feeling that they've been wasting their time defending such a country."

We are, indeed, faced with a world-wide psychiatric emergency, and we have every reason to be afraid when we hear people talking about a third world war as inevitable. We have the urgent task of determining which of our own reactions, which of our friends' or enemies' reactions, are rational and which are obviously neurotic. We must analyze and treat the neurotic reactions as we would treat sickness. If we had applied such psychiatric political-therapeutic methods to the Nazi mad-

ness from its early beginning, we could perhaps have avoided World War II.

We need (1) psychiatric consultants to governments, (2) an efficient nation-wide and international system of mental hygiene, (3) thorough investigation of social behavior by scientific psychological methods, (4) application of psychological knowledge to political practice.

[Dr. Gumpert contributes a monthly article on new developments in medicine and related fields.]

In the Wind

MEMORANDUM for Foreign Ministers, found on an old pari-mutuel ticket: Peace Harbor, End of Strife, and Clean Slate finished one-two-three in the first race at Belmont on May 25.

A NOTICE published by His Majesty's Customs for the benefit of tourists entering the British Isles lists under articles absolutely prohibited for import: foreign reprints of copyrighted works, prepared opium, hashish, Benzoyl-morphine, and muskrats.

AN ADVERTISEMENT in the Grand Rapids, Michigan, *Press* exhorts us: "Jesus said: 'Render unto Caesar (government) the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's.' . . . This truth spoken by our Lord reveals that government has limited functions to perform. . . . People are being deceived by false socialist doctrines . . . and believe that government should administer relief to the needy—should take care of needy sick—should educate children in government-owned and administered public schools—should insure loans, savings deposits, incomes. . . . True Christians will repent of these things and oppose these socialistic errors. . . . *Back to the Bible for a Rebirth of Capitalism.*"

REPENTING AT LEISURE? We regret to report that the Association of Los Alamos Scientists, an organization of atomic scientists who ought to know how things are shaping up, now officially identifies itself by its initials—ALAS.

WE ARE NOT, as an ordinary thing, partial to epitaphs, but if we were, this would be our favorite. It's an inscription on a Roman tomb, quoted in Dr. Alexander A. Bogomolets's book, "The Prolongation of Life."

To Aesculapius and to Health
L. Claudius Hermipp

who lived one hundred and fifteen years and five days
with the aid of the breath of young women, to the surprise of physicians. Lead your life accordingly.

But watch out for those last five days—they're going to be tough.

VARIATIONS ON A THEME from the *Congressional Record*: RCA Victor has just released a phonograph record with music from the score of "The Lost Weekend" on one side and "The Missouri Waltz" on the other.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Facts About the Shipping Dispute

UNLESS the current negotiations between the National Maritime Union and the shipowners are successful, June 15 is likely to see most of America's merchant ships without crews. Although not so immediately paralyzing in its effects as a railroad stoppage, a shipping strike will be hardly less of a national disaster. It will stop the inward flow of many important commodities, such as sugar, coffee, and metallic ores, and will prevent the delivery of oil and gasoline to large sections of the country.

Internationally the effects may be still more disastrous. The unions have promised to exempt relief ships, but there will be great difficulty in segregating cargo consigned for relief purposes from other exports. And, in a sense, almost all goods destined for Europe and Asia at this time come under the heading "relief," for most countries on these continents are desperately short of goods both for consumption and for the reconstruction of their industries. They have no alternative source of supply and, if they had, would still be largely dependent on American ships, which represent nearly half the world's available tonnage.

In the negotiations to avert this disaster the maritime unions have been placed at a disadvantage by the President's order to the navy to operate the merchant fleet if necessary. This advance notice that the government is prepared to supply strike-breakers has naturally stiffened the attitude of the employers while infuriating the workers. Nor will it be an easy order for the navy to carry it out, for it is likely to find difficulty in rounding up enough experienced men. And even if it can find crews, it may not be able to get ships loaded, particularly on the West Coast, where the longshoremen will certainly refuse to cross picket lines.

Hopes for the unimpeded continuance of international commerce depend, therefore, on a compromise agreement on wages and hours. This is not yet in sight. The union is asking for an increase in hourly rates of 22 to 35 cents, according to grade, roughly the equivalent of \$38 to \$60 a month. It also wants an eight-hour day and a forty-hour week, which means that shipowners must either engage larger crews or incur heavy bills for overtime. The employers claim that acceptance of the union demands would mean that an able seaman, now earning \$145 a month, would be paid \$278.47, including sixteen hours a week overtime. So far their best offer has been an increase of \$12.50 a month, a small reduction of hours for stewards, and a forty-hour week in port.

Thus the gulf between the two sides is both wide and deep. Yet it cannot be said that seamen are aspiring to a standard of living which is out of line with that enjoyed by other American workers of comparable skill. Their present wage level, in fact, is low on the scale, particularly in view of the hardships and hazards of their calling. One reason for this is that they are engaged in a trade which cannot be directly protected from competition by foreign enterprises

which pay much lower wages. The basic wage of a British seaman is \$56 a month, of a French \$54, of a Dutch \$63. Maritime workers in many other countries receive still less.

At this moment a maritime conference of the International Labor Office is meeting at Seattle with the objective of fixing an international minimum wage and thus doing something to prevent cutthroat competition in international shipping at the workers' expense. But the minimum suggested is only \$64.56 a month for an able seaman—less than half the current American rate. It is impossible to demand that other nations increase seamen's pay to anywhere near the American level since such a raise would explode their wage structures, compelling equivalent increases for every other trade and leading to violent inflation.

On the other hand, American shipowners cannot legitimately argue that the wages they pay must depend on those paid in other countries, for Congress has generously provided them with covers against the cold winds of international competition. To start with, intra-American trade, including that between the mainland and United States island possessions, is restricted to shipping flying the American flag. In addition, ever since the end of the last war shipowners have been plied with loans, subsidies, and vessels at cut-rate prices. In 1936 this assistance was formalized and increased through the passage of the Merchant Shipping Act, which made available differential subsidies to compensate for (a) the greater cost of American-built ships, and (b) the greater cost of operating them. The latter ceased in 1942, but that was because the War Shipping Administration was chartering privately owned ships at rates which gave the shipping companies very handsome profits indeed.

Now the government is beginning to dispose of its surplus shipping on favorable terms, and presumably operating subsidies will again be available. In any case, the American shipowners will not be asked to engage in pure competition with the rest of the world, for it is government policy to maintain an efficient merchant fleet for both economic and security reasons. According to Admiral Land, until recently head of the Maritime Commission, an effort will be made to carry at least 50 per cent of the country's exports and imports in American bottoms.

Thus the shipowners are, in effect, the beneficiaries of a guaranty that they will be taken into the taxpayer's lap whenever they are unable to stand on their own feet. If wages or other costs go up, the Treasury will see that this does not put them at a disadvantage compared with owners in other countries. It would seem therefore that the government ought to be a party to the current negotiations, for whoever calls the tune, it will pay the piper. I do not know whether the union would support this proposal, but I am fairly certain that the shipowners would object strongly to such government intervention. It would draw attention to the fact that shipping is a "kept" industry and a very lavishly kept one at that. And it would give the public a closer view of the shipowners, allowing it to observe that the hands thrown up in holy horror at the "extortionate" demands of the union are very far from clean. For documentation on this point I recommend to my readers the excellent series of articles by Allen Bernard now appearing in the *New Republic*.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Anthropological Revolution

PATTERNS OF CULTURE. By Ruth Benedict. Pelican Books, 25 cents.

RUTH BENEDICT'S "Patterns of Culture" was first published in 1934. Little in it was new to anthropologists, but it was a brilliant summing-up of the great advances their science had just made, and its discussion of the problems next to be undertaken showed so much insight that the most recent research seems no more than a natural supplement to what Ruth Benedict said in 1934.

But to laymen, for whom anthropology characteristically called up Frazer's "The Golden Bough" or Westernmark's "History of Human Marriage," and to whom it was best known as the discipline whose findings had buttressed radical theories from Engels to Freud, Ruth Benedict's thesis must have had the shock of real novelty. She had completely abandoned both the view that primitive society was merely a prelude to Western civilization and the effort to trace human institutions from their beginnings—preserved, it was assumed, in primitive societies—to their full flowering in Western culture. What we had thought of as vestigial groups hidden in deserts and forests assumed suddenly a scale comparable to that of our culture—were treated as valid, viable, and incommensurable modes of organizing existence.

Benedict described three such "patterns of culture": the Pueblo of the southwestern United States, the Dobuan of Melanesia, and the Kwakiutl of the Pacific Coast. In each of these groups the institutions we find everywhere among men had been molded into peculiar forms, to accord with a specific and unmistakable pattern. To use catchwords, Pueblo was characterized by a placid ritualism smoothing out life's emotional peaks and troughs, Dobu by each man's fear and suspicion of all men outside his mother's family, Kwakiutl by a fantastic rivalry in artificially created values, whose sole end was self-glorification and the shaming of one's rivals. (Benedict calls it a caricature of our own society.)

This book exhibited a cultural relativism that made Karl Marx's seem a slightly enlightened provincialism. Franz Boas had originated modern anthropological field work as a means of testing historical hypotheses; but he then discarded these hypotheses, which had put blinders on earlier observers, in order to view human culture in its fullest dimensions. The effect of anthropological training under his influence, and later under Malinowski's, was to free observers from habits of observation imposed on and built into them by their own culture: anthropological training became a way of remaking people as fundamental as psychoanalysis. The students of Boas and Malinowski abandoned the study of individual human traits and institutions. Such generalized abstractions as marriage, property, the state, law, jealousy, and shame no longer had a history, since the behavior we labeled with these terms was found to be imbedded in highly specific contexts from which it could no longer be removed for the easy comparisons of earlier anthropologists.

It was not only our ideas of property or state forms that could be questioned by anthropologists. They could view the local and limited character of the patterns of behavior of Western culture with an objectivity that even critics like Marx could not approach. Gestures and bodily movements, the form of the family, the Oedipus complex which Freud had put at the center of his contribution, the dualism of most Western philosophies, the "eternal" revolt of youth or the need for leadership—all these could appear, to anthropologists, mere Western foibles. Primitive Australian or Melanesian equivalents seemed to them neither "better" nor "worse," but equally valid data for science. And this relativism provided insights into our own society which have been, perhaps, only hinted at by our greatest thinkers, but which here became the normal products of a method which depended on neither intuition nor uncommon genius.

In the last twelve years there has been a reaction against relativism both in anthropology and in modern thought in general. (But only the direction is similar in the two cases. For while anthropology's trend away from relativism has been dictated by new findings, by growth of the science, the movement toward absolutism in the intellectual world has been uninhibited by the discipline of scientific method.) Anthropologists had only a short time ago denied any possibility of a measuring-stick for the evaluation of different cultures, but such a measuring-stick, stemming from a marriage of anthropology and psychoanalysis that has been most fruitful in the work of Abram Kardiner, is already in use. It is man himself—not the man of outmoded philosophies or earlier psychoanalysis whose specific cultural attributes had been expanded to universal qualities—but the man who, stripped down by the ever-widening discoveries of the sciences, has come to seem an almost infinitely malleable object. He can be given almost any qualities by a culture—more horrible qualities than ours gives him, as we can see from Dobu, but also happier or grander qualities, as we can see from other cultures. This creature, man, also has potentialities that have been left unexploited and unsuspected by the innumerable ways of organizing him we in the West know of. This knowledge makes it possible for us to say that one culture is good and another is bad, and it gives us a tool that enables us to draw up a critique of our own culture that is more thoroughgoing and fundamental than any previous one.

We have passed beyond the stage in the understanding of man described in this excellent book. But to understanding there is indeed no end: while we may have clues, we still have not found a guide to action like any of those that fifty years ago seemed so sure and obvious. The aims of progressive politics are still the freedom and happiness of the individual. The science once depended upon to hasten the achievement of these ends has grown, but the action to which it should lead us seems more obscure than ever. Yet it is only from still greater understanding that we can hope to arrive at the knowledge that will allow men to be developed to their full potentialities. NATHAN GLAZER

Monopolies of the Mind

THE FIRST FREEDOM. By Morris L. Ernst. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

WHAT is Mr. Ernst's "first freedom"? It is not that guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution—for this merely denies to Congress the right to abridge freedom of speech, or of the press—but rather the first of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms: "Freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world." The difference is fundamental to Mr. Ernst's argument. For he is not concerned with protection against governmental action, but rather with the implications of concentrated private control over the channels of communication. He wants not less government interference but more government regulation.

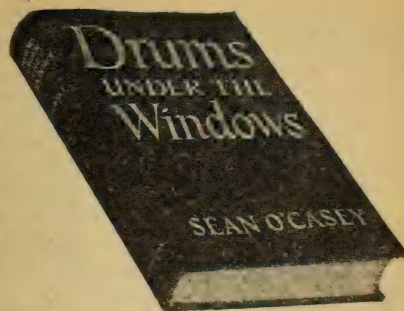
Is the first freedom threatened, in America, and if so, who or what are its enemies? Mr. Ernst is persuaded that it is threatened, and he has no difficulty in locating the source of that threat. "Government," he asserts, "is not the sole enemy of freedom. Concentrated economic power also acts as a restraint of thought. Monopolies of the mind have calmly entered our folkways." And he presents to us a statistical survey of concentrated economic power in the realm of communication that is provocative and perhaps alarming.

The details of that survey are by now perhaps so familiar that it may be enough if we summarize them. The press, the radio, the movies—the principal avenues of communication—all confess the same tendency toward the concentration of control that has long been familiar in the realm of industry and banking. While population grows, the number of daily and weekly newspapers declines, and as great chains take over newspapers, competition is eliminated.

Ten states have not a single city with competing daily papers. Twenty-two states are without Sunday newspaper competition. Fourteen companies owning eighteen papers control about one-quarter of our total daily circulation. Three hundred and seventy chain newspapers own about one-fifth of all our circulation. More than a quarter of our daily circulation is absentee-owned. We have a thousand less owners than a few decades ago. Thirty-two hundred weeklies—the backbone of local democracy—have disappeared. One company dominates more than 3,000 weeklies. There are only 117 cities left, in our entire nation, where competing dailies still exist. . . . One-third of all regular radio stations are interlocked with newspapers.

The situation in the moving-picture and radio industries is even more alarming. Through ownership of key theaters, production of raw-film stock, and cunningly written contracts five great companies completely dominate the motion-picture field. Four networks exercise a comparable dominion over the air. In fact, "thirty or forty men own the main access to America's mind."

More alarming even than the mere concentration of control are the techniques through which that control is exercised. These techniques are not designed to impair the intellectual integrity of the nation; they are designed to make money. But their effect, Mr. Ernst believes, is corrupting. There is, for example, the rapid growth of "boilerplat-



*"The best book to
come out of Ireland
in many a long
war-weary year"*
HORACE REYNOLDS
—NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

This eloquent, impressionistic autobiography brings to life all the exuberance, revolt, squalor, and poetry that was Dublin during the exciting years from 1902 to 1916—when drums beat under every window and torches flamed high.

"With magnificent abandon O'Casey conjures up, in a series of visions, the personages and problems of the time. Underneath a sometimes surrealistic phantasmagoria is the hard core of his keen and exercised intellect."—*Chicago Daily News*

Sean O'Casey's DRUMS UNDER THE WINDOWS

MACMILLAN \$4.50 at your bookstore

ing" in newspapers. The Western Newspaper Union supplies canned features and editorials to some 9,000 weeklies, and a complete eight-page paper, with four blank pages for local news, to some 3,000 of these. There is the practice of supplying what is in reality advertising matter as news to small papers glad to get free copy. There is the ownership of radio stations by newspapers, and the numerous complex arrangements—usually through advertising controls—whereby freedom of news is denied to the public. There is the block-buying system whereby the great movie companies force their films—bad as well as good—on theaters and deny to local communities the opportunity to see the products of independent or foreign producers. There are the numerous anti-social practices of the major radio networks, amply exposed by various FCC investigations and anti-trust suits, which result in grave discrimination against labor and the minimizing of public-service features. This is a formidable indictment, and no one should underestimate the gravity of the situation that confronts the American people. Freedom of speech and of the press requires not only that government refrain from oppression but that private corporations be prevented from exercising what is in effect censorship. It requires that the government clear all channels of communication and restore—if necessary by positive action—that competition so eminently desirable for the fullest dissemination of news and opinion. Nor does Mr. Ernst confine himself to analysis and criticism; he presents here an elaborate program of action with some twenty specific proposals. The most interesting and promising of these look to the breaking up of interlocking ownerships and directorates among various agencies of communication and to the use of taxation and subsidies to restore competition in newspapers and radio.

We can readily concede the correctness of Mr. Ernst's indictment and the timeliness of his warnings without accepting in full either his assumptions or his conclusions, or even his interpretation of the facts which he presents. Mr. Ernst is alarmed by the fact that the number of daily newspapers in the country has declined from 2,600 in 1909 to 1,198 in 1940, that weekly newspapers have declined from almost 17,000 to some 11,200, and that many large cities now boast no competing papers. All this is doubtless true; it is also true that during these thirty years the number of weekly and monthly magazines has increased enormously, and that the radio and newsreels have furnished additional sources of news to the public. Whatever the newspaper statistics show, it is clear that Americans are exposed to greater quantities of news and to more numerous and varied presentations than they were a generation ago.

Nor is it more than assumption that concentration of control enervates political and social judgment, or that competition stimulates it. There is of course no body of evidence to prove the matter either way, nor does Mr. Ernst attempt to prove it. It may perhaps be relevant to observe that Great Britain maintains a government monopoly in radio without any serious consequences to the political independence of the British people, and that the number of newspapers per capita in Britain is substantially smaller than in the United States. Or, to turn to the American scene, it is not clear that Nevada, where no town has a competing newspaper, reveals

less independence of judgment than New Mexico, which apparently has the best record of competing newspapers of any state in the country. For what it is worth, seven out of seventeen counties in Nevada changed sides between the elections of 1940 and 1944, while only nine out of twenty-seven changed in New Mexico.

It is proper to raise not only these minor questions but a major question with regard to Mr. Ernst's assumptions. Granted the concentration of control over the avenues of communication that has developed during the last thirty years, is it true that democracy has been weakened? Are the American people less democratic, less independent in their judgment, less liberal and tolerant in their outlook today, than they were in 1910? Granted the growing monopoly over both news and opinion, has there in fact been such a deprivation of access to news and opinion or such a distorted presentation of both that Americans have been unable to come to sound conclusions on matters of policy? Were we more mature in 1910? Did we grasp the issues of the First World War more speedily than we did the issues of the Second? Have we voted the way our conservative masters of the press and the air have wanted us to vote? That there has been distortion and suppression of the labor picture is clear. Has labor, in fact, experienced greater difficulty in writing the kind of legislation it wants or in winning public support? It would be a bold person who would answer these questions in the affirmative.

But if we must admit, along with the alarming situation which Mr. Ernst describes, a steady growth of democracy, of tolerance, and even of political maturity, what is the explanation? One explanation is, of course, that powerful as they are, the press, the radio, and the movies by no means monopolize the channels of communication. There are still the school, the church, the library, current literature—and talk. A second consideration is that somehow Americans seem to have taken on a protective coloration against a good deal of propaganda. It is unnecessary to repeat the observation that the readers of the *New York Daily News* and the *Chicago Tribune* did not appear to vote the way they read. Nor do the parties or organizations that can spend most money on advertising or radio or propaganda invariably win their case: the N. A. M. has not been noticeably successful in its various campaigns. Americans do manage to discriminate, heaven knows how, and to make up their own minds.

One more question is relevant. Mr. Ernst assumes—it is the old Brandeis assumption—that bigness is itself a curse and smallness a virtue; Mr. Truman has recently subscribed to this notion. Anyone familiar with small-town weeklies may well have some reservations here. Certainly we should not romanticize the small-town weeklies, or imagine them all *Emporia Gazettes*. Nor do we need to applaud the *Reader's Digest* and the *Saturday Evening Post* to feel that we could cheerfully sacrifice a few hundred of the new magazines that have sprung up like weeds in these last years. Twenty major networks might be better than four, but the British prefer one, and few who are familiar with it will deny its superiority. We may have a nostalgic feeling for small colleges or small churches, but unification here, rather than further diffusion, is indicated.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

The Elements of Education

DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION IN PRACTICE. By Rose Schneideman. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

THOUGH it is addressed to elementary-school teachers, every layman interested in education should read this book, for it undoubtedly helps to answer the question: Where is American elementary education going? Miss Schneideman is a pioneer. She is one of the first to attempt the development of a specific methodology for the introduction of progressive education into the public school.

Such methodology is sorely needed. To date modern educators have been speaking and writing too exclusively for one another. Their books have been general, have presupposed almost ideal classroom conditions, and have taken for granted both a groundwork of knowledge and a good deal of native ability. And while these books are invaluable, they offer meager fare indeed to the teacher whose classes are large, many of whose pupils come from underprivileged homes, who has to work with a limited budget, whose principals may be unsympathetic to the new educational philosophy, and who has for many years been teaching by traditional formal methods.

This teacher may long for specific directives; certainly he has been used to them. While directives and formulas will never help him, he must have something definite if he is not to flounder completely. The position of these teachers was well expressed by one of them who said recently, "Here I am, expected to teach thirty-five children a certain amount of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, and spelling. And I am also expected to develop thirty-five personalities simultaneously, to allow them to move and speak freely, to encourage them to 'express themselves.' Where am I to begin?"

Miss Schneideman comes to the aid of these teachers. She holds completely with modern educational theory. She believes in learning by doing, in discipline from within, and in classrooms which are miniature democracies. She believes that difficult behavior should be handled in the light of a study of its causes. And she shows specifically how to implement these theories. The teacher who wants to know how to organize his class, how to embark on a "unit of work," how to help children express themselves artistically, how to maintain order in the classroom, as well as how to teach the various academic subjects, will find his questions answered.

But to this reviewer, despite its undoubted value, the book has serious limitations. Certainly it does not always work out its modern theories by modern methods. For example: the writer approves of giving gold stars to children; yet she also holds, correctly, that they should do their work simply because it interests them. She would regularly appoint children as leaders to help their classmates with their work—a procedure which without skilful guidance would develop a smug superiority which would be injurious. And in some sections, as in that on discipline, Miss Schneideman is too specific—she gives too many suggestions and too little consideration to fundamental principles of growth.

To me the greatest importance of the book lies in the fact that it is an indication, one indication at least, that edu-

cation is moving in the right direction, that some day before too long the right kind of education will reach those who most need it—the masses of American children.

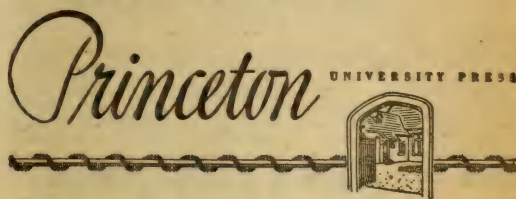
AGNES E. BENEDICT

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Southerner's Southerner

J. G. RANDALL in his "Lincoln and the South" (Louisiana State, \$1.50) elaborates some of the points touched upon in his recent two-volume biography, "Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg." In lectures delivered to what must have been highly sympathetic audiences at Louisiana State Dr. Randall continues his attack on the folk myth that Lincoln basically opposed the slavery system and develops the argument that, if he was not actually a Southerner, at least his position on slavery was indistinguishable from that of Stephen A. Douglas.

The proof is achieved in part by indicating Lincoln's affiliations with Kentucky, "which, as no one will deny," says Dr. Randall, "is a Southern state." (Tell that to Senator Stanfill and Governor Willis.) But the main premise is Ran-



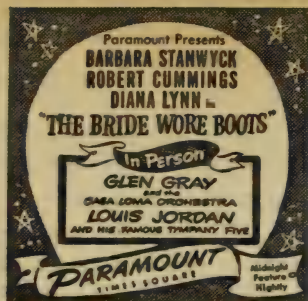
FULL PRODUCTION WITHOUT WAR

By HAROLD LOEB. This provocative book shows that full production without war is not just a dream but a very real possibility. It analyses the reasons for non-production—demonstrating that our economy is based on expectant sales at predetermined prices rather than on competition and true demand—and considers the ways of reducing business cycles to sustain demand and production at a high level. \$3.50

THE PROBLEM OF WAR

In Nineteenth Century Economic Thought

By EDMUND SILBERNER. A study of the relationship between war and economics as reflected in the thought of the 19th century, examining the ideas of the classical, historical, and socialist schools, and including the concepts of Malthus, Mills, List, Saint-Simon, Marx, Engels, and many others. \$3.00



Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
51st ST.
86th ST.
40th ST.
near Lenx
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENWOOD
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
ALDEN
Jamaica
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

RIKO NOW

"Tender drama of the Bronte Family."
—N. Y. Sun.

IDA LUPINO • PAUL HENREID
OLIVIA SYDNEY
De HAVILAND • GREENSTREET

'Devotion'

— AND —
'FALCON'S ALIBI' TOM CONWAY
RITA CORDAY

"TRUE TO LIFE . . . INTERESTING."
—N. Y. Herald-Tribune

JOAN FONTAINE
'From This
Day Forward'

with MARK STEVENS
From THOMAS BELL'S novel, "All Brides Are Beautiful"
— AND —
'JOE PALOOKA, CHAMP' JOE KIRKWOOD, Jr.
ELYSE KNOX

JOHN HODIAK • NANCY GUILD
IN
'SOMEWHERE
IN THE NIGHT'

Directed by JOSEPH L. MANKIEWICZ
Produced by ANDERSON LAWLER • A 20th Century-Fox Picture

— ON STAGE! —
MONTE PROSER'S
COPACABANA REVIEW

Extra! DESI ARNAZ

Extra! PETER LIND HAYES

Now
Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at
50th Street

dall's familiar view that "if the men of politics had worked toward harmony instead of disunity, misrepresentation, and hatred in those misguided days, who will doubt that the 'needless war' . . . could have been averted?" There is also the familiar dispassionate analysis of the contest within the Republican Party: "unctuous rebel-baiting intolerance on the one hand, moderating human relations on the other . . . partisan interference versus constructive rebuilding." Lincoln "went as far in conciliation as one could go while remaining an opponent of slavery." If one looks for the complete opposite of Lincoln, "one finds it not among the Democrats, but among the Jacobins." Here, as elsewhere, you have the curious feeling that Randall has never heard of Vallandigham—or of Jefferson Davis.

The great shame is that the remarkable knowledge and devotion which Dr. Randall brings to the study of the details of Lincoln's life should be surrounded by the uncritical acceptance of the notion that if it had not been for the malicious agitators, the war would have been avoided. This thesis requires much more serious and careful defense than Randall has bothered to give it. As Bernard De Voto showed devastatingly in his two *Harper's* pieces, it is filled with misconceptions, omissions, and internal contradictions. Its persistence introduces a distortion of judgment which puts Randall's impressive factual analyses in wavering and uncertain focus.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY

CAROUSEL

Musical by Book & Lyrics by Directed by Danes by
Richard Rodgers • Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Rouben Mamoulian • Agnes de Mille
with Harold Keel — Iva Withers
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Jean Castle
AIR-COND. MAJESTIC Theatre 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
Musical by Book & Lyrics by Directed by Danes by
Richard Rodgers • Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Rouben Mamoulian • Agnes de Mille
Jack Kilty • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
AIR-COND. ST. JAMES Theatre 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evgs. 8:30
COND. Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A smash hit of
enormous
proportions." —
Ward More-
house, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

LAST WEEKS!

"A SWEET AND HAPPY HIT."—Garland, Journal-American
Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with RICHARD BISHOP • DIANE CHADWICK
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway, Phone Circle 6-4638.
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

"BULL'S-EYE."—Barnes, Herald Tribune
RICHARD RODGERS and OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2d Present

ETHEL MERMAN in

"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN"

Musical & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY WIDDLINGTON
Directed by JOSHUA LUTAN
IMPERIAL THEA., 45th St. W. of B'way. Mats. Wed. & Sat. Air-Cond.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

GEORGIA O'KEEFFE'S retrospective show at the Museum of Modern Art (through August 25) confirms an impression left by the "Pioneers of Modern Art in America" exhibition at the Whitney Museum last month—namely, that the first American practitioners of modern art showed an almost constant disposition to deflect the influences received from twentieth-century Paris painting in the direction of German expressionism. This tendency was more obvious and general in the period that saw Miss O'Keeffe's debut (1915) than it has been since, but it survives even today.

The first American modernists mistook cubism for an applied style; or, like many German artists, they saw the entire point of post-impressionist painting in *fauve* color—or else they addressed themselves directly to German expressionist art as a version of the modern which they found more sympathetic and understandable than that of the School of Paris. In any case they read a certain amount of esotericism into the new art. Picasso's and Matisse's break with nature, the outcome of an absorption in the "physical" aspect of painting and, underneath everything, a reflection of the profoundest essence of contemporary society, seemed to them, rightly or wrongly, the signal for a new kind of hermetic literature with mystical overtones and a message—pantheism and pan-love and the repudiation of technics and rationalism, which were identified with the philistine economic world against which the early American avant-garde was so much in revolt. Alfred Stieglitz—who became Miss O'Keeffe's husband—incarnated, and still incarnates, the messianism which in the America of that time was identified with ultra-modern art.

It was this misconception of non-naturalist art as a vehicle for an esoteric message that encouraged Miss O'Keeffe, along with Arthur Dove, Marsden Hartley, and others, to proceed to abstract art so immediately upon her first acquaintance with the "modern." (It should not be forgotten, however, that the period in question was one that in general hastened to draw radical conclusions even when it did not understand them.) Conscious or unconscious esotericism also accounts largely for the resemblances between much of these

artists' work and that of Kandinsky in his first phase; this being less a matter of direct influence than of an a priori community of spirit and cultural bias.

Later on, in the twenties, almost all these painters, including Miss O'Keeffe, renounced abstract painting and returned to representation, as if acknowledging that they had been premature and had skipped essential intermediate stages. It turned out that there was more to the new art than the mere abandonment of fidelity to nature; even more important was the fact that Matisse and the cubists had evolved a new treatment of the picture plane, a new "perspective" that could not be exploited without a stricter and more "physical" discipline than these pioneers had originally bargained for. A period of assimilation of French painting then set in that has led American artists to a more integral understanding of what is involved in modern art. But the cost has been a certain loss of originality and independence. Today the more hopeful members of the latest generation of American artists again show "Germanizing" or expressionist tendencies; and these, whether they stem from Klee, surrealism, or anything else, seem to remain indispensable to the originality of

our art, even though they offer a serious handicap to the formation of a solid, painterly tradition.

The importance of Georgia O'Keeffe's pseudo-modern art is almost entirely historical and symptomatic. The errors it exhibits are significant because of the time and place and context in which they were made. Otherwise her art has very little inherent value. The deftness and precision of her brush and the neatness with which she places a picture inside its frame exert a certain inevitable charm which may explain her popularity; and some of her architectural subjects may have even more than charm—but the greatest part of her work adds up to little more than tinted photography. The lapidarian patience she has expended in trimming, breathing upon, and polishing these bits of opaque cellophane betrays a concern that has less to do with art than with private worship and the embellishment of private fetishes with secret and arbitrary meanings.

That an institution as influential as the Museum of Modern Art should dignify this arty manifestation with a large-scale exhibition is a bad sign. I know that many experts—some of them on the museum's own staff—identify the

Next Week in The Nation's Summer Book Number

HAMLET: THE EXISTENTIAL MADNESS

An Essay by Wylie Sypher

POEMS by William Carlos Williams, Louis MacNeice,
Robert Lowell, and Randall Jarrell

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, Jr., REVIEWS

"Discerning the Signs of the Times" by Reinhold Niebuhr

ISAAC ROSENFELD REVIEWS

"And He Hid Himself" by Ignazio Silone

HANS REICHENBACH REVIEWS

"Signs, Language, and Behavior" by Charles Morris

BILL MAULDIN REVIEWS

"Last Chapter" by Ernie Pyle

DIANA TRILLING REVIEWS

"The Hucksters" by Frederic Wakeman

OTHER REVIEWS by William Barrett, Ralph Bates, and
John W. Vandercook

FILMS, MUSIC

By James Agee, B. H. Haggin

opposed extremes of hygiene and scatology with modern art, but the particular experts at the museum should have had at least enough sophistication to keep them apart.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

WHEN I spoke of Balanchine's "Apollo" as the glory of Ballet Theater's recent season I meant not only the work but the performance—the beauty of the work as it was realized on the stage by the performance of Eglevsky, Alicia Alonso, Nora Kaye, and Barbara Fallis.

Markova's first entrance in "Giselle" had me wondering whether formerly I had only imagined those leaps about the stage that I was not seeing this time; but after a while there could be no doubt that she was merely sketching in her performance in the early scenes and—as it turned out—storing up the saved energy for her big solo of the first act, and of course the taxing second act. And though nothing so extreme occurred again in this performance, or in

her subsequent performances in "Swan Lake," "Romeo and Juliet," "Princess Aurora," and the "Nutcracker" *pas de deux*, nevertheless all her dancing, beautiful as it was, gave the impression of being done with less than her former intensity of effort, and of achieving less than its former effect. There was still what Edwin Denby once described as her control of "the full continuity of a motion from the center to the extremities," her "instinct for the melody of movement as it deploys and subsides in the silence of time," which still produced the "most refined of rhythmic delights." But with the lessened intensity they did not produce some of the supreme things one remembered—like the second-act Adagio in "Giselle," the bedroom scene in "Romeo"—as one remembered them having been produced before. Her "Swan Lake" performance, however, had—in addition to its beauty of movement—a dramatic force that I had never felt in her previous performances of the work.

I saw Alonso in her one scheduled "Giselle" and in the "Sylphides" and "Pas de Quatre" in which she substituted for Markova. Presumably she will take over these roles next year; and she is now well qualified to do so; for she has learned Markova's continuity of movement in quiet and repose; and what prevents the result from being even more beautiful than it is already is the fact that the learning isn't complete, and that Alonso's own tendency to sharp jabbing occasionally breaks through. She not only danced beautifully in "Giselle" but acted impressively; and there was the additional pleasure of Eglevsky's dancing in place of whatever it is that Dolin brings down the house with. Alonso's own sharp style was exhibited in the new Oboukhoff *pas de deux* and the Bluebird Variation that she and Eglevsky danced brilliantly. Her Juliet I did not see: Kaye appeared instead and gave the lovely performance I had seen before.

Kriza was a far more effective substitute for Hugh Laing in "Lilac Garden" and "Romeo" than Kidd was in "Pillar of Fire"; and "Lilac Garden" came off much more effectively as a whole than the other two works. The heavy underscoring that I noted last year in "Graduation Ball" was evident again in this year's performance with Kidd and Janet Reed. But the performances I saw of "Tally-Ho" and of "Fancy-Free"—with Robbins momentarily back in his part, and Rall in place of Harold Lang—were excellent.

My general impression of Ballet Theater's season is very much like the one Denby expressed a year ago, when, "wondering why so strong an array of dancers and a number of fine performances" had left him depressed, it struck him that "the performances of individual dancers had often been very fine, but too often they had had no dance contact with the rest of the ensemble on stage. Everybody did his job, but each worked for himself. Too often I missed the collective inspiration, the mutual dance response, that had been so exhilarating at the Monte Carlo."

Denby's elaboration of this was illuminating. "the expressive virtue of any dancing is its rhythm, and its rhythm is felt only in continuity"—continuity of "stress and non-stress"; and "classic dancing is our most expressive development of dance rhythm," building "long continuities (or phrases) of movement that offer . . . variations of bodily impetus clearly set in relation to a fixed space," and that "convey the specific meaning of the ballet—its drama." But this expressive rhythm Denby missed at Ballet Theater. Thinking perhaps "in terms of key effects rather than in terms of a continuous melody," the dancers "defined the stress of the gesture emphatically but took no interest in the unstressed part," and "missed giving the exhilarating sense of dance rhythm, that only the projection of a complete movement—stress and non-stress—can begin to create. . . . While it is possible for a dancer to smash the stress of a gesture at the public, he cannot do the same with the gesture's weaker phase. A complete movement (both parts of it as a rhythmic unit) gets its carrying power by a different attack—by being projected in relation to the stage space and the other dancers. This method has an air of modesty that doesn't catch the public as quickly, but it has the advantage of drawing the audience steadily into the illusion of situation and character which only can exist back of the proscenium. That is why the dramatic illusion and the dance illusion of ballet is broken by the punch of the hyper-active showman and is secured by the gentle-mannered and luminously calm ballerina."

The writing of this sort that Denby did first in *Modern Music* and then for a couple of years in the *Herald Tribune* was an outstanding chapter in American criticism of the arts—one that deserves permanence in book form. One rejoiced, therefore, to hear that *Dance Index* was going to publish at least part of it—

The fabulous inside
story of America's
favorite magazine—

and how it
got that way!

LITTLE WONDER
or: The Reader's Digest
and how it grew

If you love *The Reader's Digest*—or if you don't—you'll relish this witty and subtly ironic report—originally the *New Yorker's* longest profile, now expanded to book length. \$2.00

by John Balabridge

At all
bookstores

REYNAL & HITCHCOCK

only to be shocked by the skimpy collection that appeared in the February issue. *Dance Index* had once devoted a triple issue to the valuable writing of Carl Van Vechten; it had devoted an entire single issue to arty photographs by George Platt Lynes; but its way of dealing with Denby's writing and Walker Evans's superb photographs was to crowd both into one single issue in which each deprived the other of space, and to further reduce the amount of Denby's writing by using larger type. The issue does, however, contain beautiful things to read and see; and for anyone who may have wondered at Denby's application of the term "poetry" to "Apollo"—and for those who consider "Pillar of Fire" ballet's coming-of-age—I quote his observation that "to recognize poetic suggestion through dancing one has to be susceptible to poetic values and susceptible to dance values as well."

CONTRIBUTORS

NATHAN GLAZER is assistant editor of *Commentary*.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, professor of history at Columbia University, is the author of "Majority Rule and Minority Rights," "Theodore Parker, Yankee Crusader," "The History of the Second World War," and other books.

AGNES E. BENEDICT is the author of "Progress to Freedom: The Story of American Education," co-author of "Play Centers for School Children," and editor of "Arts in Childhood."

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., is the author of "The Age of Jackson." He has recently received a Guggenheim fellowship and is writing a history of the New Deal.

MORE THAN WORDS

**Everybody Benefits—
Everybody Gives**

Is more than a slogan. Your local Community Chest Red Feather Services help to provide your citizens with health and hospital care, education and recreation facilities, and family and child welfare guidance and help.

**Keep It Up—Don't Let Them
Down**

This, too, is more than a slogan. For USO still has a big job to do in serving the new inductees, the convalescent wounded, garrison troops, and in providing USO-Camp Shows in hospitals.

**Give generously to the USO
and your Community Chest**

ANNOUNCING A NEW EDITORIAL PROJECT—THE AMERICAN JOURNALISM SERIES

THE KANSAS CITY STAR. A Literary Sham that Parades its Benign, Pontifical Purity and Saintliness. By Charles H. Hogan, Kansas City newspaperman. This charming, delightful, amusing, bone-crushing, eye-gouging manifesto contains the following scabrous, blistering, merciless chapters:

1. The Cathedral of Castrated Journalism. 2. The "Star Style." 3. A Plunge Into a Bubbling Fountain of Budge. 4. The Woman's Page—A New High in Journalistic Obscurity. 5. Lord Roberts—All-Powerful Delt. 6. The Star's Prostituted News Coverage. 7. William Allen White—the Saintry Star's Pet Disciple. 8. The Oracle of the Jesus-Shouters. 9. The Star's Rape of Myrtle. 10. The Star's Snake-Phobia. 11. The Star's Chase, Virginal Editorial Out-House. (The second part of this booklet contains the following chapters.) 12. Kansas City—Hick Town on the Kaw. 13. Smut-Smellers Take Over the Bordellos. 14. Kansas City's Final Fling Before It Turned Saintry. 15. The Star's Angelic Battle for Pure Womanhood. 16. Pope Roberts' Citadel of Godliness. 17. Sunday in the Star's Balliwick. 18. The Star's Brand of Uplift Is on the Boom.

THE KANSAS CITY STAR costs only 25c per copy, prepaid.

THE NEW YORK TIMES EXPOSED. Is There a Free Press? Where? In America? In Russia? A Critical Examination of Capitalism's Greatest Newspaper, by Walther Victor.

This important booklet discusses the most fundamental of all freedoms—that of expression, the press. Without a free press true freedom is impossible. Here we have a complete, factual survey of the cartelization of the mind of America by a few score people who dominate the press. At the top stands *The New York Times*, a paper that is an institution, that wields tremendous influence, and that is recognized as the best-edited capitalistic organ in all printing history. The *Times* represents capitalistic journalism at its best, and it is precisely for this reason that the author—Mr. Walther Victor—takes up its policies regarding freedom of expression for purposes of analysis and criticism. Let's not forget that Mr. Sulzberger, publisher of the *Times*, said, according to the author of this essay, that freedom of the press to him means the right for him to print what he pleases, and if you little people don't like it, you can—what? You can PRINT A HANDBILL!

Mr. Victor shows that, in plain English, the *Times'* policy means: You may have just as much freedom of speech and expression as you are able to pay for. This is an important situation that Mr. Victor is treating—it really amounts to this: your and my freedom of speech and expression may mean peace rather than a third World War. The *Times* is more subtle, intelligent, dignified and efficient than the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson-Gannett poison press—and that's what makes it much more dangerous to those who really believe in freedom of expression.

THE NEW YORK TIMES EXPOSED costs 25c per copy, prepaid.

THE CASE AGAINST THE MCCORMICK-PATTERSON PRESS. Sampling *The Chicago Tribune* and *N. Y. Daily News* Fascist Propaganda Line Over a Period of Years. By L. M. Birkhead, Director, Friends of Democracy.

While this book devotes itself mainly to Robert R. McCormick's *Chicago Tribune* and Joseph M. Patterson's *N. Y. Daily News*, Dr. Birkhead writes plenty about "Cissy" Patterson's *Washington Times-Herald* and the Hearst press.

The behavior of these papers represents one of the most flagrant cases of editorial irresponsibility in the history of our country. These papers feed prejudice, bigotry, distrust and defeatism to the American people day after day.

Here are some of the chapter headings you'll find in this book by Dr. Birkhead:

1. And What Do You Call "Aiding the Enemy," Gentlemen? 2. The Daily Drip of Poison of the McCormick-Patterson-Hearst Press. 3. We Speak for Angry Americans. 4. McCormick Is Pro-Axis; the Axis Is Pro-McCormick. 5. Check-List for Inkpot Substitutes. 6. What About Inkpot "Aid to the Enemy," Mr. McCormick? 7. The *Chicago Tribune's* Anti-Semitism. 8. McCormick's Anti-British and Anti-Russian Propaganda. 9. McCormick—Defender of Seditionists. 10. McCormick's Pro-Native Fascism. 11. Sabotaging the Peace. 12. The Fascists Work for Patterson. 13. How Patterson is Useful to the Fascists. 14. Hitler Echoed Patterson. 15. Patterson Paraphrased Hitler. 16. The Nazi-German Line and the Patterson Line. 17. The *N. Y. Daily News'* Defense of Jap Fascism.

This pamphlet, "THE CASE AGAINST THE MCCORMICK-PATTERSON PRESS (15,000 words, 5½ x 8½ inches), is hot as a pistol and as timely as a good newspaper. L. M. Birkhead knows more about McCormick and Patterson than any other man in the country. Thoroughly documented. Here's a complete exposure of the most sinister element in American life—a force that would destroy American democracy and make the world safe for totalitarianism. 25c per copy, prepaid.

Each of these three booklets contains 15,000 words, page size 5½ x 8½ inches. 25c per copy. All three booklets 75c, prepaid.

AMERICAN JOURNALISM SERIES

E. Haldeman-Julius, Box 2325, Girard, Kansas

Enclosed find 75c, payment in full for all three journalism booklets, as follows: 1. *The Kansas City Star*. (25c.) 2. *The New York Times Exposed*. (25c.) 3. *The Case Against the McCormick-Patterson Press*. (25c.) Prepaid.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

HELP WANTED

PUBLIC RELATIONS

ADULT EDUCATION DIRECTOR

Important national Jewish organization seeks Director of Educational Activities—male or female. Must have understanding of adult education techniques, public relations experience, ability to write clearly, administrative experience, as well as knowledge of how to work with and activate groups in behalf of social causes. This position can be filled only by a top-flight person. Salary commensurate with responsibilities.

Box No. 1618, c/o The Nation

SITUATION WANTED

YOUNG MAN (25), married, Masters Degree in Education, 2 years executive production experience bi-weekly publication, reading, writing, speaking knowledge French, Spanish, Army cryptographer, ambitious, adaptable, seeks position with future. N. Y. City resident. Box No. 1619, c/o The Nation.

WILL TYPE and/or PROOFREAD manuscripts, reports, documents. Accurate, intelligent, speedy homework. Moderate fee. Box 1622, c/o The Nation.

GUIDANCE

DEPENDABLE evaluation of character, personality, aptitudes and counseling for career, education, human relations. By appointment or by mail. For information write Alfred Reiss, Ph.D., 680 Fort Washington Avenue, New York 33.

SALES REPRESENTATION

WE OFFER REPRESENTATION in Illinois and Indiana. Write Manufacturers Sales Company, P. O. Box 24, Lombard, Illinois.

ROOMS

MOTHER AND adult daughter offer bedroom free to congenial woman employed during day. Kingston Avenue Station I.R.T. Write Box No. 1620, c/o The Nation.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

40 MILE VIEW; one acre garden; six-room house with new cellar; new white paint; freshly plastered walls; 16 miles Tanglewood; electricity; well. Asking \$3,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, Chatham, N. Y.

VACATION CABINS

CREATIVE VACATION CABINS (movable) and modest country dwellings designed and built for those who will appreciate them. Describe requirements, tastes, interest in first letter. Inexpensive. Box No. 1621, c/o The Nation.

Classified Advertisements

62 cents a line (six words)

MINIMUM — 3 lines

\$6.16 per inch

Attractive discounts for multiple insertions.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.
BARclay 7-1066

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Trend in Liberalism?

Dear Sirs: The article by Alvarez del Vayo, *Socialism and Europe's Fate*, in your April 13 issue is a striking example of the totalitarian trend in contemporary liberal thought, a trend which comes close to being a betrayal of the liberal-democratic tradition. Mr. del Vayo's article could well be taken as a manifesto of the new totalitarian liberal's credo. He says, "... whether they [the Socialists] like it or not, [the Soviet Union] is a socialist state," thus taking the position that a one-party dictatorship can be socialist, a debatable conclusion on a vital issue which your magazine seems scrupulously to ignore. He then refers to Léon Blum's concern for the preservation of civil liberties in France as "exaggerated romanticism." He winds up his article with, "On the development of genuine understanding between Socialists and Communists depends the fate of Europe—and indirectly the fate of the world." Throughout his plea for cooperation between Socialists and Communists he suggests that the differences between them are merely a matter of temperament rather than of principle and casually informs us that "sometimes the question is largely one of tact."

Here you have a point of view which might honestly be defended as liberal; but in that section of the liberal press typified by *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, and *PM* this doctrine is not offered as a springboard to discussion of the underlying issues; it is presented, uncritically, as *the* liberal position.

It has always been my impression that open discussion was a sacred canon of whatever it is we call "liberalism." At the time of the San Francisco conference I was profoundly shocked to hear an editor of one of the best-known liberal journals frankly admit that it was the policy of that magazine to suppress and soft-pedal known facts about Russia and the weakness of the proposed UNO which might dampen enthusiasm for the new world organization. I wonder what the pretext would be today.

I have indicated my position on the political compass, but I don't intend to argue in its favor. I do want to appeal for an open discussion of all the major issues which face us in place of the uniform flow of prefabricated opinion

which now appears in your pages.

Without the comfort of a dynamic liberal-democratic movement the unalloyed truth makes a most disheartening fare, but by evading free discussion you discredit what remains of the former prestige and integrity of the liberal cause, and you contribute nothing to its rebirth as a vigorous social force. For the liberal without a strongly organized cause to lean upon, it requires a noble effort to examine all of the realities of the day with a critical eye. Nobility and honesty form one of the chief remaining assets of liberalism, upon which could be rebuilt a healthy democratic and socialist movement in Europe and the United States.

STEPHEN LANCASTER

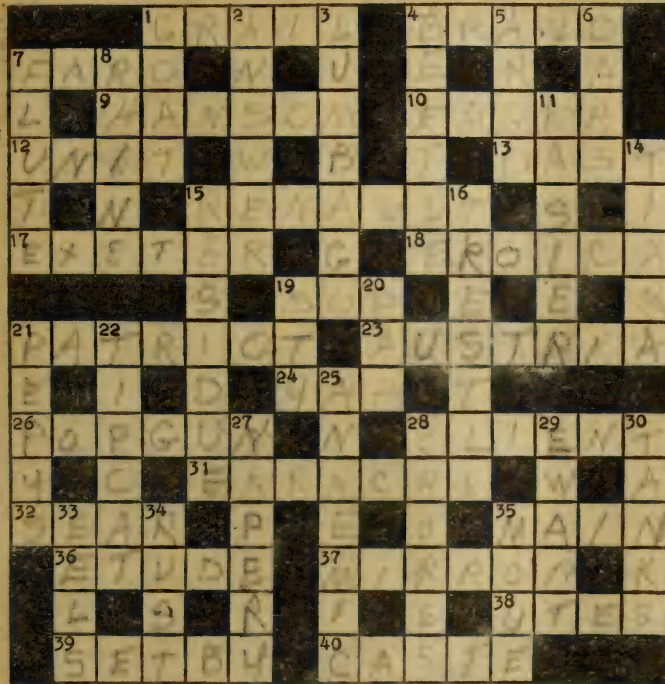
New York, April 20

[Mr. Lancaster has scarcely done justice to Mr. del Vayo or *The Nation*. Mr. del Vayo devoted a good section of his report to praise of the Socialist President, Gouin, and a large section to a realistic analysis of the French Socialists' quarrel with the Communists, touching not only on differences of temperament but on Communist tactics and the party's attitude toward Russia's foreign policy. "Here the Communists must make the main effort to dispel the suspicion shared by many Socialists whom it would be ridiculous to classify as anti-Russian or anti-Communist—the suspicion that when a Communist talks unity, he means unity on his terms, with the Communist Party running the whole show for its exclusive benefit. It is too much to expect that any Socialist, however convinced of the need of working with the Communists, will let himself and his party be treated almost as intruders in the labor movement. It makes no sense to talk unity and then denounce a Socialist as a reactionary or a semi-fascist the moment he disagrees with the Communist line." This is from Del Vayo, not Lancaster. It hardly sounds totalitarian.]

As to *The Nation's* liberalism: we concede to our contributors the same freedom to express their points of view as we do to ourselves. It is difficult for the editors to understand how anyone reading *The Nation* during the last critical months can assert that freedom of discussion is barred from its pages. —EDITORS THE NATION.]

Crossword Puzzle No. 165

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Sought by King Arthur's knights
- 4 Courageous commendation
- 7 Gambling game in which you finish with nothing
- 9 Irish architect who invented that good-looking cab
- 10 Rather more enthusiastic than Barkis was
- 12 A person, or a group of persons
- 13 We expected to find hops in it, not oats!
- 15 Car of French make
- 17 New Hampshire town
- 18 Beethoven's Third Symphony, in honor of Napoleon Bonaparte
- 19 Thrown to Cerberus
- 21 Too good a man surely to make trouble with one of the Irish
- 23 Country of Europe
- 24 Canine chatter
- 26 Not a very deadly weapon
- 28 Professional customer
- 31 Head pain that might afflict fur seals, but not true seals
- 32 Oh, dry up!
- 35 Am in the principal part
- 36 Gertrude has left three letters in the study. Grr!
- 37 In which we don't see ourselves as others see us
- 38 Wild West Indians
- 39 Put aside (two words, 3 and 2)
- 40 You descend in social rank if you lose it

DOWN

- 1 Butter
- 2 What this clue demands
- 3 Rheumatic affection

- 4 You cannot truthfully call a cockroach one
- 5 Ship in which Jason searched for the Golden Fleece
- 6 The vessel at 5 had fifty
- 7 Not for those who like music without frills
- 8 European river which means to flow
- 11 If this were easy it would be more difficult
- 14 Crowning glory's crowning glory
- 15 What's left after the estate has paid all debts and bequests
- 16 How sterlet may come to the table
- 19 Home of the Duchess of Blandings
- 20 Invalid food
- 21 His diary was written in shorthand
- 22 Putting money on an animal is a childish game
- 25 An ice, Ma? (anag.)
- 27 Table linen
- 28 Homework
- 29 Boy with a fighting heart
- 30 Aquaria furnished with shells?
- 33 Fish
- 34 A red coat of little use
- 35 Make a face like a cow when it lows?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 164

ACROSS: 1 MERMAID; 5 BLUE GUM; 9 GENESIS; 10 NEEDLES; 11 EWES; 13 UNHAND; 15 CUTTLE; 16 TOPICAL; 17 PARA; 19 LAIR; 20 PALATABLE; 21 LINE; 23 AGAG; 26 SPRING; 28 OUSELS; 29 EN-DIVE; 30 DEW; 32 ACIDITY; 33 ICED TEA; 34 DEGREES; 35 DESERVE.

DOWN: 1 MUGWUMP; 2 RANCHER; 3 ABSENT; 4 DUSE; 5 BANE; 6 USEFUL; 7 GALATEA; 8 MASSEUR; 12 WAIST-LINE; 14 DOLLOPS; 15 CABRAGE; 18 APE; 19 IGA; 21 LEOPARD; 22 NESTING; 24 GITTER; 25 GRENADINE; 26 SLUICE; 27 ENTERTAINERS; 30 DYES; 31 WIND.

COURSE

ARE YOU OPEN-MINDED?

The ATOM BOMB swept the New Age into a ONE WORLD FACT. Let TRUTH sweep from your Mind the old relics of MYSTICISM, FEAR and SUPERSTITION. Live according to Nature's Laws.

THE NEW SCIENTIFIC METAPHYSICS shows the way.

It is vividly, forcefully and clearly presented in the

One-World Extension Course

offered on a free-will payment plan. Blend your will with the Universal. Why struggle? Dare to live splendidly.

For information, write at once to

ONE-WORLD EXTENSION COURSE

Topeka, Kansas, Box 717, Dept. X
UNITED NATIONS

BOOKS

NO INFLATION PRICES THESE—remarkable book values, brand new original editions, publishers' overstock, from \$2.50 to \$6.00 list:

- "WHAT TO DO WITH ITALY," by Salvemini and La Pina..... \$.50
- "WHAT TO DO WITH GERMANY," by Nizer..... .50
- "CIVIL LIFE IN WARTIME GERMANY," by Max Seydewitz..... .50
- "GERMANY'S MASTER PLAN" (Cartels), by Berlin and Welsh..... 1.00
- "GRAVEDIGGERS OF FRANCE," by Perlinax..... 1.50

Minimum order \$1.00; U. S. Postage Free.

Downtown Book Bazaar

212 Broadway, New York City 7

OUT-OF-PRINT and hard-to-find books located free of charge. Send list of wants to J. Thompson, 1 Hillside Ave., Pelham, N. Y.

"STAGEFRIGHT, Its Cause and Cure." Booklet \$1.00. Goodhue Studio, 56 Fayerweather Street, Cambridge, Mass.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE to all your favorite magazines and newspapers with one order. One bill to pay after orders or renewals are accepted. Catalog free. John Crehore, Post-box 2329-N, Washington 13, D. C.

TRANSLATIONS

RESEARCH AND TRANSLATION

Expert literary translation (French & Spanish) and research. All the resources of New York City at our disposal: the famous public library, university libraries, museums, etc. A staff skilled in using all of these at your service.

Inquiries Invited

RESEARCH HOUSE

25 Hillside Avenue New York 34, N. Y.

LANGUAGES

STUDY EASILY and quickly all languages by phonograph records. Also rentals. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17. MU. 3-1093.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.40 per carton, postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

RESORTS

45 Miles from New York City

Zindorest★ **Park** **Monroe N. Y.**

Telephone 4421

A Resort for Adults Only

Exclusive location. 150 acres of unusual beauty. All sports. Lake and Pool on premises. Delicious food, relaxing atmosphere, dancing, horseback riding on premises, modern accommodations.

Greyhound, Adirondack Trailway and Short Line Buses stop at our Entrance. ★

SACKS FARM

Saugerties, N. Y. Tel. 590-J

Unusually beautiful countryside, pine woods, good, homey Jewish-American cooking. All conveniences. Intimate and restful. Swimming, horseback, tennis and other sports. Adults. Booklet.

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477

Delightful...Boating and swimming in our private lake.

Different...The colonial atmosphere.

Delicious...Our unexcelled cuisine.

Diversing...Recordings for listening & dancing.

All this only 53 miles from New York City

A Resort for Adults Only

SCHROON Crest

"In the Adirondacks" Pottersville, N. Y.

SPECIAL RATES UNTIL JULY 7th

Private Beach, Canoe, Boating, All Sports, Roundhouse Playhouse, Bar, Dancing Nightly, Julia Adolphe & His Group, Harry Alshin & Orchestra, Excellent Cuisine • Make Reservations Early

N. Y. City OR: PHONE, MAIN 4-8570

LEAH OKUN — IRV. SCHOENBERG, Met.

An Adult Resort — On SCHROON LAKE

MERRIE WOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.

FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping pong, square dancing.

\$45 and \$50 weekly. OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults. Swimming, boating, fishing, good food. Private baths. June 27th to September 16th. From \$80.00 weekly double. American plan. Box 77. Munsonville, N. H.

SUMMER RENTAL

FLATBROOKVILLE, 7-room house. Rent several months. Brook and Delaware River. Swimming, fishing, hunting, farmland furnished. 37 Suffolk Ave., Maplewood, N. J., or phone South Orange 3-0824.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS**MIDTOWN CHILDRENS CENTER**

6 West 71st Street

SUMMER DAY CAMP — AGES 6 to 12

Swimming, Sports, Outdoor Camping, Arts and Crafts, Rainy Day Activities, LICENSED ADULT SUPERVISION

Please write or call

Mrs. ETHEL ABRAMS, Morningside, Schuyler 4-4208

COED Camp has opening for 5-6 year old girl; Berkshire; \$425.00, all inclusive. Staff. WAtkins 9-4119.

RESORTS

PINECREST in the BERKSHIRES

On the HOUSTONIC RIVER



150 acres of Pines & Hemlocks in a panoramic setting of the rugged Berkshires. Comfortable lodge rooms for two. Bungalows with showers and fireplace, all facing the Houstonic River. Boating, Swimming, Fishing, Bicycles, Ping-Pong, Recordings and Dining.

West Cornwall, Conn. • Tel. Cornwall 89-12

Diana and Abe Bernan

SPRING

IN

THE RAMAPOS

AT ITS BEST ON OUR 1000 ACRE ESTATE



Ride along our 31 miles of woodland trails. Golf on our own excellent course. Indulge in our own excellent food and pleasant cocktail lounge. You can depend upon consistently fine cuisine and excellent accommodations. Open the year 'round.

Only 51 Miles from New York.

Glenmere

CHESTER, N. Y. Chester 200 [N. Y.] RE. 2-5047

An Invitation to carefree vacation. We take pride in announcing the opening of

DEUEL HOLLOW HOUSE

In beautiful, historic Dutchess County, 70 miles from New York. Delicious food served on terrace overlooking our private lake, tennis, handball, swimming, recreation in antique quaker hall. A completely informal atmosphere.

DEUEL HOLLOW HOUSE

Windsor, N. Y. Phone 2556

INVITATION TO RELAX

Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous countryside, outdoor activities, delicious food — and fun.

Only 5 miles from New York

MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY

plum point

"Year-Round Vacation Resort"

New Windsor, N.Y. Tel. Newburgh 4278



Gloucester, Mass. ABRAM RESNICK Director

This Adult Camp...

Sheltered cove near picturesque Gloucester. Salt water swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premises. Dancing, tennis, trips and all sports.

Write for booklet and rates.

The Fieldstone

On Round Island Lake

A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York.

ALL SPORTS — OPEN ALL YEAR

MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7963



AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS

LIMITED TO 100

OPEN FOR THE SEASON

ALL SPORTS • PRIVATE LAKE

DANCING • LECTURES • CONCERTS

N. Y. OFFICE: 88 W. 42nd St. Longacre 5-3074

The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

COUNTRY BOARD

A FEW PAYING GUESTS in exceptionally beautiful spacious Vermont home on top of lovely hill overlooking all ridges of Green Mountains. RI. 9-1574, mornings or evenings, or Box 1610, c/o The Nation.

RESORTS

★ **STAR LAKE CAMP** ★

In the Glorious Adirondacks

Between Thousand Islands and Ausable Chasm. A marvelous pleasure playground, 1,800 feet elevation and right on the lake with plenty of gorgeous woodland. Bungalows and lodges with hot and cold running water and modern conveniences. Tennis Courts, Canoeing, Swimming, Handball, Baseball, Ping Pong, Fishing, Saddle Horses, Golf, Cards, Dancing, etc. Interesting one-day trips arranged. Delicious wholesome meals. Dietary Laws. Rates: \$45, \$50, \$55 per person.

SEASON OPENS DECORATION DAY

Send for Booklet — New York Office

320 BROADWAY Room 906 CO 7-2667

Sundays, Evenings, Holidays — PR 4-1390

RELAX, REJOICE with SPRING at

Lakecrest

On Hunn's Lake • Stanfordville, N. Y.

90 miles from N. Y. Ideal location in the heart of DUTCHESS COUNTY. Excellent accommodations. Cordial hospitality. Recordings. Library. All seasonal sports. Via N.Y.C.R.R. to Amenia, N.Y. Open all year.

WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS

EVA BEBO, Director Stanfordville 2328

KUTAY'S LODGE

ACCORD, ULSTER COUNTY, N. Y.

Telephone: Kerhonkson 8014M

Informal Adult Resort

Moderate Rates • Jewish-American meals

LAKE VIEW LODGE BOLTON LANDING on Lake George, N. Y.

A delightful secluded spot for a quiet, relaxing vacation, intimate, informal. Near all sports, including golf—tennis—hockey—riding—fishing. Newly furnished—modern appointments. Excellent home cooking and baking.

OPENS JUNE 22. RATES FROM \$40

F. MARTIN, Mgr. For Illustrated Folder write

P.O. Box 377, Tarrytown, N. Y. 18, N. Y.

CASA MANOR

On Beautiful LAKE COSSAYUNA

COSSAYUNA, N. Y.—QUEST

Only 20 miles from famed Saratoga. 50-guest limit to preserve comfortable, restful, intimate atmosphere. Excellent cuisine. Swimming, boating, fishing, table tennis, etc. From July First. Write or call.

JACOB M. OLSHANSKY

93 State Street, Albany, New York. Phone: 5-0363

BYRAM LODGE

ARMONK, N. Y. Tel. Armonk Vill. 906

Only 35 miles from N. Y. C. in Westchester. Completely remodeled, all conveniences, new furnishings. Beautiful mattresses, all sports, bowling.

Rates \$80 weekly; \$10 daily. American Plan.

American-Jewish Cuisine

N. Y. Office 11 West 42nd Street PE 6-3243

HUNNS LAKE HOUSE

STANFORDVILLE NEW YORK

Charming Lake and countryside, rustic, restful. Excellent American cuisine. Ideal for week-end and vacations. Directly at lake, bathing, boating, fishing and other sports. Beautiful walks on own grounds. Adults only. Rates: \$45.00 weekly, \$7.00 day.

POPPER & MCNAMEE

(Formerly Shadybrook, Mohopac)

Tel. Stanfordville 2390

Stonegate LODGE

NEW ADULT RESORT IN THE ADIRONDACKS

Limited Accommodations. Rates \$65 to \$85.

GEORGE KLEINBERGER, Medical Activities Director

ALL SPORTS. Write for Booklet "N"

New York Office: 150 Nassau Street, W.O. 2-2900

LOUIS A. ROTH, Director

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 22, 1946

NUMBER 25

The Shape of Things

THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BE THANKFUL for the last-minute settlement of the shipping dispute. The immobilization of the American merchant fleet at this time would have meant a severe setback to slowly reviving world commerce; domestically it would have involved the risk of violent disorder in view of the government's intention to take over the ships and the disunity of the maritime unions, which are split between C. I. O. and A. F. of L. Peace was secured thanks to direct intervention in the negotiations by the government, which at a late hour awoke to the fact that it owned 80 per cent of the ships and was underwriting the operations of the remainder. Credit is also due to Philip Murray, C. I. O. president, who seems to have used all his influence to persuade the maritime leaders to accept a settlement that gives them a good deal less than their demands, even though it represents a very distinct advance in pay and working conditions. An increase in base pay of \$17.50, combined with a reduction in the working week from 56 hours to 48 at sea and 40 in port, is expected to provide average take-home pay of about \$200 a month. Shipowners complain that as a result labor costs will be three to four times those of foreign operators and fear that the taxpayers will not be willing to shoulder the expense of keeping a large merchant marine afloat under the American flag. They forget that ships need men to work them and that if seamen's wages are not kept in line with those paid for comparable shore jobs the men will not be available, unions or no unions.

★

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S VETO OF THE CASE bill has provoked an angry response from a section of the press that only a few weeks ago hailed him as a national hero. It is hard to believe that the man who made such a spectacle of himself in denouncing the railway strikers could have penned the cool, far-seeing message which accompanied the Case bill veto. Yet Mr. Truman rather ably reconciles his desire for emergency anti-strike powers with his opposition to permanent legislation designed solely to weaken labor. He points out that the temporary legislation which he requested would apply only to such industries as had been seized

by the government, and not to strikes against private employers. His contention that the Case bill, far from reducing industrial strife, would provoke greater labor unrest is buttressed by a detailed and intelligent analysis of the measure. One wonders whether any of the 255 Representatives who voted to override the veto, or any of those who advocated attaching the Case bill to the President's emergency bill, actually read the veto message. For, as the message clearly points out, the bill would neither have delayed nor have prevented strikes; it would have provided no improvement in mediation procedure; it did not even attempt to deal with the fundamental causes of industrial disputes. Its sole function would have been to harass and anger organized labor, and thus to intensify the loss of production arising from labor unrest. There may be a few Congressmen, eager to smash the unions, who wish to see them goaded into any possible strike; but surely there are not so many of these "statesmen" as the vote for the Case bill would suggest.

★

BY DRAPING DIRTY LINEN ALL OVER THE chaste marble front of the Supreme Court, Justice Robert R. Jackson has badly damaged the prestige and dignity of that institution. He excuses his action on the ground that "it is desirable to get the controversy all back of us so that he [Mr. Vinson, the new Chief Justice] can take up his task without the cloud hanging over the court." The explosion, however, has not dispelled that cloud, which looks more ominous than ever. Even Mr. Vinson's undoubted talents as a conciliator can hardly be equal to inducing the warring brethren to shake hands, now that their feud has been exposed in the headlines. Unless one or both of them resign, the court must remain a house divided by more than intellectual differences. Mr. Jackson has given three reasons for his unprecedented onslaught on a colleague and his revelation of the jealously guarded secrets of the court's conference chambers: (1) attacks made on him in the press; (2) reports that Black had protested proposals to make him (Jackson) Chief Justice; (3) his desire to call attention to attitudes which "would soon bring the court into disrepute." The first two reasons, which are

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	733
The Atom in a Divided World	735
Final Showdown on OPA	736

ARTICLES

Palestine and Bevin <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	737
A. V. C. Sets the Pace <i>by John S. Atlee</i>	740
Congress Clears the Calendar <i>by Tris Coffin</i>	741
The Lesson of California <i>by Carey McWilliams</i>	742
Poor but Honest. <i>A Poem by Richard Armour</i>	744
Who's Who in the French Press <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	745
Yugoslavia Revisited, II <i>by Hal Lehrman</i>	747
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	749

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Hamlet: The Existential Madness <i>by Wylie Sypher</i>	750
The Injury. <i>A Poem</i> <i>by William Carlos Williams</i>	751
At the Indian Killer's Grave. <i>A Poem by Robert Lowell</i>	752
Niebuhr's Vision of Our Time <i>by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.</i>	753
Ernie Pyle's Last Book <i>by Bill Mauldin</i>	754
Aftermath. <i>A Poem by Louis MacNeice</i>	756
A Camp in the Prussian Forest <i>A Poem by Randall Jarrell</i>	756
Silone's Spiritual Journey <i>by Isaac Rosenfeld</i>	756
Language as Behavior <i>by Hans Reichenbach</i>	760
Fiction in Review <i>by Diana Trilling</i>	762
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	765
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	765

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 166

<i>by Jack Barrett</i>	767
------------------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 313 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

personal, do not justify his outburst, however angry and disappointed he may be, but the third, since it involves a question of public interest, is more valid. Whether or not Mr. Black should have sat in the Jewell Ridge case is a matter for debate; good precedents can be quoted on both sides. But it is worth noting that his partnership with the successful litigants' attorney was dissolved in 1927, and surely the fact that his relations with this former partner remained cordial was not in itself, as Mr. Jackson implies, a disqualification. No one denies that judges with a personal interest in a case should disqualify themselves, but if personal interest is to be interpreted so broadly the current problem of securing a quorum of justices will be intensified.

★

THE PRIMARIES CONTINUE TO REVEAL

almost anything that a partisan observer cares to read into them but no conclusive trend is yet observable. During the past weeks, for example, the reactionary press has devoted many gleeful columns to the rebuff dealt the progressive forces within the Republican Party by Senator Butler's triumph in Nebraska. Without doubt Butler's victory represented a setback to Stassen and a triumph for isolationism and reaction in the state which, during the life of Senator Norris, symbolized progressive politics. But the Nebraska results were largely offset by the outcome in the Idaho primaries, where the conservative Senator Gossett was decisively defeated for renomination on the Democratic ticket by George E. Donart, a liberal backed by Senator Taylor. It would be pleasant to say that Gossett's defeat shows that voters readily respond to vigorous, liberal leadership such as was provided by Senator Taylor—and perhaps it does. But what voters all over the country have shown, most of all, is a disquieting inclination to stay away from the polls in the largest possible numbers.

★

THE SOVIET LOVE FEAST WITH PERON HAS

undoubtedly upset the State Department, but its spokesmen have wisely kept quiet. What, indeed, could they say? Having sponsored Argentina's entry into the United Nations against strong opposition from Russia, this country is in no position to insist that Russia and Argentina remain at arm's length. After taking a strong line against Russian exclusiveness in Eastern Europe, we cannot complain when the bear wanders into our backyard. But if the State Department must take refuge in silence, there is no need for American liberals, who have consistently fought against the Argentine Hitler, to lower their voices. Don't let us pretend that Moscow's blessing makes Perón any less of a fascist! And don't let us attempt to defend Soviet opportunism as being one whit better than American or British opportunism! In the game of power politics the Russian government has scored a point, but it has done so by a sacrifice of prin-

ciple that must widen the gulf between it and those of us for whom fascism is not "a matter of taste." *The Nation* will continue its opposition to Perón, and it will urge the American government not to compete with Moscow for his favor. That would be not only an expensive and self-defeating policy but one which would forfeit for us the respect of all Latin America.

✱

WHAT BEARING IF ANY HAS THE SOVIET-Argentine rapprochement on the Spanish question? Will it induce the United States and Britain to modify their present policy of combining verbal kicks for Franco with trade dollars? If so, we trust the change will be in the direction of increased toughness and not of increased appeasement. The latter course would only inflate Franco's nuisance value and, perhaps, induce him to try and imitate Perón's coup. However, at Hunter College, the British and American representatives still give the impression of stalling for time. Last week the Security Council continued consideration of the Spanish sub-committee's report but adjourned without reaching a decision. Meanwhile the sub-committee's resolution has been modified so that its recommendation to the General Assembly now proposes "that diplomatic relations with the Franco regime be terminated forthwith by each member of the United Nations *or alternatively such other action be taken as the General Assembly deems appropriate and effective under the circumstances prevailing at the time.*" The italicized portion was added at the instance of the United States whose representative announced his willingness to support the resolution in this "more flexible" (i. e., weakened) form. Mr. Gromyko, however, criticised the sub-committee's report and resolution severely for seeking to pass on to the Assembly a duty which the Security Council ought not to evade. This is a very legitimate criticism but it is to be hoped that the Russian representative will not press his objection to the point of exercising his veto; for by so doing he would play into the hands of those who want to smother the Spanish question.

✱

NIGGLING OVER THE ELECTION RETURNS, Umberto contrived to inflict one last injury on the people of Italy before departing into exile. The preliminary report of the High Court showed a two million majority and, in the view of the Italian Government, automatically brought the Republic into being. Umberto, however, took the line that he remained King until the Court had examined a few delayed ballots and investigated complaints prior to issuing its final and formal statement on the results. It was perfectly plain that, while some irregularities might be discovered, the verdict of the Italian people had been unmistakably pronounced. Umberto could not save his throne by clinging to it for a few more days but he could, and did, increase the

tension between the triumphant republicans and the disappointed monarchists. In poverty-stricken, illiterate Naples, famous for the inflammable spirit of its mob, serious rioting broke out and in Rome there were demonstrations for and against the Republic on a scale that betokened trouble unless some action was taken to establish the fact that the constitutional question was settled. The Italian cabinet, therefore, named Premier de Gasperi as chief of state pending the election of a provisional President by the Constituent Assembly. At this point Umberto decided that the game was up and departed for Portugal. But while appealing in a proclamation for unity, he at the same time incited further disorder by accusing the government of committing "a revolutionary gesture." Thus with petty malice the House of Savoy vanished from the Italian scene leaving the young republic to clean up the mass of rubble into which its grandiose empire had dissolved.

The Atom in a Divided World

THIS week the attention of the peoples of the world and their leaders is divided between two meetings, thirteen hours apart as the Constellation flies. The meeting in the Bronx is concerned with the control of the primeval energy in the universe which if released outside of any rule of law may blast man's civilization off the globe. The meeting in Paris appears to be concerned with building a limited security in a divided world—drawing frontiers, determining lines of sovereign influence, building stockades such as our forefathers built against the Indians and the Indians against our forefathers. The Bronx meeting expresses the hopes of the peoples of the world that ultimate destruction may be avoided. The Paris meeting reflects the neurotic fears of nations not yet recovered from the shock of war and conscious of the ominous shadow of doom that war's cessation failed to lift.

The United States plan for world control of atomic energy showed imagination and courage of a high degree. Based pretty solidly on the Lilienthal report, it revealed just how far American official thinking had advanced from the days when the army was busily proving that safety lay in hoarding the atomic "secret." Said Mr. Baruch, "The peoples of these democracies gathered here . . . are not afraid of an internationalism that protects; they are unwilling to be fobbed off by mouthings about sovereignty which is tomorrow's phrase for yesterday's isolation." The proposed scheme displayed a daring not evident in the Charter of the United Nations with its concessions to the imagined objections of Congress. Mr. Baruch, in asserting that the only security against atomic and bacteriological weapons was to be found in the

elimination of war itself, insisted that to achieve that end much more was needed than treaties of renunciation. The United Nations Atomic Energy Authority had to be given full control over the sources of fissionable materials, over plants that produced them in dangerous quantities, over all research in the field of atomic explosives. The Authority had to be given full power of inspection and be charged with carrying out extensive geological surveys to locate new sources of thorium and uranium. Severe penalties must be provided against illegal possession or use of the atomic bomb and against any defiance of the Authority. The application of such penalties must be immediate and certain and must not encounter the risk of veto by any power. The plan unquestionably extends the authority of the United Nations beyond the provisions of the Charter and calls for a drastic revision in generally held conceptions of national sovereignty.

The objections to the Baruch proposals arise mostly out of the fears and suspicions of a divided world. The plan requires the United States to pass over the "know-how" of the bomb manufacture to the Authority, cease making any more bombs and dispose of those now in existence. But the time sequence is vague. Some interpret the text to mean that the United States will go right on making bombs and holding on to the secret until the full system of inspection, survey, and control is in operation. It would be a tragic error, and certainly call forth Russian opposition, if this narrow interpretation were given. Bomb manufacture should stop now and the know-how should be passed over to the Authority just as soon as possible after an agreement has been reached and the international body constituted. The United States has made an important contribution to international security in the Baruch report; its influence should not be marred now by niggardly hedging.

The question of the veto is bound to raise discussion. It is quite plain that an international control system of such vast authority requires the agreement of all the great powers if it is to succeed. But it is equally clear that no nation will feel secure unless it is assured of instantaneous action to punish an aggressor. As Mr. Baruch puts it, "The bomb does not wait upon debate. To delay may be to die." Let us not fool ourselves: we are dealing with an agent so potent of disaster that national sovereignty must give way before the imperative claims of world security.

Now this consideration brings us back to Paris, which in the present discussion may be considered a suburb of the Bronx. Much as we should like to see it otherwise, the Foreign Ministers gathered in conference show no likelihood of jumping out of the suspicions, fears, and ideological conflicts of a divided world into one world acknowledging the authority of a single government. The weakness of the American atomic plan, for which its authors can hardly be blamed, is that it tackles symptoms, not the world's illaess. As Hansen Baldwin co-

gently remarked last Sunday, "The issue has never been the atom versus man but man against himself."

While the world's illness has its roots in post-war shock, misery, starvation, and economic and political disintegration, its most acute manifestation is to be seen in the Russian-Western Powers conflict. This conflict cannot be evaded, nor will it easily be resolved. In last week's *Nation* Harold Laski directed a number of questions to the Kremlin which American liberals as well as British Socialists would like to have answered. On the other hand, lest we play into the hands of those deliberately seeking to widen the gulf between us and Russia, we must continually press on our government the necessity of enforcing the precept of international morality by its practice. In the words of the excellent statement recently issued by the Union for Democratic Action, "We must make it clear to Russia and the world, by opposing any American imperialist policies or those of other nations, that our opposition to Russian imperialism is because it is imperialism, not because it is Russian. Russia and the West must cooperate to give political stability and economic health to the continents which lie between them."

The basic issue before the Paris conference is not, therefore, how to devise bullet-proof stockades, which after all are pretty irrelevant in an atomic age. It is rather how to work out a means of life for the hundreds of millions faced by starvation and misery, haunted by fears and hatreds, and utterly lacking in economic and political security. The resuscitation of Europe must be the great task to which the powers bend their joint efforts. Only in such a context can such problems as Trieste, the Danube, the Dardanelles, and Germany itself hope to find a lasting solution.

The Paris conference will give some indication of the readiness of the great powers to take those steps challengingly set forth in the Baruch plan. It is clear that fear of atomic warfare itself is not sufficient to drive nations to seek the security proposed. What is needed is courage and mutual faith and a refusal to accept the two-worlds solution. If it has done nothing else, Mr. Baruch's eloquent appeal has brought us once more face to face with the fact that it is one world or none.

Final Showdown on OPA

IN THE final Senate vote on the OPA staunch advocates of price control like Senators Wagner and Mead joined forces with arch-inflationists like Thomas and Wherry in opposition to the bill. This symbolizes, perhaps as well as anything, the success of the Republicans in so riddling the bill with amendments that no one knew whether they were voting for or against inflation in upholding the bill. Certainly, support of the bill did not indicate support of the principle of price control, since the bill, as passed by the Senate, would so weaken

the OPA, morally and legally, that application of its few remaining powers would be impossible.

Some supporters of the OPA still cling to the hope that the House-Senate conference committee will emerge with a bill that is better than either the House or the Senate version. This has happened to other bills in the past and could happen again if Representatives and Senators again began hearing from their constituents in large numbers. It would be most likely to happen if the letters from the constituents concentrated on those provisions in the Senate bill which are most devastating in their effect on the price-stabilization program. So as to cut through the fog of technicalities which the opponents of price control have created to cover their knavish activities, we will outline the provisions that deserve primary attention.

Fortunately, there was little agreement between the House and Senate opponents of the OPA. The worst features of the House bill were the provisions ending subsidies on January 1, 1947, and the provision requiring every manufacturer and distributor to be allowed "cost plus a reasonable profit" on every article. The Senate, on the other hand, would permit food subsidies until May 1, 1947, and would permit a somewhat larger amount to be appropriated for this purpose. The Senate provision on "reasonable profits" is considerably less sweeping than that imposed by the House and would not guarantee profits to every producer regardless of his efficiency.

The provision in the Senate bill which must be eliminated if there is to be any price control at all is, of course, that removing the ceilings on meat, poultry, and dairy products on June 30 of this year. If the prices of such vital items in the family budget are to be permitted to skyrocket—and skyrocket they certainly would—there

will be an immediate clamor for higher wages and salaries, and it will become impossible to keep the lid on other prices. Moreover, the lifting of the ceilings on these products would wreck the government's efforts to feed the starving peoples abroad. Farmers would find it more profitable to use their grain for feed than to sell it at fixed prices.

Other highly objectionable features of the Senate bill include the so-called de-control provisions, which remove from the OPA and grant to the Secretary of Agriculture, in the case of farm products, and a three-man "de-control board" the authority to remove price ceilings at will. This division of authority obviously has as its sole purpose the weakening of the OPA's enforcement authority. Similarly, the provision requiring the OPA to obtain the consent of the United States District Attorney before prosecuting price-control violators can only have the purpose of encouraging violation.

Most of the other amendments adopted by the Senate would have the effect of raising living costs, notably those designed to guarantee pre-war profit margins, but if control can be maintained on essentials, particularly food, clothing, and rent, and prices are held down by an adequate subsidy program, there will be a fighting chance of preventing a disastrous post-war inflation such as the country suffered in 1919 and 1920. And it may be possible to head off a repetition of the wave of strikes that has paralyzed the country in the past six months. But if controls are lifted on meat and dairy products, if adequate subsidies are not maintained, or if the enforcement of price control is shackled by the amendments as proposed by the Senate, the President should veto the measure and demand that Congress enact a workable law.

Palestine and Bevin

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

Cairo, June 15

I HAVE seen no report of the American reaction to the Palestine remarks made by Bevin at Bournemouth, but read here in the context of events in the Levant, in Egypt, and in Palestine itself, they seemed most ominous. For a Foreign Minister to say that "the agitation in the United States . . . for 100,000 Jews to be put into Palestine is because they do not want too many of them in New York" is to offer an unjust and untrue simplification of a complex problem; it is hard to believe that Bevin would have ventured it if he were not casting about for an alibi to cover his own failure to meet the issue. Also when he says, "If you have to raise the Arabs' life to the standard of the Jews, you cannot do it if you take away their land," he is distorting both the recom-

mendations of the Inquiry Committee and the intentions of the Jews. But more significant and disturbing was Bevin's assertion that "if we put 100,000 Jews in Palestine tomorrow I would have to put another division of troops there," coupled with the demand for the Jews and Arabs to lay down their arms. Reading this, one realizes how little Bevin has learned from the inquiry, indeed from the long record of British colonial policy: he still believes that order is a prerequisite to policy, an idea easily converted into the theory that order is a substitute for policy. This mistake was responsible for the Black and Tan terror in Ireland, for the Amritsar massacre, and for a dozen other bloody events easy to recall. If persisted in, it will have the same ugly results in Palestine.

For almost five weeks I have been watching develop-

ments and talking to informed people—Jews, Christians, Moslems—in Palestine, Lebanon, and Egypt, and I am sure that if real trouble starts it will not be because 100,000 Jews are brought to Palestine but because of the stalling and hedging of the British government, its painful reluctance to apply any clear-cut policy, and the behavior of many of its agents, military and civilian, who do everything but openly invite an Arab revolt. As days pass without a decision on Palestine, the Moslem world becomes more and more convinced that blackmail pays and that the Western powers can be frightened into sacrificing the Jews just as they have already abandoned the Christians in Lebanon. One country the Arabs are uneasy about is the United States. They believe that if 100,000 Jews come to Palestine it will be because Truman insists they come. They know that an uncompromising stand in Washington, backed by solid promises of material help, would go far to offset the Arab threats and the warnings of Bevin's advisers out here.

If our government takes such a stand, it will alter in a most salutary way the balance of forces in the eastern Mediterranean. But I wonder whether we can be counted on to do it. We are not accustomed to following an independent line, and we depend heavily on the British for the defense of our interests. Nor are we immune to Arab propaganda. Today at Payne Field, a huge airport outside of Cairo which our government has just sold to Egypt, I encountered several American oil men on their way home from Arabia. They agreed that Ibn Saud was an old fox and had scared Standard Oil to death by threatening to destroy installations in the oil fields and to end concessions if we did not quit supporting the Jews. "Would he do it?" I asked. They didn't know but thought he figured he wouldn't have to; he counted on threats to turn the trick. "He could wreck the whole works in three hours," one of them said. "But then of course he wouldn't get the money." Concessions are the lifeblood of Oriental absolutism, and Ibn Saud is perhaps more fox than fanatic.

I have been much disappointed by the recent words of another Britisher, R. H. S. Crossman, a good writer and a member of the Inquiry Committee who is supposed to have been working hard—with indifferent success, one must conclude—to convert Messrs. Attlee and Bevin to the report. In Palestine Crossman was generally regarded as the ablest member of the committee. This being the case, I wonder why he should have taken particular pains, in a talk the other day at the London School of Economics, to ridicule the American role in relation to Palestine. When he rejected the idea of British-American condominium—proposed by nobody so far as I know—by saying that "it is difficult enough to run the country under the Colonial Office, but it would be quite impossible under a Tammany regime," I could not help recalling somewhat cynically the massive rolls of

barbed wire I saw festooning every British official building in Palestine, and the iron censorship, and the political prisoners, also behind barbed wire. Against this backdrop Tammany seemed by contrast quite like the benevolent society it was originally supposed to be. But what I found more gratuitous and politically rather questionable was Crossman's remark, greeted with "laughter," that "poor Truman was neatly caught when he demanded the entry of 100,000 and was asked by Bevin to send American commissioners," and his further ironic comment on the anxiety of Americans, including the American Jews, to deflect Jewish immigration toward Palestine.

I do not intend to dispute these points; I want only to suggest that Bevin's speech indicates the political use to which such remarks are bound to be put. Assuming that Crossman was honest in his desire to win Cabinet approval for the report, his chances were hardly improved by a deliberate attempt to discredit American influence. If Truman was tricked by Bevin, it would seem good strategy in a political fight to welcome the support of Washington rather than undermine it, especially since the most encouraging note in Bevin's discussion of Jewish immigration to Palestine was the suggestion that Britain and the United States should together consider implementation of the report.

But the Foreign Minister's statements at Bournemouth demand examination on their merits. Is it true that the arrival of 100,000 Jewish D. P.'s would necessitate another division of British troops? To a recent visitor in Palestine the assertion sounds like convention oratory. I do not know how many divisions are already there or, indeed, whether the entire British and American armies combined could prevent guerrilla attacks by armed and bitter citizens. The German army could not do it in France. But I know that Palestine is an occupied country from end to end. The Jews and Arabs alike live under military rule while civilian officials take shelter behind sandbags and armed guards. In Barclay's Bank in Jerusalem a Tommy armed with a machine-gun is prominently posted on the balcony overlooking the main room. Press censorship is complete. No explanation need be given for suspensions or prohibitions. The following item, printed while I was in Jerusalem, shows how it is done:

Haifa, Saturday. The editor of the local afternoon paper, *Zohorayim*, was informed that "the High Commissioner in Council, being of the opinion that matter appearing in said paper is likely to endanger the public peace," has ordered its suspension for a fortnight.

Arrests are frequently made under similar emergency decrees.

Though I had read about the concentration of military and police forces in Palestine, I had no idea until I went there how overpowering it had become. Convoys of British tanks and trucks move along the roads holding

up civilian traffic. The public barracks, located at strategic points only a few miles apart, are really forts, concrete structures formidable in size and solidity, and everywhere one sees contingents of the Transjordan Frontier Force, Arab troops originally recruited for the purpose the name implies, policing towns and highways; nothing could be better calculated to provoke Jewish resentment.

But if Bevin really needs that extra division, one might remind him that he is pledged to the withdrawal of the whole naval and military establishment now stationed here in Egypt. The size of these forces is not public property, but the British-owned *Egyptian Gazette* today gives 50,000 as "near the mark"—surely a conservative figure. When negotiations with Egypt are happily ended, Bevin will have two or three extra divisions to send to Palestine, which Britain obviously intends to make its chief stronghold in the Middle East. In the light of these facts I think we need not take too seriously Bevin's military worries.

The real question is the one asked at the beginning: can the British government achieve order in Palestine by continuing to pile up force, while encouraging the Arabs to resist even the recommendations of its own Committee of Inquiry? If a peaceful Palestine is what Bevin wants, it is hard to explain the behavior, for example, of Glubb Pasha—a man who seems to have been clipped, name and all, right out of Kipling. Glubb Pasha is the British Brigadier commanding the Arab Legion in Transjordan and is besides Deputy Inspector General of Police for Palestine. In a recent interview Glubb announced flatly that if the committee report is implemented, "British will be at war with the Arab League." "I doubt," said the Pasha, "whether the British forces available are adequate to enforce the committee's recommendations. . . . Palestine would become the scene of murder, sabotage, severed communications, and convoy attacks. In Arab countries outside of Palestine disturbances would take the form of pogroms, attacks on British subjects and premises, and sabotage of Anglo-American oil concerns." Glubb Pasha concluded by calling for twelve to fifteen divisions to handle the situation.

This sort of "warning" is, of course, an open invitation to Arab extremists to launch a holy war. As the *Palestine Post* put it, his statement was "an incitement to mass pillage and murder . . . and to war against his own country."

Glubb's is only a flamboyant example of a point of view which largely dominates the British ruling group in Palestine. Little as Arab leaders like British control, it is none the less heavily weighted on their side. Today this is more than ever true, since the bitter events in Europe and the restrictions of the White Paper have combined to drive the Jews to acts of resistance which are entirely alien to their tradition. Terrorism is still regarded with profound disapproval by official Jewish opinion, but the effort to build and equip a strong de-



fense force and to smuggle refugees through the immigration barriers is universally applauded. A Zionism would no more oppose illegal immigration or Haganah than a patriotic Frenchman would have opposed the F. F. I. during the Nazi occupation. Terrorist acts will increase as long as the present state of suspense continues. And the tactics used by jittery police officials and the military have the effect of creating sympathy for the terrorists—still only a handful—and weakening the authority of responsible leaders.

I could multiply the instances of bias against Jews displayed by British officials. One which came to a climax while I was in Jerusalem will serve as an illustration. On May 1 a government communiqué reported that a kitbag packed with explosives had been found over the magazine of H. M. S. *Chevron* in Haifa harbor, with detonators fitted, and that "thirteen Palestinian naval ratings" had been arrested, explosives being found on several of them. The story was dressed up with colorful details: one of the arrested men was described as "a well-known terrorist" and the ship as having been engaged in intercepting illegal immigrants. In London the *Daily Telegraph* headed the story "Attempt to Blow up Destroyer" and converted the thirteen Palestinians into thirteen Jewish ratings. It appeared on the day the inquiry recommendations were published. By the time I reached Palestine the accused had faced court-martial and one Jewish sailor had been found guilty of illegal possession of explosives. What was interesting was the collapse of the story put out by the Palestine Information Office. The detonators were not fitted; the position of the kitbag was found to have been accidental; the "Palestinian ratings" were Cypriot, Arab, Armenian, and Jewish; the "several" with explosives became one; no attempt to blow up the warship was found. The offender is in prison. But the P. I. O. official who doctored the story is presumably still carrying on as usual. Such tactics, applied day after day and in every relationship, insure the continuance of tension and bitterness in Palestine and make nonsense of Bevin's demand that the Jews and Arabs disarm.

[In her next article, based on interviews with Arab and Jewish leaders in Palestine, Miss Kirchwey will deal with the possibility of Arab revolt and the view of Arab leaders, particularly their attitude toward the United States.]

A. V. C. Sets the Pace

BY JOHN S. ATLEE

Delegate to the Des Moines Convention from the A. V. C. Press and Radio Chapter of New York

WHEN a veterans' organization goes on record against a bonus, that's news. At their first annual convention in Des Moines last week-end the American Veterans' Committee did just that by voting 15,000 to 7,000 against a bonus proposal.

But opposition to the bonus was not the only original feature of the convention. During the whole three days there was no drunkenness, no horseplay or rowdiness, no parades, no banners or pennants. Cafe and restaurant owners were disappointed in their expectations for a boom trade. The chief of police went on record, "We think they are a swell bunch of guys. Not a single arrest, not a single charge on the blotter." Old-time newspapermen commented on the contrast with veterans' conventions after the last war. The reason was a simple one: these new veterans simply didn't have time for frivolity. Caucuses were in session night and day.

The A. V. C.'s motto is "citizens first, veterans second." They believe that the welfare of the veteran is inseparable from that of the community, the nation—and the world. Therefore they believe they must continue to fight for the principles they fought for in the war. Their seven-page platform reads more like a farsighted program of social reform than a platform. They want the 75-cent minimum wage, veterans' housing, price control, and anti-discrimination laws, as do all other liberal organizations, but they go farther than most others in demanding world government, creation of an international military force, recognition of the Spanish government in exile, a guaranteed annual wage, elimination of segregation in schools, a national science foundation, Congressional and tax reform, TVA-type authorities for the Missouri and Columbia Valleys, and many other long-range policies.

Moreover, the A. V. C. backs up its platform with action. Secretary Wallace told the convention that the A. V. C. was "the only veterans' organization that stood up and was counted in Washington on the full-employment bill." The A. V. C. was the first veterans' organization to lobby for the veterans' housing bill and contributed materially to its passage. A Providence chapter was instrumental in passing a Rhode Island FEPC bill. Although A. V. C. chapters are forbidden to back individual political candidates, they have publicized election issues, and A. V. C. members have set up independent political-action committees to support candidates.

In the course of the convention they were given an opportunity to demonstrate that they meant what they said. Only a few hours after they had passed their anti-

discrimination plank, a local restaurant refused to serve one of the Negro delegates. As soon as the convention heard of the incident, it set up a committee to investigate, and about fifty delegates, led by Oren Root, Jr., a New York Republican lawyer and former chairman of the Willkie clubs, picketed the place, chanting "Jim Crow must go." The police captain was summoned, and the proprietor of the cafe was arrested for violating the state anti-discrimination law. The whole demonstration was extremely well conducted and lasted only about half an hour. Then several hundred dollars were collected for placing an announcement in the local papers thanking the city authorities for their cooperation and reminding them that the A. V. C. practiced what it preached.

An interesting feature of this incident was the contrast between the prejudice of the proprietor, himself a veteran from the South Pacific, and the response of six local veterans, who were so impressed by the demonstration that they applied for membership in the A. V. C.

The delegates' main interest was the political battle which developed out of the factional split that occurred in the New York area a few months before. This split had begun as a personal quarrel between Frederick Borden, a publicity man for the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, whose wife was a member of the A. V. C. National Planning Committee, and Gilbert Harrison, founder of the A. V. C. In letters and speeches to other chapters Borden charged Harrison—and the planning committee as a whole—with inefficient administration and ineffective action. The dispute was handled undiplomatically by both sides, and the schism grew. The entire planning committee with the exception of Mrs. Borden backed Harrison. Left-wing elements of the A. V. C. gathered around Borden, demanding a more militant policy even if it meant smaller membership. The issue took on a distinct ideological hue.

At the Des Moines convention A. V. C. members were forced to take sides, and block voting became common. Both Harrison and Borden ran for vice-chairman, as did Robert White, of Washington, D. C. In the A. V. C. as a whole there was a strong sentiment for unity, and leaflets were distributed urging both candidates to withdraw. When Borden finally saw that he was not going to get a majority, he withdrew in favor of Norris Helford of California, but by that time the split had gone too far to be patched up without a showdown. In a heated session Sunday afternoon Harrison was elected vice-chairman by 19,032 votes to 16,559, registering a clear victory for the liberal wing of the N. P. C. faction.

Charles Bolté was elected chairman by acclamation—except for one diehard dissenter. Many of the original planning committee members were also reelected. The newly adopted constitution, however, provided for wide geographical dispersion of N. P. C. members, and it is expected that the new group will be able to heal the breach before the next convention.

As elected at Des Moines, the N. P. C. contains a number of exceptionally able men who are likely to become prominent in national politics in the not too

distant future. They include Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Robert Nathan, Michael Straight, Oren Root, Jr., E. S. Kahn, Jr., and Cord Meyer. Fred Borden and five other left-wingers were also elected.

The A. V. C., now 60,000 strong, aims with confidence at a membership of more than a million by this time next year. But whether or not it achieves that goal, it has acquired new strength and unity from this convention. It is a vigorous liberal-progressive organization and a force to be reckoned with on the national scene.

Congress Clears the Calendar

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting Company

Washington, June 13

WASHINGTON is drooping in the summer heat. The flags on the Capitol hang limply on their standards. But inside, in the big, barn-like House of Representatives and the smaller Senate, Congress is stamping out bills like a Ford production line.

Both houses are being whipped and pushed into clearing the calendar so that Congress can adjourn the second week in July. Bills are being thrown together from odd bits of committee reports, prejudices, local interests, and lobby pressures, under the prodding of party discipline and downtown Washington. Jalopy legislation is pushed off the line for atomic-energy control, economic stabilization, foreign policy, labor, the draft, government reorganization, and appropriations. For better or worse, the final products will be official American policy.

The fate of atomic-energy legislation was decided finally by two men, Robert Patterson, the sober Secretary of War, and Bernard Baruch.

The House Military Affairs Committee indignantly but dutifully reopened its hearings on atomic policy. Months ago, under heavy pressure from the War Department, the House committee approved the notorious May-Johnson bill for military control of atomic power. Subsequently the slow, deliberate hearings of the Senate Atomic Energy Committee, the campaign of education by atomic scientists, and public opinion forced a change in the Administration position. Senator McMahon's bill for civilian control was approved, reluctantly, even by General Groves, the pudgy boss of the Manhattan Project, and was passed unanimously by the Senate. Chairman May of the House committee swore that the army had put him on the hook, and, by gosh, the army would have to take him off. Secretary Patterson was called to testify.

The morning he appeared an anxious group filled the committee room—staff members of the Senate com-

mittee, representatives of the Committee for Atomic Information. Chairman May said to Patterson, "We are here to get some advice from you on the Senate bill." Representative Clason (Rep., Mass.) said irritably, "What's the matter with our own bill?"

Secretary Patterson read solemnly from his prepared statement, "The War Department favors the passage of Senate bill 1717 [the McMahon bill]." He told the unhappy Representatives that he was not backing down from his original indorsement of the May-Johnson bill, but—in soothing tones—the Senate had had more time to make improvements.

A few days later Baruch stooped to enter the doorway of a closed session of the Senate committee. He spoke cheerfully to a reporter: "My boy, it's a tough one. They want to have their internal security and their international arrangements both." At the close of the hearing Chairman McMahon said with studied vagueness that the Senators generally approved the Baruch program for international control as a "starting-point." Baruch's testimony would not necessitate any changes in the bill.

Democratic leader Alben Barkley, the iron man of the Senate, drove his colleagues on to passage of a so-called "price-control" bill. The Administration apparently abandoned any hope of getting a good bill from the Senate floor. Amendments added to the bill on the floor gave the already patched committee bill the look of a wounded gargoyle.

The farm-pressure groups led the battle to kill price control. Southern Democrats from the cotton states joined with all but four of the Republicans in the first test vote—the Taft amendment. The vote was forty-four to twenty-nine for the amendment. From then on it was a merry race to see who could stab the deepest. Senator Wagner, presenting a minority report against the committee bill, said sadly, "From the viewpoint of effective stabilization, adoption of this bill would be little different from immediate expiration of the existing laws."

Other Senators—McMahon, Barkley, Downey—gloomily forecast a sharp rise in prices and a collapse of our food-exporting program. Downey, shaking with anger, shouted, "What will happen if we add 25 per cent to the food bill of the man supporting himself and his family on less than \$200 a month?" Senator Hawkes (Rep., N. J.) a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, said benignly, "The American people should understand that we cannot get back to where we started without placing on them some hardships and restrictions which they must endure during the transition period." Senator Barkley commented, "The cost will fall on different people, some of them in the poor classes."

The price-control advocates watched the scene in the Senate resignedly, and prayed that a House-Senate conference committee could salvage something from the wreckage. President Truman was advised to veto the bill on the ground that price control had already been vetoed by amendment, and then ask Congress to pass a short-term extension of existing OPA laws by joint resolution.

Despite a terrific campaign by Representative Charles Halleck, the Republican strategist, and a coalition of conservative Senators from both sides of the aisle who were working in the House cloakrooms, the President's veto of the Case labor bill was sustained by the margin of

five votes. When the President's message was read, a sprinkle of applause came up from the House. It came from the same Congressmen who listened so glumly when Mr. Truman demanded his labor-draft bill at the joint session. During the voting the outcome was never sure until the clerk announced the final tally. Fourteen Republicans joined 121 Democrats in voting to sustain the veto.

The diehards who favor some crack-down labor legislation this session will try to tie on the Case bill as a rider to an appropriation bill. But Congress is in too much of a rush to leave Washington to get involved in any more feuds.

In committee rooms Representatives and Senators labored over compromises on appropriations and the draft. The House Banking and Currency Committee, under patient, skilful guidance from Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton, approved the British loan and paved the way for its final passage in the House without amendment.

Through all the impatience and hurry on Capitol Hill the political pattern showed the effect of the elections in California, Nebraska, Idaho, and Alabama and of the sudden eruption of the bitter personal feud between two justices of the Supreme Court. But Congress wanted only to vote and go home.

The Lesson of California

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Author of "Southern California Country: An Island on the Land"

Los Angeles, June 12

DESPITE the resounding victory of Earl Warren in the California primaries on June 4, most of the progressive members of the Congressional delegation came through unscathed. George Outland, Franck Havenner, George Miller, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Ed Izac, Ned Healy, Clyde Doyle, and Jerry Voorhis not only won renomination but showed impressive strength. Chet Holifield and Cecil King, both liberal Democrats, were reelected at the primaries, as was Gordon McDonough, a mildly liberal Republican. While Representative Hinshaw won the Republican nomination, he faces tough opposition in Everett Burkhalter, who was nominated by the Democrats. In the open Sixteenth Congressional District the failure of the liberal candidate, Emmett Lavery, to win the Democratic nomination represents a definite setback. In the San Joaquin Valley Alfred Elliott, arch-reactionary, was given a surprisingly close race by John Terry, and in the Fresno district Dr. Hubert Phillips, who won the Democratic nomination, has a

good chance to defeat Representative Bud Gearhart in November. John F. Shelley and Edmund G. Brown, both liberals, were nominated by the Democrats for the offices of Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General and should win in November. The results, therefore, were not necessarily discouraging, though the situation that brought about the defeat of Robert W. Kenny provides an ominous preview of what may happen in 1948 unless the liberal forces throughout the country profit by the costly mistakes made in California.

By the spring of 1945 it was generally apparent in California that Bob Kenny was the only candidate who had a chance to defeat Governor Warren. With a neat surplus inherited from Governor Olson, Warren had coasted through the war years without serious mishap. Any indictment of his administration to be drawn up must refer to his omissions rather than to his actions; the chief count against him was his adroit sabotage of progressive legislation in Sacramento. He had made few political mistakes and had even indulged in a number

of liberal gestures, such as his advocacy, feeble though it was, of a compulsory health-insurance program.

During 1945 the pressure on Kenny to make the race increased in intensity and volume until, at the eleventh hour, he agreed to run. But now a situation had developed which caused his defeat. Before Kenny's announcement there were two contenders for the nomination for United States Senator—Colonel Evans F. Carlson, who had the support of left and liberal groups, and Representative Ellis E. Patterson, who referred to the Carlson group as "ultra-leftists" and was resolved that, come hell or high water, he would remain in the race. About the time Kenny decided to run, Colonel Carlson suffered a severe heart attack and was compelled to withdraw. Kenny, who had not looked on the Patterson candidacy with particular enthusiasm, made it a condition of his agreeing to run for governor that some other contestant for the Senate seat would have to be found. Hence, on the eve of the deadline for filing nominating petitions, Will Rogers, Jr., was induced to file. In the meantime, however, the left-wing groups which had been for Carlson had swung in behind Patterson. A general agreement was then reached by all elements supporting Kenny that both Rogers and Patterson would be "recommended" and the decision between them left to the Democratic voters in the primary.

In accordance with the agreement the state C. I. O. recommended both Rogers and Patterson to its local unions, but within a few days most of the C. I. O. local councils and some of the Democratic county central committees, particularly in the southern part of the state, began to indorse Patterson. Before many weeks passed the Patterson-Rogers fight became the major interest of the campaign, and the organized groups in the state were focusing their attention on it to the neglect of Kenny.

Patterson and Rogers being both liberals with good voting records, the struggle between them developed into a struggle for control of the liberal movement in California. This started out as a polite intramural contest but was transformed into a bitter feud by mounting dissatisfaction with the Truman Administration. A clear majority of Democrats realized the necessity for minimizing talk of a third party and "independent action" when the immediate task was to elect a slate of liberal candidates who happened to be running as Democrats. But the left wing seized upon the Patterson-Rogers fight as a means of pointing up the need for independent action and of sharpening the third-party question. In consequence, "Democrat" suddenly became a term of opprobrium.

In Los Angeles County, where the bulk of the Kenny strength was concentrated, all semblance of unified support for the state ticket was destroyed. Left-wing elements set up "coordinating councils" to support Kenny and Patterson with most of the emphasis placed on



Will Rogers, Jr.

the right wing of the Rogers supporters made matters worse by launching an ill-advised personal attack on Mr. Patterson. At the center of the campaign, where the major strength should have been concentrated, a vacuum was created, and Mr. Warren proceeded, almost without a campaign, to fill it.

What the California primaries reflect, therefore, is a breaking-up of the broad coalition of forces that had won impressive victories for Roosevelt. The process started in California when the A. F. of L. indorsed Governor Warren. Then the Patterson-Rogers feud was permitted to drive a wedge between the organized left-wing forces, which have always been the leaven in Democratic politics in California, and the middle-of-the-roads who form the majority of Democrats. The strictly left-wing vote in California has never exceeded 300,000 and therefore cannot win an election. It was this vote, and only this vote, that Mr. Patterson received. It was a foregone conclusion that a split between the left wing and the mass of the Democratic voters would defeat Bob Kenny—this certainty had emerged clearly from every pre-election poll taken in California.

While it is conceivable that Kenny would not have been able to defeat Warren had he been nominated, he could certainly have easily won the nomination. A Rogers-Kenny ticket would have permitted both candidates to draw support from the middle and the right. Only in the last weeks of the campaign did the left realize the seriousness of the situation, and by that time the damage was irreparable. The rift which had been created was then of such proportions that Kenny could not conduct the kind of campaign his every instinct must have told him was necessary. Compelled to hold the support of the left, he went down fighting, but

Patterson, insisted that precinct workers carry Patterson campaign material, and, wittingly or unwittingly, rebuffed many middle-of-the-road Democrats who still thought of the Democratic Party as the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Liberals who supported Will Rogers, Jr., for reasons which they regarded as entirely adequate, were suddenly pilloried as "reactionaries," although most of these same liberals had been enthusiastic supporters of Colonel Carlson. On the other hand,

the sacrifice might have been avoided. Rogers, on the other hand, was able to conduct a "left-of-center" campaign in the Roosevelt manner and not only won easily but managed to cut heavily into the Republican vote. The question of whether Rogers can defeat Senator William Knowland in November, however, now largely depends on whether the break with the left can be mended.

The California primaries clearly indicate what will happen nationally if the third-party question is raised without full consideration of the risks involved. The A. F. of L. will support the Republican nominee, as it did in California; the middle-of-the-road Democrats will shy away from the left-wing third-party element; and the Republicans will win. What happened in California was that a sound theory of independent political action was superimposed upon a situation which it did not fit. The Democratic Party in the state has never been anything but a broad coalition of independent groups. With the exception of the Malone machine in San Francisco there is no Democratic political machine in the state. The Democratic County Central Committee in Los Angeles has for the last six years been controlled by rank-and-filers. The liberal-labor forces of the state could easily dominate the party in California; hence there was no occasion to bring up the big guns against the Democratic Party as such. That the same forces might dominate the Democratic Party nationally is certainly not precluded by the circumstance that Mr. Truman is President. As Max Lerner pointed out recently, a number of men who have succeeded to the Presidency have failed to be nominated by their own party. Far from being an exception, repudiation would seem to be the rule.

The emphasis on independent action which developed in California was particularly dangerous because of the cross-filing system in use there, and the effects of this system, in turn, were reinforced by the large number of newcomers, the recent migrants, in the state. The election law of 1945 required that the names of incumbent office-holders be placed first on the ballots. Thus on the ballot handed to Democratic voters in the June 4 primary the first name was "Earl Warren, Governor of California." Thousands of new voters unquestionably marked their ballots for Mr. Warren under the impression that he was an incumbent Democratic governor. The emphasis which the left placed on "independent action" made it extremely difficult to stress the Democratic Party in a way to overcome this confusion. To make matters worse, the liberal Democratic Congressmen all cross-filed and, like Mr. Warren, masqueraded as "non-partisans" in an effort to be reelected at the primaries. Thus almost none of these candidates campaigned for the ticket or so much as mentioned Robert Kenny's name.

The California elections also reveal the left's definite lack of understanding of the old-fashioned theory of politics as "the art of the possible." For example, the incumbent state senator from Los Angeles County, the incredible Jack Tenney, sedulous imitator of Martin Dies, was reelected at the primaries, though he could very easily have been defeated. Unfortunately the left did not deliberately try to find the type of candidate who could be elected. This humble, mundane task was ignored while everyone, particularly the Hollywood politicians, merrily damned Senator Tenney. When the time for filing nominating petitions expired, only one candidate of consequence had filed—a fine man and a good liberal, but not a person who could be expected to defeat Senator Tenney.

Liberals everywhere would do well to ponder carefully the results of the California election. They show that while the people have not turned against progressive political leadership, they are not prepared to join a left-directed political movement. The Roosevelt coalition may be falling apart, but a broad coalition is still called for by the strategy of the situation. The question in California, as throughout the country, is whether the liberals will recognize this fact before they become committed to a final break with that peculiar coalition mechanism we call the Democratic Party. The man who can still prevent this breach from becoming irreparable in California is Bob Kenny, even though the situation with which he had to contend in this election made it impossible for him to win. For the money of most liberals in California, he is still top man. Despite his defeat, the soundness and wisdom of his leadership have been demonstrated.

Poor but Honest

According to James A. Farley, former Democratic national chairman, politicians are mostly honest men.—News item.

An honest chap, the politician,
We have it on his own admission,
The vigilant and selfless nurse
Of public weal and public purse.

He will not straddle, will not hedge,
He'd die before he'd break a pledge.
With billions nowadays expendable,
We trust him, knowing he's dependable

High-principled in word and deed,
He is the kind of man we need,
The kind, we also have detected,
Who runs, but doesn't get elected.

RICHARD ARMOUR

Who's Who in the French Press

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, June 14

A TRAVELER returning to France on his first visit since pre-war days is apt to be confused by a press utterly different from the one he knew before. How the old newspapers, from *Le Petit Parisien* to *Le Temps*, were confiscated at the moment of liberation and their luxurious offices turned over to the labor press and to papers started by the Resistance—all this is a familiar story. Yet one did not expect to find so many new papers; while London has at most a dozen morning and evening papers, Paris already boasts thirty-four. As for weekly and monthly reviews, no other country has so many. Despite the shortage of newsprint, there is even a fashion magazine, *Plaire*, whose current de luxe issue is twice the size of *Fortune* and costs 350 francs (\$3)—making it prohibitive for any save foreign visitors and wives of black-marketeers.

To attempt a Who's Who of the French press is an arduous task, but the result might be useful to Americans who follow French affairs or contemplate a trip to the Continent.

Let us begin with the political dailies. Heading the list are those of the five major parties which fought it out in the recent elections. *L'Humanité*, the central organ of the Communist Party, has a circulation of half a million. A very militant paper, it is typical of the Communist press, but at the same time far more lively and varied than the party's publications in other countries. In France the left-wing press combines vigor with style—the most revolutionary Frenchman has something of the classicist in him. Among *L'Humanité's* writers are Marcel Cachin, a veteran journalist who at seventy-six can still turn out a daily editorial when the occasion requires; Georges Cogniot; and Pierre Hervé, a brilliant young polemicist who delights in crossing swords with *Figaro's* Catholic columnist, François Mauriac. The largest evening paper, also Communist, is *Ce Soir*; its editor, the poet Louis Aragon, takes a less active part in the publication than before the war but continues to give it inspiration.

In second place, with a circulation of about 300,000, is the Socialist paper *Le Populaire*. Though Léon Blum no longer writes every day, his articles are still its main attraction. He is spelled by Daniel Mayer, general secretary of the party, and by the editor-in-chief, Oreste Rosenfeld. Mayer had his inning in May when for several days his provocative attacks on the Communists earned him the title of the most quoted columnist in Paris. After writing one philippic after another he

reached the conclusion that, given the present political situation in France, collaboration in the government between the two Marxist parties was indispensable.

Until now the M. R. P. paper, *L'Aube*, has lagged behind the other two; but as a result of the June 2 elections it will probably find a growing audience among the clerical bourgeoisie and the Catholic trade unionists. Chief editorial writer of *L'Aube* is Maurice Schumann, who while chairman of the M. R. P. parliamentary group is much more a journalist than a party man. On social questions Schumann is certainly far in advance of the majority of his party; he belongs to the progressive wing which favors nationalization and takes a traditional position only in the fight against secular education. Of Jewish origin, Schumann is a convert to Catholicism; one suspects that the church will utilize his undeniable talents as journalist and publicist for as long as it is expedient and then discard him once his usefulness has been exhausted. He is extremely independent and does not hesitate to risk his reputation by lunching with some of the best-known extreme left-wing writers in a Paris restaurant frequented by newsmen and members of Parliament.

The Radical Socialists have two organs, *L'Aurore* and *La Dépêche de Paris*, with a combined circulation of between 100,000 and 150,000. Their readers are found in the liberal bourgeoisie and in certain sections of the peasantry where father and son have always voted Radical. (In this connection, however, it is interesting to note that part of the Communist gains in the last election were made in the rural districts.) Heading the editorial staff are Edouard Herriot and Paul Bastid. But the Radical press reflects the same weaknesses as the party; some of its most intelligent spokesmen—like Pierre Cot and Albert Bayet—have gone over to the left.

The fifth party, the P. R. L., which entered the election campaign in the hope of effecting a comeback for reaction, has no official organ properly speaking, though it has an unofficial one in *L'Epoque*. This paper draws its audience, numbering somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000, from the high bourgeoisie, the aristocracy, and the survivors of Vichy. It defends authoritarianism and traditional capitalism, and injects certain monarchist nuances into its pages.

The non-party press in France has a clearly defined political orientation. Foremost in this group is *France-Tireur*. Started by Communists and Socialists and commonly regarded as a "fellow-traveler," it still shows enough independence of spirit to depart from the or-

thodox line of the Marxist parties. *Franc-Tireur* is above all a very French paper—full of wit and sparkle and originality. On the day after the elections it came out with a challenging editorial: "Messieurs, M. R. P., Tirez les Premiers!"—"Messieurs, M. R. P., the opening move is up to you." That title hit the nail on the head, underlining the contradictions which now confront the M. R. P. For though the M. R. P. is a clerical party, in order to win the wide support it received at the polls it had to accept, however reluctantly, the policy of nationalization of the banks and electricity. As the editorial commented, "Clearly, the M. R. P. will have to add a little wine to its holy water if it hopes to resuscitate tripartism." *Franc-Tireur* has gathered together an outstanding group of newspapermen, among them Georges Altmann, Marcel Fourier, and Charles Ron-sac; moreover, its cartoons are superb. All of this explains why, without being a party organ or even a journal of broad news coverage, it has from 300,000 to 400,000 readers.

Stamped as a counter-revolutionary publication by the left, *Combat* none the less pretends to be a leftist paper standing for "idealistic socialism." Actually, it reflects the opinions of a group who started out on the left, little by little became irritated by the writings and actions of the Communists, found the Socialists too weak and undecided, and, because they themselves had no clear conception of what they wanted in politics, began to criticize everything and inevitably wound up by siding with the right. Its appeal is mainly to middle-class intellectuals. Some of the best newspapermen in Paris are to be found on the staff of *Combat*: Albert Ollivier, Pascal Pyat, Raymond Aron, Carus. (Albert Camus no longer writes for it.) Although some suspect *Combat* of being Trotskyist, the Trotskyists, who have a weekly of their own, *Le Libertaire*, reject any relationship with it on the ground that it is reactionary.

Aside from *L'Humanité* and *Le Populaire*, only two of the old Paris papers have survived—*Le Figaro* and *L'Ordre*. The former, with a circulation of 500,000, is the favorite paper of the Frenchman who believes himself to be an enlightened liberal because he has never vacillated in his loyalty to the Republic. It is "Gaullist" and hopes that the French will rally again to the great general. Its leading editors are Pierre Brisson and François Mauriac, transformed by the war and the Resistance from a novelist into a fighting political writer. *L'Ordre* has the most modest sale of all the Paris papers—some 30,000 copies; it is edited by Emile Buré, who day by day becomes more anti-Communist.

When I was a schoolboy, the respectable *Temps* was read in Spain by the "best people," those who knew French and hoped to become Cabinet ministers. Its successor, *Le Monde*, is read by Frenchmen interested in foreign affairs and by gentlemen who wear gloves

and ride in the first-class carriages on the subway. *Le Monde* devotes a great deal more space to foreign news than do the other papers, mainly because it has a larger allocation of newsprint. Its chief editorial writers are Rémy Roure, who signs his pieces on domestic policy, and René Lauret, whose articles on foreign policy are unsigned. Lauret was the Berlin correspondent for the *Temps* and is considered an expert on Germany. *Le Monde* has about 200,000 readers, a large audience for a paper of that kind.

The next group is the general-information press. The best of these publications is *Libération*, edited by Léon Rollin, an able newspaperman whose admirable record in the Resistance and consistently progressive position give it a leftist slant. *Le Parisien Libéré* continues the popular tradition of *Le Petit Parisien* of pre-war days.

The evening papers are, if anything, more numerous than the morning papers. The late sports editions assure these journals a large clientèle, for the Frenchman, like all those who have emerged from a difficult period, is looking for entertainment or even a tip on the horses that may net him a few thousand extra francs with which to buy essential articles on the black market. Next to *Ce Soir*, the most popular evening paper is *Paris-Press*, which evokes memories of the old *Paris-Soir*. Two of its contributors, Philippe Barrès and Eve Curie, are well known in the United States. When foreign policy comes to the fore, as it did during the Foreign Ministers' conference in Paris, many read the articles of Pertinax in *France-Soir*.

Turning to the weeklies, we find an equally prolific output. The Communists publish three: *Action*, political; *La Marseillaise*, political and literary; *Les Lettres Françaises*, devoted to literature and the arts. The Socialists have *Gavroche*, political and literary. The M. R. P. review is *Carrefour*, political and literary; two others, *Temps Présent* and *Témoignage Chrétien*, a left Catholic magazine, may be indirectly classed as M. R. P. organs. *Paroles Françaises*, the P. R. L. weekly, is predominantly political. *La Bataille* represents the Gaullists. There are several liberal, or bourgeois-democratic, weeklies: *Juin*, *Concorde*, *Siècle*, *Monde*, *Diogène*; they are neither as controversial nor as interesting as the others. Then follows a whole assortment of news weeklies whose main goal seems to be to build up circulation: *Cavalcade*, *Spectator*, and the "American-style" *Quatre et Trois* and *Samedi Soir*. As for the satirical weeklies, by far the best of them is the delightful *Canard Enchaîné*, which came through the war unscathed. It will soon have a rival in *La Rue*, an extreme left-wing publication which I have just seen in dummy.

The fact that there are thirty-four morning and evening papers, restricted only by the shortage of newsprint, was the powerful argument advanced by Albert Bayet, president of the National Press Federation of

France, when I spoke with him about the freedom-of-the-press issue over which his old political chief, Herriot, had shed so many tears. "It is ridiculous," Bayet said, "for some people in the United States to mourn the disappearance of the old French press, one of whose principal characteristics was a violent anti-American attitude. With financial support from the Germans, it launched the most vicious attacks against

Roosevelt, attacks which ought to have aroused the indignation of even those Americans who did not agree with the policies of their great President. Today this same corrupt press is making a terrific effort to revive. Our federation, to which all the newspapermen of France belong, will, with few—very few—exceptions, resist any attempt to resuscitate a press which brought only dishonor to our country."

Yugoslavia Revisited

BY HAL LEHRMAN

One of The Nation's correspondents in the Mediterranean area

II

Sofia, June 1

YUGOSLAVIA is at the moment in a quasi-N. E. P. stage. Although commissions to devise a national economic plan are burgeoning, the plan itself is still little more than a gleam in the eyes of Soviet-inspired brain-trusters. A system of regional production quotas is operating with some good results, but this was largely inherited from the occupation. It is generally believed that an economic Five-Year Plan cannot materialize much before 1948, but the Partisans have already a very definite political plan—to make Yugoslavia a one-party state.

While Groll's opposition Democrats, who boycotted the elections and are now practically invisible, are a legally recognized party, Yugoslavia is the only country in Eastern Europe, or for all I know in the world, where the Communist Party is still illegal. This is due to the renowned Communist weakness for secrecy. Yugoslav parties were required to file their by-laws with the Ministry of the Interior. The Democrats complied, and the Communists refused. Indeed, the only public admission of the Communists' existence is their official newspaper, *Borba (Struggle)*, which confesses it in the masthead. Not even the number or identity of Communist deputies is formally known; they all registered themselves in the parliamentary lists after election as "People's Front" or "Independent."

Notwithstanding this mummery, the Communists are in full control of the country, and other parties which once had meaning in the front have become ciphers. The Finance Ministers of all six republics and of the federal government are Communists. So are the Premiers and the Ministers of the Interior. In the federal Cabinet Communists also hold the key portfolios of National Defense, Labor, Industry, Transportation, and Foreign Commerce; a Communist Vice-Premier heads the all-powerful Control Commission newly created to supervise all government agencies and enterprises; a

Communist Minister Without Portfolio directs education and culture. The "Big Seven" in this system—Tito, Rankovic, Kardelj, Djilas, Juevic, Hebrang, and Pijado—all are Communists. The Praesidium of the federal Parliament contains nearly all the ministers of the central government, plus the premiers of all the republics, plus some ministers of the republics. The Praesidium, which takes the place of the Chief of State in the New Yugoslavia, is thus composed entirely of ministers responsible for themselves as administrators to themselves as executives.

Russia is a land of commissars and soviets; Yugoslavia is a land of secretaries and committees (*odbor*). There is a governing *odbor* for every community, from the hamlet up. Except in the rare isolated localities where the party has not yet penetrated, the secretary of every *odbor* is also the secretary of the local People's Front and of the Communist Party. This identity of secretaries, together with the interlocking in the Praesidium, is what the Partisans call *jedinstvo vlasti* (unity of power). It is a basic principle of the constitution. Its avowed purpose is to abolish separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Its secret purpose is to concentrate the executive and legislative power—the so-called People's Authority—in Communist hands. As for the judicial power, it resides, by a special refinement of the new constitution, in the public prosecutors rather than the magistrates. Needless to say, the prosecutors are Communists. "Where did you study law?" I asked a prosecutor with whom I dined at Bihacs in the Lika. "I didn't," said he, "I'm a surveyor by trade. Being a lawyer wouldn't matter, because we have different laws now." This man, who spent four of his twenty-seven years as a guerrilla, has the power to reverse all court decisions affecting the 200,000 persons in his jurisdiction.

"I want to talk about the Communist Party," said Dragoljub Jovanovic, leader of the People's Peasant Party, in a daring speech to the Drafting Committee of the Constitutional Assembly last December. "I do not

apologize for talking about it even though the constitution does not mention it. . . . In the army, in the exercise of power, in the People's Front, and especially in the press and our cultural life, the Communist Party plays such an important role that it is impossible not to take it into account. . . . I fear that this unifying element [the Communist Party] may become a barrier to our existence as was that other unifying element in old Yugoslavia—the monarchy. . . . If we proceed to strangle social and political forces, if we beat down their leaders and make their activity impossible, [we] may bring disaster to the new Yugoslavia. . . . In our new republic we have separated church and state. It would be desirable to separate party and state also, and thereby liquidate all resemblance between our new order and fascism. . . . I am for the People's Front, but not for one which is a toy in the hands of a single party. I respect this party, but I cannot admit that it alone has the right to exist."

Of course this speech was not reported by the government press, and there is no opposition press. By his outburst Jovanovic signed up with the "international reactionaries." Only his wide following and his clear record as a patriot during the occupation saved him from the delicate attentions of the secret police.

My own private travail with the comrades was rather good fun, except for its somber implications for Yugoslav citizens, who, unlike myself, are unable to get up and go. It started the day I arrived in Belgrade. During my previous visit, in the summer of 1945, I had filed some fifteen dispatches, of which all but two were straight news stories, the bulk of them favorable to the regime and none of them against it. The other two were articles published simultaneously in *The Nation* and the London *New Statesman*. For the first of these articles, a factual account of events in Yugoslavia during the early half of my visit, I received the thanks of the Information Minister, Sava Kosanovic, now ambassador to Washington. The second article, cabled from Belgrade just before my departure, attempted to analyze the good and the bad in the Partisan system. For this, while I was somewhere in Hungary or Rumania, the Yugoslav government newspaper, *Politika*, devoted three columns of its first page one day to proving that I was a hopeless reactionary.

Upon my return the two Information Ministry worthies with whom foreign correspondents must deal, one Vuk-san and one Baum, gazed upon me with round and startled eyes, then recovered sufficiently to give me a sneering welcome, with many subtle remarks about my "objective correspondence" and some secondary sniping at certain colleagues of mine who had failed to be "objectively pro-Yugoslav" when covering the Trieste dispute. I pointed out that objectivity required something more than ecstatic worshipping before the Partisan shrine. Messrs. Vuksan and Baum subsided sufficiently to prom-

ise to arrange interviews with various government spokesmen. I telephoned daily thereafter and was assured that everything possible was being done but that the people on my list were busy, ill, or out of town. Finally I went off for a week on an UNRRA-sponsored tour, along with fourteen foreign correspondents from Rome and Vienna. When we returned to Belgrade on the night of May 8, I learned that I would be officially barred the next day from the victory parade and a Tito reception. Also in the doghouse was Anne Dacie, correspondent of the *New Statesman*, which had published my wicked article the previous year.

The other correspondents went on strike. They refused to go to the parade unless we were allowed to go too. After we had all waited an hour in the Hotel Moskva while the drums rolled, somebody reached the Yugoslav military and persuaded them to rescind the Vuksan-Baum edict. Two staff cars driven by colonels roared up, took us in, and raced us away to a spot directly across from the reviewing stand, where we could see Tito, the People's Choice, wearing a natty blue uniform of his own design and resplendent in his fourteen stars, crosses, and medals.

In the afternoon the correspondents foregathered with Baum, who demanded to know whether they intended to boycott the Marshal's reception also. He explained that I was being barred because I had written "various articles, some of them from outside the country, which we consider disloyal." (I had written one critical article; until the present story from Sofia I have never filed a word about Yugoslavia except from Yugoslavia; I am not aware that I owe any loyalty to a foreign state.) Baum went on to disclose that I had got back to Yugoslavia through an official error, "legally but by mistake." The correspondents thereupon decided that each of them would have to make up his own mind about going to the reception, since it was a social function and not a news event, but they concurred in a stiff protest against the use of a Big Stick to keep newspapermen friendly.

The United States and British embassies subsequently expressed their view of the proceedings to the Yugoslav Foreign Office, which melted with regrets for the antics of the Information Ministry. Poor Anne Dacie's telephone, which had been ringing incessantly during the night just to bother her a little more, stopped ringing. The embassies were promised that discrimination against us would cease. I'll never know whether the affair would really have ended there. The next day Tito was scheduled to give us a press conference. No invitation list of correspondents was issued. Instead, the conference was canceled at the last moment, because "the Marshal is not in Belgrade." Three days later I left for Bulgaria, arriving twenty-two hours before my Russian entry permit to this happy land expired.

[Part I of this article appeared last week.]



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



Air Transport's Growing Pains

THANKS to air transport, I was able to spend last week-end with my family in a remote corner of Vermont. Had I relied on the railroad I would have spent most of my three days on the journey, for train service to that area is incredibly slow and infrequent. Going by air, I was able to finish my work at the office on Friday afternoon and reach my destination by midnight, even though after landing at Burlington I had about 100 miles to drive.

Grateful as I am to the air lines, I have nevertheless some grumbles about a mode of travel which moves one above the earth with a hawk's speed but conducts its necessary ground operations at a snail's pace. My troubles on this trip started a week before my departure when I attempted to make a reservation for Montpelier, the nearest airport to our Vermont cottage. Unable to get assurance of a seat beyond Boston, I then booked for the outward flight to Burlington by another line, and after making several phone calls secured a return passage from Montpelier. Picking up this ticket at the air-line offices took over half an hour as an inadequate staff of clerks strove to deal with a struggling throng of would-be passengers.

On Friday afternoon I arrived punctually at the city terminal at four, having been told that the limousine left for LaGuardia Field at that hour; actually it did not depart until four-thirty. At the airport we boarded the plane in about ten minutes, but then we sat in the stifling interior until six o'clock, when we took off an hour late. At eight we landed at Burlington; so that out of an elapsed travel time of four hours only two were spent in the air. On the return journey my experience was similar. The plane took off almost on schedule, but at Boston I had to change to another which was almost an hour late although it was a beautiful clear night. At LaGuardia Field there was what seemed an unnecessarily long wait before the limousine departed for the city, and I finally reached my apartment some four and a half hours after leaving Montpelier, although again actual flying time was only just over two hours.

This experience has not crushed my enthusiasm for air travel, but it has creased it somewhat. Others I have talked to have voiced similar complaints, and it seems to me that the air lines would do well to give as much thought to this question of ground speed as they are giving to that of air speed. Of course, the time saved in a flight to California in one of the new planes such as the 400-miles-per-hour Republic Rainbow will be so great that an hour or two lost at the terminals may not matter very much. But the bulk of air travel is and will continue to be a matter of comparatively short flights, when seemingly unnecessary delays cause resentment.

I realize that at present civil aviation is suffering from growing pains. It has been expanding at a tremendous pace since V-J Day, and it has not yet enough equipment to take

care of all demands. In addition, it is handicapped by lack of trained personnel, particularly on the commercial side, and by shortage of office space. But poor service gives air travel many black eyes, and a year or eighteen months hence, when the aggregate number of plane seats available will be enormously increased, the air lines may regret that they have not done more to build up a thoroughly satisfied clientele.

Competition for travel dollars is going to be keen before very long. The railroads are at last waking up to the fact that they will have to fight to keep long-distance passenger traffic and are hard at work improving their facilities. However, the fiercest competition is likely to be among the various air lines. As of April 1 the domestic air lines had a total fleet of 556 aircraft. Deliveries scheduled before the end of 1947 will more than double this number and much more than double seating capacity, for the planes on order are much bigger on the average than those in use. Moreover, the new planes are much speedier and will carry more passengers more miles per year. According to an article in the *Wall Street Journal* of April 6, if all planes now on order are delivered, the domestic air lines will have a potential annual capacity of thirty-five billion seat-miles a year, which compares with an actual sale of four billion seat-miles in 1945. This means that air carriers will be able to handle with a comfortable margin as many passengers, excluding commuters, as the railroads carried in 1941. Since, it will be many years, if ever, before the air lines capture all long-distance passenger traffic from the rails, they will have to create a demand for travel beyond the pre-war normal if they do not wish to fly their beautiful and expensive new ships half empty.

Apart from competition with older modes of transport and competition among themselves, the air lines have been encountering a challenge from what are known as "unscheduled" air operators. In the last year hundreds of enterprises of this kind have been launched, many by veterans. Using to a large extent government surplus planes, they have been providing both passenger and freight service on a charter basis. Under Civil Aeronautical Board rules, these companies cannot advertise rates or schedules, but a number of them flew almost daily loads of passengers to Florida during the winter season and others have organized regular freight service.

It is, perhaps, in the goods-carrying field—hitherto rather neglected by the air lines, which have concentrated on mail and passenger traffic—that the non-scheduled operators have done the most useful pioneer work. By calculating rates closely and going after new business in an imaginative way, they have created demand. On plane-load lots some of them quote rates as low as 13 cents a ton-mile, which compares with an average base rate for the air lines of about 26½ cents and with air express charges much bigger than that. But their mushroom growth may now be checked, for they face the threat of closer regulation by the C. A. B., and they have awakened the air lines to missed opportunities. Recently American Airlines announced that it had leased thirteen big cargo planes from the government and was prepared to haul long-distance freight at 11 cents a ton-mile for plane-load lots. This is a fighting figure which portends a new era of competition in the air.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

HAMLET: THE EXISTENTIAL MADNESS

BY WYLIE SYPHER

AFTER we have read "Hamlet" with a full awareness of the Oedipus complex, and of the traditional melancholy and cynicism of the Elizabethan malcontent, there persist half-philosophic problems about Hamlet's indeterminations, irresponsibilities, haphazard violences, and revulsion from the stale world. Essentially such problems are those of sensibility—of an "absurd sensibility"—and lately Hamlet has been called an "existent." Psychoanalysis, of course, offers its own account of this absurd sensibility, and the philosophic and even the aesthetic status of existentialism remains uncertain. In fact, one might better speak of Hamlet not as existent but rather as passing through an existential phase into which he is precipitated by the wedding of Gertrude to Claudius and the intimations of his own ambivalence. The phase terminates with Hamlet's sudden recognition just before the duel with Laertes that there is a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. With this recognition he transcends his "absurd sensibility," which in retrospect amounts to an aberration. During the aberration itself Shakespeare's opposition of Hamlet's absurdity to the responses of Laertes or Horatio establishes a decisive frame of reference apparently lacking in current existential fictions. So to understand Hamlet's momentary position as "absurd man" not only extends our interpretation of the play; it places existentialism in a long perspective.

In spite of the confusions within existentialism (does Camus, for example, intend to attack *Existenz* in "The Stranger"?) the existential tradition from Kierkegaard through Berdyaev and the present French writers involves a weighty sense of the impossible "choices"—the contingencies—amid which man lives, choices that must be made and held inwardly although they are "absurd" and unintelligible to the reason, which oversimplifies. Thus the existent bears his uneasiness or "care" at not-being-at-home within the incalculable alien world of actualities. To live subjectively he must establish his identity by some desperate, paradoxical egoism such as suicide. The relations of the existent to the alien unintelligible world are thus not "serious." At the same time the existent, in his too solid flesh, remains an aesthete because of the unceasing felt pressure of the actualities irreducible by the explanations of reason.

It is clear that Hamlet is "absurdly" placed between the polarities of hedonism and asceticism; the will to live and the will to die; the will to power and the will to renunciation; cruelty and pity; the world as actuality and the world as illusion; and, most inclusively, surrender to being and surrender to becoming. His indeterminations are token that he guards his "metaphysical honor in insisting on the absurdity of the world." He thinks precisely on the event, quartering his thoughts, while he bears at the same time within his consciousness the knowledge that "this thing's to do." In his

repudiation of logic, his inability or unwillingness to hold a consistent position, the world presents itself to him as irrational immediate experience, as those dark actualities that appear illusory: "O God, I could be bounded in a nutshell and count myself a king of infinite space, were it not that I have bad dreams."

Thus occur Hamlet's impulsive actions, like Meursault's slaying of the Arab in "The Stranger"—since neither Hamlet nor Meursault has an "interest" in his act. In his way Hamlet becomes, as does Meursault, *l'homme machine* for the existentialist reason that reality is unthinkable ("failure of thought is the condition for *Existenz*"). Claudius observes, "How dangerous is it that this man goes loose." Hamlet is dangerous in the "serious" world of intelligible conduct, for he exists only in his acts, which happen automatically and "absurdly." We cannot "explain" his conduct; his "existence" precedes his "being." As drama, the play can be understood by an existentialist strategy of apprehending Hamlet's existing-in-the-world-of-the-drama-itself, but hardly otherwise. Analysis of Hamlet's "motives" is in a sense impertinent, for his situation, "seriously" considered, is "unthinkable." It is as if Shakespeare had freed him from the illusory world of rationality and aggravated the unthinkability of his position in an *Existenz* into which he is projected by Gertrude's lechery. His values are translated from "reason" to "absurdity."

Hamlet is the nihilist. His nihilism is not, however, Byronic—a gesture of defiance performed in romantic isolation. Instead, it expresses a final alienation, an existential malaise at not-being-at-home. Therefore the consummate importance of his speculation whether to die, to cease—paradoxically he can "choose" to exist only by a feat of nihilism that unequivocally establishes his being-in-the-world. We cannot suppose that for him the real issue is religious, whether the Everlasting has fixed a canon against self-slaughter; it is a crux in existential philosophy—suicide. Were the act to make a final quietus, were it completely his own, self-determined and self-determining, Hamlet could with a bare bodkin make not only the ultimate evasion but also the ultimate "choice" by which he commits himself to utter egoism, irrevocably alienated, torn from the context of his fellows.

In this sense, possibly, Hamlet is "serious." In ordinary serious obligations Hamlet behaves absurdly, with disturbing irresponsibility. Polonius, the Political Man, is conventionally "serious," a symbol of "these tedious old fools" who become identified with their functions in society. Hamlet, in contrast to Polonius or Fortinbras or Osric or Laertes, is always taking the disengaged "dramatic" view of himself and his plight; he sees life as Art; he "plays" at existence-in-the-world and thus affirms his estrangement from society and its expectations. That is the reason, dramatically, why Ham-

let's discourse to the players is not extraneous: Hamlet is himself, in the existentialist way, an "actor" in the world, maintaining his freedom by playing, intent on the mirror held up to nature, not behaving within "reality" itself, which is so removed or "bracketed" as to appear under a suspension of disbelief, for it is not "real" enough to be taken "seriously." But here is another "anxiety"—Hamlet's sense that he can only "play," and like a whore unpack his heart with words, at the very moment when he "seriously" should commit himself, resign his "freedom," and by the act of revenge identify himself with the world of "objectivity" and "thought." As with Sartre, there is an approximation of dramatic to aesthetic response: the hero of "La Nausée" scuffs at the root of a tree to bark it "just to play with the absurdity of the world." At the instant when Hamlet has the "serious" proof of the guilt of Claudius he assumes the "dramatic" nihilist view of his position. "Would not this, sir," he asks Horatio, after Claudius has left the play in a panic, "and a forest of feathers—if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me—with two Provincial roses on my raz'd shoes, get me a fellowship in a cry of players, sir?" By this "play" Hamlet creates a freedom in the objective world; in the subjective world he can become free only by the bare bodkin.

The objective world appears to Hamlet alternately as illusion and as "an unweeded garden/That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature/Possess it merely." Among the paradoxes of "Hamlet" is the "seriousness" of this aestheticism that terminates in indifference or revulsion, as in "The Stranger" or "La Nausée." Camus speaks of "the incessant appeal of a quantitatively inexhaustible universe." Hamlet, like Sartre, is aware that there are "no unaccented beats; everything, even the least perceptible stir," is existence. Under this hedonistic sensibility of the absurd, existence is leveled to the uninterrupted responses of a Pater-like, quickened, and multiplied consciousness, which does not exhilarate but oppresses with an indiscrimination that may amount to nausea. The nihilism of Hamlet, his repudiation of "seriousness," is nowhere so apparent as in his indiscriminations, in his uniform acute sensibility foreshortening and reducing—or lightening perhaps—all experience. The appearance of the ghost or the players; the rites for Ophelia or the death of her father (Hamlet lugging his guts); the reverie upon Yorick or the reflection upon ambitious Fortinbras; the clowning with Osric or the malign delight in the politic murder of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern—all represent themselves in Hamlet's consciousness with the unremitting sharp accents of equal stress, and none are "serious."

Or not "serious" except when the naked world, rank and gross, shows itself, and one is inarticulate against the monstrosity of absurdity in which one is homeless. The hero of the Sartre novel suffocates under his apocalypse: "I was very well aware that it was the World, the naked World, which had suddenly shown itself, and I was choking with rage against this huge absurd being." With raging anxiety Hamlet instantaneously recognizes more things in heaven and earth than philosophy can dream. This is the Hamlet nausea. The meditation on Yorick is not alone the melancholy discovery that your worm is your only emperor for diet, that we eat ourselves for maggots. Yorick was of infinite jest

and excellent fancy, the fellow of Hamlet's youth: "And now how abhorred in my imagination it is! My gorge rises at it." The hedonism, with existential distortion, has been inverted to disgust. Sensation remains (*l'apparence sensible*, as Camus terms it), and in the very sensation, anxiety—a self-tormenting perversion of hedonism and asceticism, a cosmic ennui in which one is laid open to the indifference of the universe. Everything is gratuitous, good kissing carrion.

The question is not one of a philosophy of the absurd, but of an absurd sensibility. Hamlet is your only jig-maker, in Kierkegaardian perception of the ironic. His moments of genuine madness are his most visionary existential moments, when his nausea is hardest upon him. Nausea—not Byronic cynicism. The dilemma of existence itself, its unthinkable expansions, flowerings, pullulations, and paradoxes, is held too inwardly. Mere cynicism offers explanations; it could not occasion the graveyard scene, the interview with Gertrude, or above all the attitude toward Ophelia: "You jig, you amble, and you lisp and nickname God's creatures and make your wantonness your ignorance. Go to, I'll no more on't; it hath made me mad." More than the times are out of joint for Hamlet. As existent, by illumination, he intuits the absurdity at the heart of things; existence goes by contingencies, not necessities, and to exist is unaccountably to be here acting, or trying to act, or playing at acting, between dense absurd extremes.

But at the end the focus shifts; the "normal" sensibility is reestablished. The existential insight was after all delusion. The dying Hamlet, had he time, "could tell you" of his cause aright.

The Injury

From this hospital bed
I can hear an engine
breathing—somewhere
in the night:

—Soft coal, soft coal,
soft coal!

And I know it is men
breathing
shoveling, resting—

—Go about it
the slow way, if you can
find any way—

Christ!

who's a bastard?
—quit
and quit shoveling.

A man breathing
and it quiets and
the puff of steady
work begins

slowly: Chug.
Chug. Chug. Chug. . . .
fading off.

Enough coal at least
for this small job

Soft! Soft!
—enough for one small
engine, enough for that.

A man shoveling,
working and not lying here
in this

hospital bed—powerless
—with the white-throat
calling in the
poplars before dawn, his
faint flute-call,
triple tongued, piercing
the shingled curtain
of the new leaves;

drowned out by
car wheels
singing now on the rails,
taking the curve,
slowly,

a long wail,
high pitched:

rounding
the curve—

—the slow way because
(if you can find any
way) that is
the only way left now
for you.

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS

At the Indian Killer's Grave

Behind King's Chapel what the earth has kept
Whole from the jerking noose of time extends
Its dark enigma to Jehosaphat;
Or will King Philip plait
The just man's scalp in the wailing valley! Friends,
Blacker than these black stones the subway bends
About the dirty elm roots and the well
For the unchristened infants in the waste
Of the great garden rotten to its root;
Death, the engraver, puts forward his bone foot
And Grace-with-wings and Time-on-wings compel
All this antique abandon of the disgraced
To face Jehovah's buffets and his ends.

The dusty leaves and frizzled lilacs gear
This garden of the elders with baroque
And prodigal embellishments but smoke,
Settling upon the pilgrims and their grounds,
Espouses and confounds
Their dust with the off-scourings of the town;
The libertarian crown
Of England built their mausoleum. Here
A clutter of Bible and weeping willows guards
The stern colonial magistrates and wards
Of Charles the Second, and the clouds
Weep on the just and unjust as they will,—
For the poor dead cannot see Easter crowds
On Boston Common or the Beacon Hill

Where strangers hold the golden Statehouse dome
For good and always. Where they live is home:
A common with an iron railing: here
Frayed cables wreath the spreading cenotaph
Of John and Mary Winslow and the laugh
Of death is hacked in sandstone, in their year.

A green train grinds along its buried tracks
And screeches. When the great mutation racks
The Pilgrim Fathers' relics, will these plaques
Harness the spare-ribbed persons of the dead
To battle with their dragon? Philip's head
Grins on the platter, fowls in pantomime
The fingers of kept time:
"Surely, this people is but grass,"
He whispers, "this will pass;
But, Sirs, the trollop dances on your skulls
And breaks the hollow noddle like an egg
That thought the world an eggshell. Sirs, the gulls
Scream from the squelching wharf-piles, beg a leg
To crack their crops. The Judgment is at hand;
Only the dead are poorer in this world
Where State and elders thundered *raca*, hurled
Anathemas at nature and the land
That fed the hunter's gashed and green perfection—
Its settled mass concedes no outlets for your puns
And verbal paradises. Your election,
Hawking above this slime
For souls as single as their skeletons,
Flutters and claws in the dead hand of time."

When you go down this manhole to the drains,
The doorman barricades you in and out;
You wait upon his pleasure. All about
The pale, sand-colored, treeless chains
Of T-squared buildings strain
To curb the spreading of the braced terrain;
When you go down this hole, perhaps your pains
Will be rewarded well; no rough-cast house
Will bed and board you in King's Chapel. Here
A public servant putters with a knife
And paints the railing red
Forever, as a mouse
Cracks walnuts by the headstones of the dead
Whose chiseled angels peer
At you, as if their art were long as life.

I ponder on the railing at this park:
Who was the man who sowed the dragon's teeth,
That fabulous or fancied patriarch
Who sowed so ill for his descent, beneath
King's Chapel in this underworld and dark?
John, Matthew, Luke, and Mark,
Gospel me to the Garden, let me come
Where Mary twists the warlock with her flowers—
Her soul a bridal chamber fresh with flowers
And her whole body an ecstatic womb,
As through the trellis peers the sudden Bridegroom.

ROBERT LOWELL

Niebuhr's Vision of Our Time

DISCERNING THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

THE great problem of the age is to discover a theory of human nature which will account for the present tableau of man holding a loaded gun to his head and itching to press the trigger. The guileless nineteenth-century faith in human perfectibility is now revealed to be hideously misleading; the certitudes of Marxism seem increasingly sterile and false. Freud has, at least, reminded us that the individual has dark and tangled aspects which neither promise indefinite improvement nor proceed from a cruel system. Even the left is now discovering, with Dwight Macdonald, that "the root is man."

Dr. Niebuhr's valuable contribution has been to apply to this problem one of the more ancient and tested systems for understanding experience. His new book is a collection of ten "sermonic essays"—sermons actually preached in American colleges and revised for publication. It is more strictly religious in tone and purpose than were his recent penetrating critiques of modern liberalism. But its point of view is worth the close examination of anyone trying to make secular sense out of present confusions.

Niebuhr's vision of the present is of a time dominated by impotence and frustration—"a tragic era between two ages." The age of absolute national sovereignty is over, but the age of international order is powerless to be born. The age of economic self-regulation is over, but the age which combines central regulation with freedom and justice is powerless to be born. Why is humanity in this dilemma? Our liberals talk of the "cultural lag"; technology has shot ahead, they say, and social organization must catch up. Niebuhr says that we have something more basic than mere inertia to lick; there is a "positive and spiritual element in our resistance to necessary changes." The source of the trouble is "the very paradox of human existence: the greatness and the weakness of man." And the paradox becomes progressively more dangerous because "man's powers are continually increasing, and yet man's essential weakness remains the same."

What is man's essential weakness? It is, of course, the inclination to evil, "primarily the inclination to inordinate self-love"—the universal attempt to escape the consciousness of implication in the universal sin. This essential weakness cannot be cured by ordinary moral idealism, which only breeds further self-righteousness. It can be cured "only by religious contrition"—by that sense of consuming humility which is the by-product of religious faith.

The age thus needs religion to uproot the spiritual causes of our present corruptions. But the shape of natural and historical forces supplies no ground for optimism. After centuries when the Christian faith seemed irrelevant to men who found their hopes easily fulfilled in history, we are now entering a time when disappointment and frustration become serious issues. This is "a generation which must have the spiritual resources to deal with the problem of frustration"; so we need religion for that purpose too.

Niebuhr combats dutifully and ably the vulgar view that religion is inherently counter-revolutionary because of its emphasis on otherworldliness. The gospel, he repeatedly

a complete reliable history of CHINA

Few readers can buy *all* the books on China which have recently been pouring from the presses. But all readers interested in the country should have one good history, giving the background material without which present-day China is incomprehensible. The book to fill this need is:

The CHINESE Their History and Culture

By

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

A third edition, revised and enlarged, of this standard history has just been published. It has been brought up to date in the light of historical events and the new knowledge of China which research has revealed during the eleven years since the second edition was issued.

Scholars and critics alike have recognized *THE CHINESE* as an authoritative work. M. S. Bates said in the *American Historical Review*, "In fullness, quality, and modernity of treatment . . . the work stands alone. Nor is it likely to be surpassed for longish years."

\$7.00 at your bookstore

MACMILLAN

reminds us, has its "relative-historical" as well as its "final-and-absolute" aspects. His own analysis carefully distinguishes the two and avoids the mistake of trying to explain "relative-historical" developments in "final-and-absolute" terms.

This vocabulary is doubtless still offensive to leftists, but they would be well advised to heed the facts of experience to which the words correspond. The Christian account of human motivation is massive, subtle, and intricate, and it throws broad light on certain present dilemmas which baffle liberalism or Marxism. Whatever you say about Augustine, at least he would not have been much surprised by the outcome of the Russian Revolution. Niebuhr doggedly makes certain elemental points which anyone who writes about politics had better absorb: that the world is complicated; that man—all men, not just your political enemies—can be devious and destructive in their motivation; and that these two facts prescribe a certain humility before the problems of the day.

Niebuhr might well raise the further question about the significance of the understanding without the belief. We all may derive rewarding insights from the Christian conception of man without accepting the Christian drama of sin and salvation as true; but to a believer this is probably a fairly idiotic position. Man in the tableau may recognize that it is an agonized sense of alienation from God which impels him to press the trigger, but that understanding is likely to be impotent without the infusion of grace.

"You're not a believer, are you?" Haines asked. "I mean, a believer in the narrow sense of the word. Creation from nothing and miracles and a personal God."

"A closely argued claim for the sole relevance of the Christian gospel to the modern world. . . . Political and social planners could benefit from this book. . . . They would learn something needed more than detailed plans, and that is a realization of the persistence of human sin on every level to which man advances; and the knowledge that utopia is not just around the corner. Along with those two lessons might come some of the humility and faith Dr. Niebuhr shows are necessary to live with sanity in the present and future frustrations of history."

—*New York Times*.

Discerning the Signs of the Times

Ten "Sermonic Essays" by

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

at all bookstores \$2.50

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS • NEW YORK

"There's only one sense of the word, it seems to me," Stephen said.

An irreligious age is left in a helpless position; but at least Dr. Niebuhr can give a coherent explanation of how it got that way.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Ernie Pyle's Last Book

LAST CHAPTER. By Ernie Pyle. Henry Holt and Company. \$2.50.

IT IS standard operating procedure to find someone who knew Ernie Pyle to write reviews about his books. In the hundreds of reviews, each tried to be original, but it was hard because Ernie was not a man you kick up controversies over—if you knew him you loved him. He didn't hurt any feelings, follow any party lines, accuse any generals, nor were his personal feelings or motives a mystery. As far as I know not a single review was unfavorable to him.

Most of them said, "The last time I saw Ernie, he was sitting on a cot in his long-handled G. I. drawers, with a haunted look on his face, expecting to be killed. . . ." and they went on to say he was a gnomish, generous, real little guy you regarded as a father or a brother—depending on the writer's age—upon first sight. Well, he was a gnomish, generous, real little guy, susceptible to hard-luck stories and hangovers, and he often was found in long-handled drawers with a haunted look on his face, expecting to be killed.

And the last time I saw Ernie, he was sitting on a folding chair giving me hell for getting an agent. He told me how well he got along without one, and since I already knew what I wanted to do in civilian life after the war, why did I need advice? Shortly afterward, a Hollywood producer, noted for his enterprise and thrift, secured the movie rights to Ernie's then current book, got the blessing and cooperation of the War Department, and turned out a picture which was a Hollywood war picture. It contains such box-office attractions as an oversexed American soldier of foreign parentage. This was an insult to the memory of many very fine and very dead guys of foreign extraction, as well as to Ernie, who did not believe in selling his column by portraying soldiers as childish delinquents with funny accents. One of Ernie's great heroes was a captain named Waskow, and he wrote one of the most touching stories of any war about Captain Waskow's death. The producer, perhaps afraid that the name Waskow might not appeal to certain customers, changed it to Walker in the movie.

The agentless Ernie received \$10,000 for the right to produce this epic—about 5 per cent of what a more agent-minded author of so popular a best-seller would have received from other thrifty and enterprising producers. I don't see how Ernie could have liked the movie, but he still would advise me not to get an agent.

Since reviews about Ernie must contain a personal anecdote, that was mine.

I think "Last Chapter" is mostly a meandering beginning to what would have been as great a story of people in war as "Brave Men"—but the foxhole stuff didn't start until the last part of the book, where he made an invasion with the marines and spent some time with the infantry which he

had done so much to glorify in the days when the only glory they saw was at the Pearly Gates. I hope it is not irreverent to mention that one time after Ernie's death I thought of him on a cloud being pointed out by a couple of infantrymen on another cloud—one of them saying, "There's the guy who made Congress raise our pay."

The first parts of the book are mostly about the navy. The Navy Department, hurt because it hadn't any Boswells, wanted Ernie to come stay with them for a while. Ernie, who respected what he had seen of the navy, and who didn't want anybody to be hurt, went along with them. Possibly the only trouble was that the navy, which has very set ideas about rank and prestige, couldn't quite adjust itself to the idea of a man of Ernie's stature, with the rank of war correspondent to boot, chumming with ordinary sailors.

Anyway, most of the book's navy section is about officers. To Ernie Pyle's everlasting credit, he loved everybody alike, and he considered officers every bit as good as enlisted men. So when he found himself among officers, he wrote interesting things about them. In fact, although I had always known that gentlemen with officers' rank had a pretty hellish time in companies and battalions, and usually distinguished themselves and got killed as regularly as gentlemen of enlisted rank—it wasn't until I read Ernie's columns regularly in Europe that I discovered officers of higher rank were often human beings with halitosis and homesickness just like everybody else.

Ernie's naval officers did a highly complex, difficult, and dangerous job, and they deserved his publicity. He mentions often that the ship was well stocked with sailors, and I gather they were necessary to the successful operation of the voyage, but they seemed mostly background. I don't intend this as a crack at the book. Ernie was bunked with officers, but he would have been equally at home among the sailors, and would have made them just as interesting. But I can't help wondering if the Navy Department ever wonders why the hell it never had a Boswell.

If a simple, honest man ever had reason to become neurotic and anti-social, Ernie did during his last stay in America. Our good citizens overwhelmed him with love, and among the citizens were those with business interests at heart. He bit once, a full-color cigarette ad displayed him smoking the service man's favorite brand—I forget which—and he resisted successfully after that.

I'm sure he would have gone to the Pacific war anyway, but I have often thought the trip was possibly hurried somewhat by all the love that was showered upon him. I know, I know, thought five hundred thousand mothers throughout the land, I know he's awfully tired, but it wouldn't hurt to phone him and ask why Johnny's in the guardhouse.

But he kept on loving people right back in his worried way, and he kept simple and honest. It sounds very trite, but there it is. Here's real honesty, in my opinion, from a page in "Last Chapter":

We hadn't been in the room two seconds when one Seabee called through the window: "Say, aren't you Ernie Pyle?" I said, "Right," and he said, "Whoever thought we'd meet you here? I recognized you from your picture." All the others stopped work and gathered outside the window while we talked through the screen. . . .

BARGAINS in BOOKS

UP TO 75% OFF FORMER PRICES

Offered by America's Oldest Mail-Order Book House

1. **IN AND OUT OF COURT.** By F. X. Busch. Illustrated. 806 pages. "As rare a collection of humorous, courtroom incidents as has ever been gathered into one volume." Published at \$3.00. Only **\$1.29**
2. **RABELAIS.** With the Doré illustrations. The complete and authentic Works of Rabelais. Profusely illustrated by Gustave Doré. 640 pages. "Not to have read Rabelais—is not to have lived." "Never has there been, nor is, nor ever shall be, another book like it—for it stands unique and alone." Only **\$2.49**
3. **BOUDOIR COMPANION.** Edited by Page Cooper. Illustrated. A lusty collection of uninhibited humor. The ideal companion for the privacy of the boudoir or bedroom. Many bits of wit and wisdom revealing the intimate thoughts of women. Special **\$.98**
4. **MEN PAST FORTY.** By A. F. Niemoeller, A.B., M.A., B.S. Illustrated. "This great book contains an immense amount of wonderful information about impaired vigor, the prostate gland, and weak manhood, rejuvenation, etc." Special **\$1.49**
5. **10,000 TRADE SECRETS, RECIPES, etc.** Fortunes in Formulas for Home, Farm and Workshop. (Hentley's Twentieth Century Book of Ten Thousand Formulas, Processes and Trade Secrets). Edited by G. D. Hiscok, M.E. Illustrated. Index. 883 pages. (Formerly published at \$4.00). Only **\$1.49**
6. **FOREIGN LANGUAGE WORD CARDS.** Stephens Word Cards. The famous simplified self-teaching system of foreign language study, containing 512 cards and illustrations. By means of these cards anyone can acquire a basic vocabulary and a general familiarity with Spanish, French, German, Italian and even Esperanto. Put up in an envelope. All for only **\$1.29**
7. **GARDEN FLOWERS in COLOR.** By Daniel J. Foley. Illustrating 350 flowers in full color. Macmillan. The only book which shows all the important garden flowers in natural colors. Only **\$2.49**
8. **FOR EVERYONE WHO WEARS GLASSES.** The Art of Seeing. By Aldous Huxley. Huxley's own story of visual re-education through which he recovered from almost total blindness. For everyone who wears glasses. **\$2.49**
9. **THE NEW WAY TO EAT AND GET SLIM.** By Donald G. Cooley. Shows you how to eat well—yet lose 10 lbs. in 10 days. Contains the "10-day miracle diet." Only **\$1.98**
10. **HOW REVE TO BE TIRED.** By M. Beynon Ray. 330 pages. "Just two hours with this amazing book may change your entire life." Only **\$2.49**
11. **ANYONE CAN PAINT!** By Arthur Zeldenberg. Instructor in Drawing, New York University. With 123 illustrations in color and half-tone. Size 8" x 11". A clear and effective book of instruction that will enable anyone who can draw to paint in oils, water colors, tempera, etc. Only **\$2.95**
12. **AMERICAN ANTIQUES.** The Primer of. By Carl W. Dropper. Illustrated with 1,200 drawings. Index. Indispensable to all who are interested in antiques. **\$2.98**
13. **THE OPERA LIBRETTO LIBRARY.** Contains all the words, and music of the principal airs of 83 great operas: 3-volume set containing 10 Wagner operas including the entire Ring, Tannhauser; 11 Italian operas including Alda, Pagliacci, Il Trovatore; 12 French and German operas including Carmen, Faust, Fidelio, Hansel and Gretel. Authentic original text with full English translation in parallel columns. 3 vols. **\$5.95**
14. **THE BOOK OF OLD SILVER**—English, American and Foreign. By S. B. Wyler. 100 illustrations. More than 80,000 Hallmarks. A history and guide to old silver and Sheffield plate. Contains practically all the hallmarks, making possible the quick identification of almost any piece of silver. Only **\$2.98**
15. **ENCYCLOPEDIA OF FURNITURE.** By Joseph Aronson. 1,115 photographs, hundreds of drawings. The tremendous number of illustrations shows almost every kind and type of furniture ever made. For home decorators, collectors, antique dealers, architects, students, 424 pages. 8½" x 11". Only **\$2.98**

Money-Back Guarantee

THE UNION LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

N-46

Established 1884

121-123 East 24th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Gentlemen: I enclose \$..... for which please send me the items I have encircled below, delivery charges prepaid.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

(Mark circle around items desired)

☐ Please send me FREE Bargain Catalog No. 347-N, containing hundreds of equally unusual Book Bargains—just off the press!

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

Look, dear reader, let's put you out there on an island in his place. You're writing a column which is being eagerly awaited by millions, and you have a reputation which is causing statues to be erected. Senators are suggesting your birthday become a national holiday. You gotta play your cards right. The public likes to knock heroes off pedestals. One wrong word can queer you. If you're the clever type, you write, "One of the Seabees looked in my window and said, 'Hey, mugs, they're sendin' a sideshow to build our morale!'" Or if you're the quiet type, you say, "They looked at me like any other replacement." Or else you forget the incident and go looking for other copy.

But Ernie put it down, because it happened, and it was an experience. Nobody else could have got away with it, but then there was nobody like him.

BILL MAULDIN

Aftermath

Shuffle and cut. What was so large and one
Is now a pack of dog's-eared chances—Oh
Where is the Fear that warmed us to the gun,
That moved the cock to tousle the night and crow
In the gaps between the bombs? In this new round
The joker that could have been any moment death
Has been withdrawn, the cards are what they say
And none is wild; the bandaging dark which bound
This town together is loosed and in the array
Of bourgeois lights man's love can save its breath:
Their ransomed future severs once more the child
Of luck from the child of lack—and none is wild.

LOUIS MACNEICE

"REVEALING"—P. M.

"INTERESTING"—*Boston Herald*

"VIVID"—*Indianapolis Star*

Experiment in Germany

by SAUL K. PADOVER

"A true memoir as well as an exciting one!"

—MAX LERNER, P. M.

Here is the real truth about the Germans.

"A clear, comprehensive and unbiased study of the German mind. . . . Invaluable."—*Chicago Sun*

"A book to be read and relished by anyone with half a grain of interest in Germany and the future."

—P. M.

AT ALL BOOKSTORES • \$3.75

DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE

A Camp in the Prussian Forest

I walk beside the prisoners to the road.
Load on puffed load,
Their corpses, stacked like starving wood,
Lie barred or galled with blood

By the charred warehouse. No one comes today
In the old way
To knock the fillings from their teeth;
The dark, coned, common wreath

Is plaited for their grave—a kind of grief.
The living leaf
Clings to the planted profitable
Pine if it is able;

The boughs sigh, mile on green, calm, breathing mile,
From this dead file
The planners ruled for them. . . . One year
They sent a million here:

Here men were drunk like water, burnt like wood.
The fat of good
And evil, the breast's star of hope
Were rendered into soap.

I paint the star I sawed from yellow pine—
And plant the sign
In soil that does not yet refuse
Its usual Jews

Their first asylum. But the white, dwarfed star—
This dead white star—
Hides nothing, pays for nothing; smoke
Fouls it, a yellow joke,

The needles of the wreath are chalked with ash,
A filmy trash
Litters the black woods with the death
Of men; and one last breath

Curls from the monstrous chimney . . . I laugh aloud
Again and again;
The star laughs from its rotting shroud
Of flesh. O star of men!

RANDALL JARRELL

Silone's Spiritual Journey

AND HE HID HIMSELF. A Play in Four Acts. By Ignazio Silone. Translated by Darina Tranquilli. Harper and Brothers. \$2.

ALTHOUGH Silone's play is based on "Bread and Wine," it is closer in spirit to the later novel, "The Seed Beneath the Snow." The distance Silone has traveled, "coming from far and going far," is indicated by the transformation the character of Pietro Spina has undergone in "And He Hid Himself" and the accompanying change in

"For those interested in how the physical world looks and operates



this year may become memorable for the appearance of a book which changes this picture as completely as it was changed 300 years ago by Sir Isaac Newton, and in our own day by Dr. Einstein."

ROBERT WILLIAMS.

Samuel Roth's

THE PEEP-HOLE of the PRESENT

An Inquiry Into the Substance of Appearance

HAS CREATED A REVOLUTION IN OUR CONCEPTION OF THE PHYSICAL WORLD SO CLEAR AND FAR-SWEEPING THAT, COMPARED WITH IT, THE CHANGES WROUGHT BY THE WAR FADE INTO INSIGNIFICANCE.

Where are YOU in the World?

If a friend met you on the street, and asked you where you live, you would feel pretty lost, if you couldn't remember. But suppose it were a philosopher who stopped you, and he asked you if you know where you are in the world, would you feel any better if you had to tell him that you'd never given the matter much thought?

DO YOU KNOW THAT:

the law of gravity is not what you learned it was, when you went to school? the difference between matter and spirit is purely a question of electronics? the earth is not one of those brass pin-points in the night-sky? Consciousness is the most general of the physical elements? the most distant of the stars is as near to you as your sleeve-cuff? light has no velocity?

To read it is to acquire a new dimension in living, it is to be intellectually reborn . . .

Published at \$3.75...But You May Have This Amazing Book **FREE** with the current Selection of THE BOOKS OF WISDOM CLUB

OLIVER L. REISER'S

THE WORLD SENSORIUM



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Founder of Scientific Humanism, he labors on his socio-scientific theorems in the Department of Philosophy, the University of Pittsburgh. To the list of the founders of the great intellectual faiths of mankind — Pythagoras, Plato, Bacon and Descartes — add the name Oliver L. Reiser.

in which the accumulated scientific data of the last quarter of a century is co-ordinated into a complete and understandable portrait of the world not only as it appears but as we have to live in it. Not a truth is spared, not a line in the picture softened. Reiser reorders our world for us as magnificently as Herbert Spencer rearranged the knowledge and wisdom of their time for our fathers.

In an earlier book, *PHILOSOPHY AND THE CONCEPTS OF MODERN SCIENCE*, Reiser began the task of levelling out of the human mind the meaningless differences inherited by it with its visual conceptions of the many forms of matter. It was the beginning of the greatest intellectual surgical operation in the history of mankind. It became clear, as his work grew through the years, that the forces which compose the duration of rocks, trees, clouds, rivers and stardrift do not differ from those which rule the conduct of men and women.

In *THE WORLD SENSORIUM* Reiser's researches are crowned with a great and clear vision. Human conduct, personal as well as communal, emerges in the light of a development inevitable and inescapable. You see that even as the principles of atomic physics become clarified in the mind of man, they illuminate their own places in a turbulently reorganizing society. The mind which constructed the atomic bomb also develops the skill and the understanding with which to contain this power — and thrive on it!

To read *THE WORLD SENSORIUM* is to be privileged to observe exactly how the world of tomorrow will shape itself out of the unhappy adventures of this sad day. It is the sort of book you approach with an eager, inquiring mind, and wind up by reading on your knees,

SPECIAL CLUB PRICE: \$3

ORDER FORM

BOOKS OF WISDOM CLUB: 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N.Y.
Gentlemen: I enclose \$3 for a copy of Oliver L. Reiser's *THE WORLD SENSORIUM* and the free copy of Samuel Roth's *THE PEEP-HOLE OF THE PRESENT*. I may return both books for full credit if they do not live up to my highest expectations.

PRINT PLAINLY

NAME

NO. & ST.

CITY ZONE STATE

☐ Check if you prefer to receive C.O.D.

the familiar theme of "the spirit of man . . . forced to save itself in hiding." In "Bread and Wine" Spina is primarily a revolutionist, sobered though he has been by the failures of the revolutionary movement in Europe. But in disguising himself as the priest Don Paolo Spada, to hide from the Fascist police, Spina takes on thematic as well as strategic vestments, and the strategy of his pose itself poses the problem that is to occupy the rest of his career: what is the justification of Marxism; why is one a Socialist; what are the ends that socialism serves? Spina now professes a deeper moral commitment than in his early days as a Marxist, and he tries to justify his Marxism in terms of what he believes to be the higher and broader morality of the Christian tradition. But his position is still expressed in the form of a natural morality, and its relation to Christianity, which he regards as an ethical heritage, though intimate, is one of consonance rather than derivation.

It is in "The Seed Beneath the Snow" that the priestly habit of Don Paolo Spada becomes a habit of Spina's soul. The Christian justification of Marxism has turned toward a fusion of the two traditions, and it is now as a Christian that Spina goes among the peasants of the Abruzzi. His political acts are acts of brotherhood and humility. The strength of the Fascist regime and the unpropitious time have forced him into a retreat from direct politics; but it is a retreat that he regards as a forward step. Before a step can be taken, it must be prepared. To prepare the way by an examination of conscience, by a purgation of soul, by devoting oneself to acts of brotherhood in the example of Christ,

is also a political task—for how shall there be just politics without a living justice among men? Christianity is now more than a heritage that natural morality may share with the Church Militant. It is also the essence of the message that Spina has to transmit to the Italian underground, and Christian righteousness is the source and the authority for the values that he upholds under the Fascist terror. Accordingly, Silone's imagination draws more freely on Christian symbols. In "The Seed Beneath the Snow" we encounter the hide-out in the manger, the donkey, the germination of the grain of wheat; Silone's peasant humor is blended with a Franciscan humility and love, and there occurs the ultimate Christian act of sacrifice in the form of Spina's surrender to the police, for the sake of the village idiot, who represents the mass of men.

This development in the direction of greater explicitness in the use of Christian symbolism, and in the transformation of metaphor into literal Christian meaning, is carried farther in "And He Hid Himself." In the introductory note to the play Silone says that the modern drama presents "a new element in the guise of protagonist: the proletarian." (As Silone uses the term, drama denotes both the theater and man's consciousness in general—an ambiguity which is of some importance in the analysis of his play.) The proletarian is a new protagonist because modern Christian man recognizes in his "hardships and his destiny . . . the stuff of history, thought, or art." We recognize him as such because "between the ancients and us there has come Jesus Christ."

I should like to quote extensively from the introduction for its importance in establishing the dual context in which the play can be read:

The characters of this drama are men of today, but they "come from far and are going far." They belong only incidentally to the chronicle of time. Their existence bears witness to the spiritual journey of the author and . . . a considerable number of men of his generation, in these last years. . . .

The rediscovery of a Christian heritage in the revolution of our time remains the most important gain that has been made in these last years for the conscience of our generation. . . .

It is a heritage weighed down with debts. A living, painful, almost absurd heritage. In the sacred history of man on earth it is still, alas, Good Friday. Men who "hunger and thirst after righteousness" are still derided, persecuted, put to death. The spirit of man is still forced to save itself in hiding.

The revolution of our epoch, promoted by politicians and economists, thus takes on the form of a "sacred mystery," with the very fate of man on earth for its theme.

The tasks of the economic and political order are by no means obscured or dissimulated thereby; they are indeed the first and main tasks. But the men called on to carry them out must know that they come from far and are going far.

I find a puzzling ambiguity in these statements. On the one hand, Christianity is said to be a heritage, and as such, presumably, its rediscovery represents a gain to the revolutionary movement *from without*. But it is because of Christ, on the other hand, that the proletarian occupies his domi-

The Secret Diary of a Pulitzer Prize Historian

SUITORS and SUPPLIANTS

By Stephen Bonsal Author of *Unfinished Business*

• Here is the timely, on-the-spot record of a world-famous newspaperman, and aide to Colonel House at Versailles, presenting the inside story of what happened to the little nations after World War I. Palestine, Danzig, the Rhineland, and the enigma of Russia — these were explosive issues then just as today. Colonel Bonsal conducts you behind the scenes to observe the lively disputes, the tragic mistakes of last time that throw fresh light on the current problems of the United Nations Council. His new book offers a penetrating picture of the partisans and peace-makers of Versailles.

\$3.50 AT ALL BOOKSTORES

Prentice
Hall

70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11

nant position in the drama and the consciousness of our time—which gives Christianity a central position *within* socialism. Thus socialism is independent of Christianity, to the extent, at least that it can draw on it (and restore it and carry it on as part of its general aim at the reestablishment of human values); at the same time it is dependent on Christianity as an essential foundation for its values. The latter half of this ambiguity takes on even greater literal meaning in the play.

"And He Hid Himself" is a "Good Friday" play, in a setting made familiar by the novels. The main action is concerned with the episode of the informer Murica, as in "Bread and Wine." Murica, a young student member of the underground, betrays his comrades to the Fascist police; tormented by his conscience, he seeks to redeem himself by confessing to Spina. It is not punishment that he fears so much as the possibility that he may escape punishment. The distinction between good and evil cannot consist merely in the distinction between that which society rewards and that which it punishes; for if a technique of betrayal were perfect, there would be no detection, hence no punishment, and therefore no distinction between good and evil. It is this which Murica cannot endure, and he confesses to Spina to be judged, and thereby restored to the human community. Spina spares him and accepts him back into the party.

One may note that up to this point neither Murica's nor Spina's acts require motivation in terms of literal Christianity. Spina's compassion, his identification of revolutionary activity with the highest moral engagement, and his discussion of the motives a man may have for becoming a Socialist, from frustration in the bourgeois order to a thirst after justice; the guilt Murica feels, his horror at the possibility that he may feel no guilt, and his desire to be restored to humanity can all be explained by natural morality, which can also provide a distinction between good and evil which is not wholly dependent on social approbation or disapproval. But in the further development of the episode, the natural aspect of the situation is transcended imaginatively; Silone draws on the Passion for the construction of a Christian parallel, and Murica becomes a Christ figure whose death, at the hands of the state police, is a recurrence on earth of His agony. Murica has taken sin on himself and has expiated his sin; by offering himself as a sacrifice in death he has redeemed mankind—at least to the extent of influencing the peasants to join the underground, who were at first very reluctant to do so.

I do not insist that the parallel is perfect, or that it must be taken literally. But that it is intended by Silone is evident from the many references he has the villagers make, during the final scenes, to the death of Christ, finally likening Murica to Him. It is significant that Murica's full redemption is obtained not in his confession to Spina, which is explicable in natural terms, but only by a Christlike death. I do not think it is going too far to say that Silone, after the fashion of myth, and without a historian's commitment, puts the Christian drama at the center of man's history, making the Passion epitomize the struggle of man on earth. It thus becomes the basic historical event, "the stuff of history," which every other episode in time, in so far as it is related to man's struggle and has moral significance, recapitu-

Distinguished Books from
APPLETON-CENTURY

THE FINGERS OF NIGHT

by Hubert Creekmore

"A powerful, tragic novel of the South . . . a tragedy in the classic sense. . . . The author sees with unusual clarity, has a fine feeling for words, plus sincerity and tenderness."—*Chicago Tribune*. \$2.75.

AMERICAN LEGEND

A TREASURY OF OUR COUNTRY'S YESTERDAYS

Selected by

Robert van Gelder and Dorothy van Gelder

With a Foreword by Robert van Gelder

Selections by our masters of fiction that bring to vivid life the finest in the American tradition. Every part of our land, every important era is revealed in exciting, human terms. 3 complete novels, 5 long excerpts, 8 short stories, 535 pages, 240,000 words. \$3.75

Manuel Luis Quezon's

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

THE GOOD FIGHT

"An important book not only as the life story of a famous and colorful man . . . but as, in large part, the political story of the Philippines since its last days as a Spanish possession."—*Saturday Review*.

Illustrated. \$4.00

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

by Nathan Schachner

CLAUDE G. BOWERS says: "The most comprehensive and meticulously accurate of all the biographies of Hamilton." ALLAN NEVINS adds: "A scholarly, veracious, and interesting biography." Notes, index, bibliography of 250 sources. \$4.00

At all bookstores

APPLETON-CENTURY

lates as a "sacred mystery." Human aspiration toward justice acquires its meaning and its direction from this event, and it is thus that Jesus Christ raises the proletariat to his dominant position in our "drama."

"And He Hid Himself" is not a successful play, either in its own behalf or as a dramatization of "Bread and Wine." Much of Silone's feeling for peasant humor and wisdom is present, but not to the degree of the novels. Pietro Spina remains the great creation of love and gentleness that he has always been, but the play does not allow him sufficient scope as a person. Spina's shifting from revolutionary to priest is necessarily presented without modulation, and a good deal of the irony of his position is lost. The scenes of the play are too episodic and static, and the exits and entrances constitute practically all the action that occurs on stage. By far the best scene is Murica's confession, which achieves an intensity nowhere else attained; but it does not come as a true climax, for the resultant action introduces extraneous material by way of the Christian parallel, which is not closely enough related in tone to the rest of the play.

Technical reasons may be the most important for explaining the failure of "And He Hid Himself." But there is also something else involved, which has to do with the ambiguity that is apparent in Silone's conception of drama. Drama, as noted at the outset, pertains, for Silone, both to theater and to general consciousness. "And He Hid Himself" is both a play by itself and a presentation of critical episodes in the growth of a Christian Socialist conscience—the latter being not merely an implicit meaning of the play but an element structurally distinct from it. The success with which the novels join action and conscience is not achieved here.

The play, moreover, has the over-all quality of secular drama. So much of the resolution presupposes a direct response to the underlying Christian theme, and its emotional effect depends to such a large extent on the passion with which the spectator responds to the Passion, that the play as a whole becomes virtually a secular enactment of the Christian drama. Now it is hard to see how there can be a secular form in a time when drama—again used ambiguously, as above—is primarily naturalistic. The distinction we are accustomed to recognize between the sacred and the natural is an exhaustive one for our time, allowing for no middle ground, such as the secular. A secular theater presupposes the existence of a Christian society.

Thus the play, in its own terms, reflects the ambiguity of Silone's religious position. As he has stated in the introduction, Christianity is a heritage for the revolutionist to draw upon. But as Silone's development as an imaginative artist indicates, Christianity is not so much an ethical heritage for him as a living tradition, the symbolism and literal meaning of which are becoming the basic sources of his work. This, I am sure, must present a difficulty to all his

old admirers. The world from which Silone comes as a radical, and whose conscience he now represents more clearly and more personally than any other living writer, insists, as a matter of its own tradition and its own inner necessity, upon a natural morality, and conceives its struggle as neither sacred nor secular but entirely self-sustaining, a drama in which man is the sufficient character. And yet Silone's examination of natural morality and the questions he has put to the revolutionary conscience, asking it precisely how far it has come and how far it is going, remain the most searching that any man has posed in our time.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Language as Behavior

SIGNS, LANGUAGE, AND BEHAVIOR. By Charles Morris. Prentice-Hall. \$5.

WHEREAS the philologist's approach to language starts with the traditional languages and attempts to construct their historical developments, forms of a more general approach to language have grown up in the last decades. One sprang from symbolic logic; it employs a mathematical symbolism that is not restricted to a particular language and thus reveals the logical structure common to all languages. Although originally meant to supply the means for a logical analysis of mathematics—that was, for instance, Bertrand Russell's plan—this form of logic has turned out to be an outstanding instrument, too, for the analysis of conversational language. Another line of approach developed from modern forms of psychology; in particular, behaviorism, including the study of animal behavior, has raised a new interest in language in its most general forms. It is in the nature of such inquiry that emphasis is laid not on language as a formulation of knowledge but on the general features that apply both to human and animal language; language is seen as an instrument of social relations, which can be employed for the purpose of communication as well as for the control of other individuals that have been conditioned to the use of language.

This book by Charles Morris uses the second line of approach. Morris, who is one of the leaders in the philosophical movement of logical empiricism, has concentrated all his research on the study of language; the science of language is called by him *semiotic*, and he undertakes in the present book to lay the foundations of this new science and construct it in its outlines. He first develops a comprehensive vocabulary suitable for handling linguistic situations, whether they consist in the information given to the driver of a car concerning a closed road, or the buzzing of a bell that informs a dog about the availability of food. The terms "language" and "sign," therefore, are taken in their most general meanings: a sign is anything that causes an organism to respond in a way similar to its responses to a certain object stimulus. The sign, therefore, is a representative for an object, in respect to the organism; thus the buzzing of the bell causes the dog to react much as if the food were shown to him. Morris's formulation of this definition of a sign is more precise than our short summary; in fact, it is not easy to avoid the many ambiguities of such

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF GERMANY

by ALVIN JOHNSON and ERNEST HAMBURGER

A factual analysis of Germany's resources and a constructive plan for making Allied economic policy workable

35 cents

Reprinted from Social Research ■ Occasional Paper of the
INSTITUTE OF WORLD AFFAIRS

115 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

terms as "similar reaction." "The science of signs must deal with animals and children and insane persons that cannot report on their behavior, as well as with persons whose reports are often unreliable; so it must start with criteria for the existence of sign processes which are applicable in these cases," writes Morris. He reaches this aim by defining his notation entirely in terms of behavior.

The plan of his inquiry makes Morris a neutral observer of language who refuses to take part in the struggle for a more specific philosophy: "Semiotic will provide the battleground for future philosopher combatants; it cannot name the victor." His neutral position leads Morris to the construction of a classification of discourse. Grouping signs according to the four modes of signifying—the designative, appraisive, prescriptive, and formative modes—Morris combines this division with another one referring to a similar use of language; he thus arrives at sixteen forms of discourse, among which the scientific, the mythical, the poetic, the political, the religious, and the metaphysical may be mentioned. He thus attempts to account for existent diversities in the application of language by deriving all applications from a common schema.

The student of semiotic will welcome these distinctions even if he feels himself compelled to revise them. In a new field of research every first attempt at classification will be subject to later revision. It is the great merit of Morris that he attempts to trace an ordered schema through the wilderness of the applications of language. The analyst of language will be grateful to find a plan of orientation.

A comprehensive work like Morris's book will be a stimulus to all later research in the field; Morris has done pioneer work on a little explored ground, and his results will be of greatest value for further investigations. However, Morris has clear insight also into the social implications of his work. He knows that language, socially speaking, is not only an instrument of progress but also a source of danger; it supplies means of controlling social groups, and its usefulness depends on the way such control is handled. Morris's own words may serve as further explanation on this point:

Through post-hypnotic suggestion an individual can be caused to perform actions suggested to him without realizing the source of his actions, and with the feeling that he is acting as a free agent. The development of the radio, the printing press, and the movies makes possible an enormous extension of influence not essentially different in kind from hypnosis. Great masses of individuals repeat each week what has been digested for their belief, buy things which they approve because they have been shown a pretty girl or a "scientist" using such articles, mechanically repeat actions which they have been assured ought to be performed. . . . Against this exploitation of individual life semiotic can serve as a counter force. . . . If the individual asks himself the kind of sign he encounters, the purpose for which that sign is used, and the evidence of its truth and adequacy, his behavior shifts from automatic responses to critical and intelligent behavior in which he himself acts as a responsible and spontaneous center. He becomes an autonomous human being, neither unduly suspicious nor unduly gullible, a center of life and not a hypnotized animal.

HANS REICHENBACH

Random House Highlights



The Snake Pit

➔ A novel by MARY JANE WARD. The story of a girl who lost her mind—and found it. The book everyone is talking about. "Electrifying."—*Reader's Digest*. "Tremendously exciting. Will dry the mouth and dampen the hands."—*N.Y. Herald Tribune*. A *Book-of-the-Month Club Selection*. Over half a million copies in print. \$2.50

Impresario



➔ By S. HURON, in collaboration with RUTH GOODE. The story of the world's only remaining grand-style showman. Behind the scenes with the brightest stars of the ballet, concert stage and opera. \$3.00

In the First Watch

➔ By WILLIAM McFEE. Salty reminiscences of his years on tramp steamers. "This is McFee at his best."—*Christopher Morley*, *BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB NEWS*. \$3.00

This House Against This House

➔ By VINCENT SHEEAN. His first book in three years—and timed to the minute. "Searching, well-written, and exciting. No one interested in today's news from the Kremlin should miss it."—*Saturday Review*. \$3.50

We Shook the Family Tree

➔ By HILDEGARDE DOLSON. Rollicking recollections of a madcap family in a small town in Pennsylvania. "When you've laughed too much with Hildegarde, you can laugh some more at Robert Day's pictures."—*Saturday Review*. \$2.50

Land



➔ By LIAM O'FLAHERTY. A romantic novel of old Ireland in the rebellious days of Parnell. "A heady brew. O'Flaherty's already stunning ability has matured. He is a novelist first, but also a philosopher and a keen political observer."—*N.Y. Post*. \$2.50

At all bookstores. **Random House**, New York

FICTION IN REVIEW

SOMEWHERE along in the middle of "The Hucksters," by Frederic Wakeman (Rinehart, \$2.50), there is a scene in which Kay Dorrance, in love with Vic Norman, the novel's hero, tries to persuade him to give up his successful distasteful radio career and write a book. "I told you I am not an artist," Vic protests. "I don't feel like an artist. I don't have any position about life that is even slightly artistic." Since Mr. Wakeman has up to now clearly been speaking through this hero, it is ungenerous to suspect him of playing a double game when he has Vic denigrate his artistic potentialities so bluntly. That is, we have no right to accuse Mr. Wakeman of supposing that "The Hucksters" is even slightly artistic. The responsibility for raising his book to the status of a best-seller and submitting it to literary examination rests, it seems to me, elsewhere than with the author himself—chiefly with the Book of the Month Club, which has bestowed on it the literary accolade of its June selection.

And yet if "The Hucksters" is entirely negligible as literature, it is anything but negligible as sociology. An exposé of radio advertising, it may tell us little about the role of commercialism in radio that we could not ourselves conjecture simply by listening to the commercial programs on the air. What it does tell us about radio which we could not easily guess is how big the stakes are and how they are won or lost, the quality of the personal emotions it creates and feeds on, the values by which a Vic Norman publicly lives and privately dies. Both knowingly and unknowingly Mr. Wakeman has compiled a Baedeker to the spirit of modern corruption.

Important Notice to *Nation* Readers

BECAUSE of large increases in production and general overhead costs during the past six years, *The Nation*, like other established journals of opinion, has finally been forced to raise its annual subscription price to \$6, effective July 1, 1946.

► We can assure our readers that this action was delayed as long as possible; that we were obliged either to take this step or to sacrifice the quality of *The Nation*.

► However, with this advance notice of price change we want to extend to *Nation* subscribers the privilege of renewing their current subscription, no matter when it expires, for another year, at the prevailing low rate of \$5.00, provided they send in their remittance before July 1 next.

► That we appreciate the loyalty and interest of our subscribers goes without saying, and we sincerely hope to repay them with a magazine of ever increasing excellence.

And by modern I mean as of the year 1944, which is the period of Mr. Wakeman's story. We make a great mistake if we assume that any social disorder is ever static. A comparison of Mr. Wakeman's report on the radio business with, say, Kaufman and Hart's report on the movie business in 1930, the date of "Once in a Lifetime," shows a distinct increase of both objective horror and subjective fear. There is a passion of contempt in "The Hucksters" which I cannot remember in the Kaufman and Hart play: it makes Mr. Wakeman's book much closer to evangelism than to farce—and I am certain this describes something far more significant than a mere temperamental difference between the author of "The Hucksters" and the authors of "Once in a Lifetime." For a large quantity of troubled water has flowed under the bridge since the days when to be tempted by Hollywood gold was only the good clean fun of being tempted to sell your sanity along with your talents. The sell-out of 1930 was an innocent pastime compared to the sell-out of 1944, when we have had fourteen years in which to learn that if we barter our wits, our souls are likely to be included in the same package. Vic Norman himself has an insight of which his predecessors in the entertainment field would have been incapable. He has perceived that the pressures in our individual lives are not unrelated to the pressures in the world. He begins to glimpse the connection between his terror and degradation and the terror and degradation that are undermining whole nations. His desperate need to find an "out" from the tyranny of the Beute Soap account reproduces, in however paltry terms, the need of large sections of mankind to find freedom: hence the piety and anger that play around Mr. Wakeman's satire.

This is perhaps to take "The Hucksters" on higher ground than it consciously claims. It is to take it, I suppose, on the level of art—and both art and a happy family life are conditions of existence which Mr. Wakeman's hero can scarcely hope for himself; they are beyond his income. When Vic earns \$25,000 a year, plus bonuses, he can afford antique furniture, but he can only dream of owning his heart's desire, an El Greco. Similarly, with \$25,000 a year Vic can afford an affair with Kay Dorrance, but he cannot afford marriage and the support of her and her two children. Indeed, the very merit of Kay lies in her unavailability to a mere \$25,000 hireling—for Kay is not only extremely well-born and as beautiful as Ingrid Bergman, but already the wife, although unsatisfied, of a man of great wealth and distinction and the mother of a pair of children on whose questionable charms Vic puts a high financial as well as human price. In other words, the economic-moral principle on which Vic operates is that unless you are fortunate enough to inherit the gifts of the truly good life you must either sell your soul to acquire them or be denied them forever. Thus is economic reality at odds with idealism.

But it is not alone by the economic necessities that idealism is circumscribed. One has the marked impression from Mr. Wakeman's book of an equation between economic reality and Original Sin. The mere act of earning a living is a falling from grace, and therefore salvation, for most people, is not of this life. I do not mean that Mr. Wakeman actually uses the language of religion. But certainly, psychologically speaking, he lays a sturdy foundation for religion.

For through the whole of "The Hucksters" we are aware of its buried assumption that everything that is attainable is worthless, and that only that which is remote and inaccessible is good and desirable. The book is a treasure-trove of the elements that make up the modern super-ego; and it is to such a source that we must trace, I think, some of the impulse behind our present-day religious revival. While the values of Vic Norman's "real" life are such things as good food and liquor, "sleepable-with" women, \$35 neckties, "21," the Century and the Super Chief, he opposes to them a series of almost platonically ideal values—an abstract ideal of democracy, a self-lacerating ideal of service to one's country, an ideal of "constructive" work (engineering, for example), an absolute of pure love and perfect sex. We study the two catalogues and shudder, of course, for a civilization that can force or even suggest such widely separated alternatives. And we recall the not dissimilar oppositions that foretold Aldous Huxley's open religious commitment.

Naturally, as in the case of Aldous Huxley's heroes, there is a strong subjective factor in the revulsion that Mr. Wakeman's hero feels against his life. It is not only because expensive neckties, fast trains, glamour girls, all the rewards of success, are mean in themselves that Vic Norman comes to scorn them. It is also because they are *his* that they lose their magic. The achievement is no better than the achiever, and who, better than the achiever himself, knows the integrity he has sacrificed to be a success? Whatever he touches must be defiled since he himself is pitch. But how remain undefiled in a world of pitch? In this fashion spins the familiar coin of sentimental cynicism—the one side self-hatred, the other side self-pity. It is the recognizable coin of the half-realm—the realm of half-thinking and half-feeling—of the parasitical professions.

But the point is, of course, that there have always, at all times and in all places, been parasitical professions. The advertising-radio man of today was the adventurer-mountebank of yesterday. Back of every Vic Norman stretches a long line of gentlemen who lived by their wits, making a good if not very peaceful thing out of the gullibility of the general public. The phenomenon is not new to society. What is new is the seriousness with which we and Vic himself now take it, a seriousness for which, obviously, there is sound reason. For if we can no longer laugh at a Vic Norman, it is because there are too many of him and he has too much power. We could make a comic or romantic or picaresque novel out of a river-boat gambler because the river-boat gambler was not forming our society; he was a special instance, at odds with the dominant forces of his culture. But a Vic Norman is neither a special case nor at odds with the dominant influences of his day. He *is* one of the dominant influences of his day. Already he controls important avenues of communication and education, and at the drop of a hat he can control government and our actual physical as well as spiritual fates. (Vic himself was in the OWI, Mr. Wakeman tells us.) To read a book like "The Hucksters," then, as mere amusement—indeed, as anything less than a frightening document of our times—is to fool ourselves that when we are given the radio spectacle, we are given a show for which only the producers pay. Soon enough we shall have to reckon the cost to ourselves.

DIANA TRILLING

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation*

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . \$6.50
You Save \$2.50

☐ with Consumers Union . . \$7.00
You Save \$1.50

☐ with Harper's Magazine
and Consumers Union . \$9.00
You Save \$3.50

☐ with Free World . . . \$7.50
You Save \$1.50

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION by itself: \$5 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra



SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy, but you will make a considerable saving in money over the newsstand price.

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

6-22-46

MOTION PICTURES

Paramount Presents
BARBARA STANWYCK
ROBERT CUMMINGS
DIANA LYNN in
"THE BRIDE WORE BOOTS"
 In Person
GLEN GRAY
 Casa Loma Orchestra
LOUIS JORDAN
 AND HIS FAMOUS TROMBONE FIVE
PARAMOUNT
 TIMES SQUARE
 Midnight
 Feature
 Highly

Manhattan

ALHAMBRA
 COLISEUM
 81st ST.
 86th ST.
 56th ST.
 near Lex.
 HAMILTON
 125th ST.
 REGENT
 RIVERSIDE
 23rd ST.

Bronx

CASTLE HILL
 CHESTER
 FORDHAM
 FRANKLIN
 MARBLE
 HILL
 PELHAM
 ROYAL

Westchester

MT. VERNON
 NEW ROCH.
 WH. PLAINS
 YONKERS

Brooklyn

BUSHWICK
 DYKER
 GREENPOINT
 KENMORE
 MADISON
 ORPHEUM
 PROSPECT
 REPUBLIC
 TILYOU
 Coney Island

Queens

Kath's
 FLUSHING
 Kath's
 RICH. HILL
 STRAND
 Far Rockaway

RKO NOW

"FAST STEPPING THRILLER"

N. Y. Times

SUSAN HAYWARD • PAUL LUKAS
 BILL WILLIAMS

'Deadline at Dawn'

From WILLIAM IRISH'S Novel
 Screen Play by CLIFFORD ODETS

—and—

"Swashbuckling Adventure Story"

—N. Y. Sun

ALEXANDRE DUMAS'

'The Wife of Monte Cristo'

Starring

JOHN LODER • LENORE AUBERT

Extra! LOUIS-CONN FIGHT PICTURES

MOTION PICTURE

EUGENE O'NEILL says:

"The finest picture I have ever seen. I enjoyed it so much I went a second time...and I am going to see it again."

The THEATRE GUILD presents

LAURENCE OLIVIER

in William Shakespeare's

"HENRY V"

IN TECHNICOLOR • Released Thru United Artists

PRICES: Evns. (at 8:30) \$2.40, \$1.80 Mats. daily (at 2:30) \$1.80, \$1.20

ALL SEATS RESERVED

NOW! N. Y. CITY CENTER 131 West 55th St.

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
 THE MUSICAL HIT

CAROUSEL

Music by Book & Lyrics by Directed by
 Richard Rodgers • Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Rouben Mamoulian • Agnes de Mille
 with Harold Keel — Iva Withers
 Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Jean Costa
 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evns. 8:30
 AIR-COND. MAJESTIC Theatre Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
 Music by Book & Lyrics by Directed by
 Richard Rodgers • Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Rouben Mamoulian • Agnes de Mille
 Jack Kilty • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evns. 8:30
 AIR-COND. ST. JAMES Theatre Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A smash hit of enormous proportions." — Ward Morehouse, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
 LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way CH. 4-4256
 Evenings 8:40, Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40. AIR-COND.

LAST WEEKS!

Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
 In JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
 with RICHARD BISHOP • DIANE CHADWICK
 45th Street, West of Broadway, AIR-CONDITIONED.
 Evns. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

"Keeps Audience Roaring." —Hawkins, World-Telegram
 RICHARD RODGERS and OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd Present

ETHEL MERMAN in

"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN"

Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
 with RAY MIDDLETON
 Directed by JOSEPH L. MANKIN

IMPERIAL THEA., 45th St. W. of B'way. Mats. Wed. & Sat. AIR-COND.

CALLING ALL AMERICANS

To aid the citizen away from home in the armed forces and to provide health, welfare and recreation services for the citizen at home, USO and Community Chest of America are asking YOU to contribute.

Give generously and NOW to the USO and your Community Chest.

Buy Your Books through The Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
 THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
THE NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 166

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Bees have them — so do people
- 4 May shelter sheep, but aren't their fleeces
- 7 To the ----, all things are slightly indecent
- 9 Metal clock, or clock metal
- 10 The Phoenicians invented it
- 12 His Fire is famous
- 13 Prow
- 15 Historic Italian beachhead
- 17 Many old ones are paid off
- 18 Pacific island I hit at
- 19 Where many lie deep in their sleep, or something
- 21 Beethoven's one and only opera
- 23 Borotra's erstwhile tennis partner
- 24 An orange grower
- 26 Paper is in short supply, but he still produces it
- 28 Comic character
- 31 One on whose life an annuity depends
- 32 A mark of servitude
- 35 Ground grain
- 36 Satred song
- 37 Elsa is
- 38 Divinely shaped, said Hamlet
- 39 A good sport is a good one
- 40 Scene of two military disasters within seventy years

DOWN

- 1 A novel character
- 2 Flowers or fiddles
- 3 Preliminary, maybe, to the making of a fruit drink or a jam
- 4 Surely the men in it are in hard case?

- 5 Bronzes
- 6 Cloud-Cuckoo-Land?
- 7 Plowman who saw a vision
- 8 A Shakespeare lover
- 11 The science of morals
- 14 I am in a state of bewilderment
- 15 King of the sea beasts?
- 16 It's more like a cracker, really
- 19 A pacifier
- 20 Mountainous (?) hero of Byron's *Siege of Corinth*
- 21 Finery, even if slightly reduced, is still overbright
- 22 In summer there may be ice in them: mostly they are ice
- 25 Mr. Spooner liked his well-boiled
- 27 One having no fixed abode
- 28 Felt
- 29 Birds do it
- 30 Poachers try not to break them
- 33 Round on a mate
- 34 Lugs
- 35 Appearance

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 165

ACROSS:—1 GRAIL; 4 BRAVO; 7 FARO; 9 HANSOM; 10 EAGER; 12 UNIT; 13 OAST; 15 RENACLT; 17 EXETER; 18 EROICA; 19 SOP; 21 PATRIOT; 23 AUSTRIA; 24 YAP; 26 POPGUN; 28 CLINT; 31 BARACHE; 32 SEAR; 35 MAIN; 36 ETUDE; 37 MIRROR; 38 UTES; 39 SET BY; 40 CASTE.

DOWN:—1 GOAT; 2 ANSWER; 3 LUMBAGO; 4 BEETLE; 5 ARGO; 6 OARS; 7 FLUTE; 8 RHINE; 11 EASIER; 14 TIARA; 15 RESIDUE; 16 TRISTLE; 19 STY; 20 PAP; 21 PEPPY; 22 TIPCAT; 23 ANAEMIC; 27 NABERY; 28 CHORES; 29 EWART; 30 TANKERS; 33 EELS; 34 RUST; 35 MOUL.

RESORTS

**JUNE Beckons You to
Camp LOG TAVERN**

FOR A RESTFUL, ZESTFUL VACATION
Tennis • Golf • Riding • Handball
Swimming • Canoeing • Shows • Movies
Concerts • Cozy Bungalows • Delicious Food

Attractively Low June Rates
Write for Booklet "N" or phone N. Y. Office

LOG TAVERN
9 E. 40 St., New York
Lk. 2-8668



Private Beach, Boats, Golf, Outdoor Activities, Fine Food
T. H. Flaum

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

MIDTOWN CHILDRENS CENTER
6 West 71st Street
SUMMER DAY CAMP — AGES 6 TO 14
Swimming, Sports, Outdoor Camping, Arts and Crafts, Rainy Day Activity.
LICENSED ADULT SUPERVISION
Please write or call
Miss ETHEL ABRAMS, Mornings. Schuyler 4-4208

SUMMER CABINS

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults. Swimming, boating, fishing, good food. Private baths. June 27th to September 16th. From \$80.00 weekly double. American plan. Box 77, Munsonville, N. H.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

40 MILE VIEW; one acre garden; six-room house with new cellar; new white paint; freshly plastered walls; 16 miles Tanglewood; electricity; well. Asking \$3,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, Chatham, N. Y.

ROOM FOR RENT

FURNISHED ROOM in Boro Park, Brooklyn, plus finished basement for work or play. Single man preferred. Box 1624, c/o The Nation.

AUTO TOUR WANTED

GENTLEMAN would make liberal arrangement with car owner for leisurely tour, preferably across Canada. Box 1625, c/o The Nation.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.40 per carton, postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

GUIDANCE

DEPENDABLE evaluation of character, personality, aptitudes and counseling for career, education, human relations. By appointment or by mail. For information write Alfred Reiss, Ph.D., 68 Fort Washington Avenue, New York 33.

BUY WAR BONDS

RESORTS

50 MILES to FOREST HOUSE



Your vacation will be truly an unforgettable one, in this gay resort-paradise. Forest House achieves new levels of relaxation, rest and happiness. Superb food, fine quarters, congenial hospitality. 2 grand lakes, all sports.


FOREST HOUSE
LAKE MANOPAC, N. Y. TEL. MANOPAC 688

ROSS COUNTRY CLUB
MONROE, New York

A PALATIAL ESTATE
In a setting of Scenic Splendor
Special Summer Family Rates
COUNSELOR SUPERVISION
FOR CHILDREN
ALL SPORTS—DANCING
EXCELLENT CUISINE

N. Y. Phone MU 4-3885 — Monroe 8161
Location: 5 miles above Monroe, RI 206

Only 50 miles from New York




BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.

35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY
"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"

The enjoyment of all nearby resorts, exclusive location. Luxuriously furnished. Dined. All sport activities. Excellent cuisine.

OPEN ALL YEAR Phone Armonk Village 955

ALL ABOARD



For our 40 acre private lake where you swim in cool, clear waters, fish for pleasure or just relax in one of our grand canoe boats and drift aimlessly with the breeze.

SOUTH WIND
P. O. Box 38 Woodbourne, N. Y.

All Sports—four fast clay tennis courts
Make reservations now for the 4th of July week-end

KINAPIC LODGE
LOVELL VILLAGE MAINE

On LAKE KEZAR, one of America's most beautiful lakes

Cabin on the lake, American plan, informal, for adults and family groups. Water sports, golf, fine lake and stream fishing. Excellent Hungarian cuisine. Attractive rates. Open June 1 to Oct. 15. Reserve now. Booklet by Mail, or Phone Lovell: 7 ring 12 A

An Invitation to carefree vacation. We take pride in announcing the opening of

DEUEL HOLLOW HOUSE

In beautiful, historic Dutchess County, 70 miles from New York. Delicious food served on terrace overlooking our private lake, tennis, handball, swimming. Recreation in antique Quaker hall. A completely informal atmosphere.

DEUEL HOLLOW HOUSE
Wingdale, N. Y. Phone 2588

CASA MANOR
On Beautiful LAKE COSSAYUNA
COSSAYUNA, NEW YORK

Only 33 miles from famed Saratoga. 50-guest limits to preserve comfortable, restful, informal atmosphere. Excellent cuisine. Swimming, boating, fishing, table tennis, etc. From July First. Write or call.

JACOB M. OLSANSKY
93 State Street, Albany, New York, Phone: 5-0363

RESORTS

MAIDS SUMMER-RAY

North Branch Sullivan County, N. Y.
Telephone: Callicoon 95 or 148

MUSIC, DRAMA, DANCE, SPORTS,
ARTS AND CRAFTS, LAKE,
ORCHESTRA, LIQUOR BAR

Gala Festivities for July 4

For travel information and rates, call City Office:
Daily, O'Rchard 4-0970 • Sunday, PResident 4-6280

Indian Lake Lodge
In the Heart of the Adirondacks

INDIAN LAKE, N. Y.
New York City Phone UN 3-0330
TEN MILE LONG LAKE

A backdrop of 3,500 foot mountain ranges, a hundred acres of lawn and woodland. Scenic beauty plus all water sports, tennis, hiking, informal atmosphere, good food and comfortable quarters are yours from June 15th to September 15th.

HERMAN SCHWARTZMAN, Program Director

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgfield, Conn. • Phone 888

A resort of distinction fashioned from a country estate. Water sports, hiking trails, tennis, library, open fireplace. Congenial atmosphere. Famous cuisine.

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477
Delightful...Boating and swimming in our private lake.
Different...The colonial atmosphere.
Delicious...Our unexcelled cuisine.
Diverging...Recordings for listening & dancing.
All this only 53 miles from New York City
A Resort for Adults Only

LAKE VIEW LODGE
BOLTON LANDING on Lake George, N. Y.

A beautiful, secluded spot for a quiet, relaxing vacation. Intimate, informal. Near all sports, including golf—tennis—boating—riding—fishing. Newly furnished—modern appointments. Excellent home cooking and baking.

For Free Illustrated Folder write F. MARTIN, Mgr. at above address

BYRAM LODGE

ARMONK, N. Y. Tel. Armonk Vill. 906

Only 33 miles from N. Y. C. in Westchester. Completely remodeled, all conveniences, new furnishings. Beautyrest, mattresses, all sports, bowling.

Rates \$60 weekly; \$10 daily. American Plan.
American-Jewish Cuisine

N. Y. Office 11 West 42nd Street PE 6-3243

WESTERN VIEW FARM
27th SEASON

Fourth of July, 4 days, \$40. per person
Weekly rates, \$70. per person
Two-day week-ends, \$24. per person

TED OHMER
NEW MILFORD CONNECTICUT
Telephone New Milford 440

RESORTS


SARLOW FARM
Sherman CONN.
R. F. D. 1



Tel.: New Milford 756-J3

Open under new management—newly remodeled, all conveniences. Swimming, Tennis, other games on premises. All year around accommodations. For your vacation in the Berkshires, write or phone for information.

WOODS BETTER ON LEVEL ADULT



THE OAKS

INTIMATE TRULY FINE COCKTAIL PARTIES
DANCE & ENTERTAINMENT SPORTS
BOULETS 10 MILES FROM N. Y.
5 MINUTES FROM: BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
WASH. TRAIL 100 LONG BRANCH 2433

Twin Pines

An ADIRONDACK Adult Camp; Complete — Modern
Tennis and handball courts; swimming, boating, etc. Hotel comforts — camp informality. All rooms for 2.

Vacancies:
June and from August 24
TWIN PINES
Joseph Saldel, Manager
on Trout Lake P. O. Lake George, N. Y.

SCHROON Crest

"In the Adirondacks" Pottersville, N. Y.
SPECIAL RATES UNTIL July 7th
Private Beach, Canoes, Boating, All Sports, Recordings, Playhouse, Bar, Dancing Nightly, Jules Adolphe & His Group, Harry Alshin & Orchestra. Excellent Cuisine • Make Reservations Early
N. Y. City Off. • PHONE, MAIn 4-8570
LEAH OKUN • IRV. SCHOENBERG, Mgr.
An Adult Resort — On SCHROON LAKE

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.

FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; ten tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, slinky croquet ping pong, square dancing.

\$45 and \$50 weekly. OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the beautiful 500-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces and private porches. Winding Mountain Trails. Delicious food. Easy Transportation.

Attractive Rates • Make reservations now
For reservations or further information write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 299

KUTAY'S LODGE
ACCORD, ULSTER COUNTY, N. Y.

Telephone: Kerhonkson 8014M

Informal Adult Resort
Moderate Rates • Jewish-American meals

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 29, 1946

NUMBER 26

The Shape of Things

DISORDER IN PALESTINE IS AN AFTERMATH of the British Cabinet's unforgivable stupidity. A great chance has been muffed. The Anglo-American Commission's report provided an immediate sanctuary for 100,000 Jews from Europe and outlined a long-term program which, under adequate supervision, would have provided a reasonable and peaceful solution of the Palestine problem. Acceptance by the British Labor government, pledged before taking office to just such a plan, would have changed the whole political climate in the Near East. It would have enlisted the cooperation of Jewish patriots in Palestine now engaged in activities to facilitate illegal immigration and weakened the prestige of the extremists. It would have secured the active support of the American government which quickly indicated its approval of the report. But instead the chances of a decent solution were squandered. Attlee's statement calling for the disbanding of all Jewish armed forces as a condition to acceptance, Bevin's crassly irresponsible Bournemouth speech, the policy of Britain's armed forces in Palestine, have burned up the good will needed for a peaceful settlement. Meanwhile, the Arab League leaders—always quick to exploit the dilly-dallying of British governments—have recovered from their confusion, imported the pro-Nazi Mufti, and showed signs of violent resistance to any attempt to admit more Jews. There is no time to be lost if a great tragedy is to be avoided. The joint sessions now taking place in London between the British government and President Truman's committee on Palestine must come out with a firm statement putting into effect the main proposals of the report. At this stage, the need is not for more divisions of British troops but an end to equivocation.

✱

THE GROMYKO VETO WAS A SERIOUS BLOW not only to the cause of the Spanish Republic but to the hopes of those who felt that the Security Council might give leadership in the cause of world security and justice. The report of the subcommittee presented by Foreign Minister Evatt of Australia was admittedly a compromise between the insistence of the Polish delegate for immediate sanctions and the milk-and-water attitude of the British and Americans. We ourselves favored the Polish proposal but felt that Evatt offered a plan which could

secure the widest possible acceptance by the Security Council and point the way to effective action by the member nations of the General Assembly. Already the subcommittee's report had caused serious distress in Franco circles. Its adoption would have brought increasing public pressure in all the democratic nations of the world to end this fascist menace. What is most tragic is the indication that the Gromyko turn-down was due not so much to his chagrin over the mildness of the measures proposed as to the insistence of his government that the authority of the Assembly be not strengthened. The supplementary statements of the French delegate and Mr. Evatt reassured the Polish delegate that the proposed action in no way disparaged the authority of the Council. It is a pity, considering the issue at stake, that the Soviet delegate did not see fit to follow Mr. Lange's example and support the proposal. What is quite clear is that the issue must not be dropped. It must in some way be placed on the agenda of the Assembly if the Security Council takes no action. Franco's extra lease on life must not be prolonged.

✱

WHILE FIGHTING IN CHINA SEEMS TO HAVE subsided to some extent, difficulty is being encountered in making the painfully negotiated truce agreements effective. Last week arrangements were made to send eight truce-observance teams to Manchuria but, when the first one arrived at Harbin, General Lin, the Communist commander there, barred it from Communist territory and compelled its return. The Communist attitude, apparently, is that no entry of observers or correspondents can be permitted until an over-all settlement has been reached. Negotiations to this end, however, have been making slow progress. Flushed with its recent successes in Manchuria, the Kuomintang is not only demanding additional territory in the northeastern provinces but asking that the Communists yield a number of strongholds in North China and the Shantung coast. While General Marshall's skill in resolving past difficulties would seem to promise that a new basis for compromise can be found, recent Communist criticism of American aid to the Kuomintang is a warning that he can be helpful only if the United States maintains strict impartiality. It cannot be denied that lend-lease equipment and American planes and ships have been used to

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	769
The Soviet Dilemma	771
Hunger Still Undeclared	772
Progress in Paris	773

ARTICLES

Counter-Attack in Washington by Tris Coffin	774
The Western Catholic Bloc by J. Alvarez del Vayo	775
What Are Stassen's Chances? by Milburn P. Akers	777
Revolution in Denver by Roscoe Fleming	780
Inside German Politics. II The Western Social Democrats by Saul K. Padover	781
In the Wind	783
Small-Town America. III Montecarlo, Tennessee by Alden Stevens	784
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	785

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

A Classic Book on Hungary by Charles A. Davila	786
Briefer Comment	787
Fiction in Review by Diana Trilling	788
Art by Clement Greenberg	792
Records by B. H. Haggin	793

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

794

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 167

by Jack Barrett	795
-----------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting, Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1970, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 819 Kellogg Building, Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

aid the Kuomintang against the Communists. A large part of the responsibility for this rests with former Ambassador Hurley, whose policies have been officially repudiated. But American ships have continued to ferry Kuomintang troops into the troubled areas of Manchuria, and American troops have apparently cooperated closely with the Kuomintang in Tsingtao and other points threatened by the Communists. These past sins may be atoned for if Congress quickly passes the bill authorizing American aid in modernizing the Chinese army. For the plan calls for training the Communist as well as the Kuomintang divisions in the new forces and for a general demobilization of China's huge armies, a step which would permanently remove the threat of civil war.

✱

REPORTS THAT THE SELLERS' MARKET HAS reached its peak and that a buyers' strike is gathering force should, we feel, be viewed with some skepticism. It may be true that "sucker money" is a little less in evidence: night-club receipts are said to have slumped, smaller sums are being ventured on the horses, and Mike Jacobs overreached himself in pricing seats for the Louis-Conn fight. The competition to obtain certain kinds of merchandise now coming on to the market in quantity—cheap radios are an example—has also subsided. But on the whole buyers seem as eager, and as frequently disappointed, as ever. It was the *Wall Street Journal*, as far as we can ascertain, that started all the talk with a survey of department stores in eleven key cities published on June 3. On examination, the evidence it brought forward appears pretty unimpressive when set against statistics of retail sales—39 per cent above a year ago, according to *Business Week*. The survey made a useful text for a *Wall Street Journal* editorial, the gist of which was that the consumer could take care of himself all right if only the government would stop fussing about his welfare and drop all that OPA nonsense. It is this suggestion that buyers' resistance will be sufficient to prevent prices from getting out of hand if ceilings are abolished that makes us smell a rat in stories of a pending buyers' strike. Actually, there is much stronger proof of a continuing sellers' strike; and why not when producers and sellers of goods know that after July 1 the OPA is likely to be dead or seriously crippled. If their hopes are fulfilled, we shall then see prices jumping and probably a scramble by consumers in anticipation of further jumps. Only later, as the inventories begin to swell, will buyers rebel in a way likely to deflate not merely business greed but our whole economy.

✱

SENATE-HOUSE CONFEREES HAVE AT LAST reached a compromise by which the Selective Service law will be extended for nine months from July 1, with eighteen-year-olds exempted from draft calls. The Senate had voted to revert to the induction of teen-agers, at

present suspended, while the House wished to exempt them altogether and provide a moratorium on all inductions until October 1. This would have meant gambling on voluntary enlistments to keep up the minimum strength of the occupation forces in Germany and Japan, or holding in service men now due for discharge. Even without the moratorium the House bill would have limited the draft to those men between twenty and thirty who had been previously exempted for reasons other than ill health, which would have produced a very thin stream of recruits. But it is an election year and the Representatives were under strong pressure from parents who wanted to protect their young sons from being exposed to the life of drinking, immorality, and black-marketeering, which our occupation troops, according to reports, are leading. In so far as the army has done less than it might to correct these conditions, it has itself to blame for the balking of its recruitment plans. But of course it might argue that the opportunities for hell-raising in foreign parts help to attract volunteers. Added to the new pay scale on which the Senate-House conferees agreed—\$75 a month for privates—the much-advertised “pleasures” of occupation may prove a powerful inducement to men of a certain type. Whether the employment of such men will assist the avowed aims of our occupations or add to American prestige abroad is another matter, to which neither the army nor Congress has given the thought it deserves.

✱

IF ANY OF YOU READERS ARE THE STUFFY sort who consider a prize fight no proper concern of America's Leading Liberal Weekly, you had better skip to the next editorial because in this one we intend to pass a few pertinent remarks about the Louis-Conn fracas up at Yankee Stadium last week. Being Louis fans from way back, and not having been among the unfortunates who shelled out an average of \$40 apiece to witness a rather tepid exhibition of the manly art, we find ourselves in a position to express unqualified delight over the outcome. If ever there was a champion in any field of sport who deserved to retire undefeated, that one is Joe Louis. He not only has a pile-driving right that few boxers have ever equaled; he also has a record of sportsmanship that few professional athletes of any kind have ever equaled. The respect he has earned with his fists and the simple dignity with which he has carried it have done as much as anything in recent years to chip down a little further the walls of race prejudice. Probably the majority of the fans at Yankee Stadium were pulling for Billy Conn, the under-dog, the kid from Pittsburgh's East Liberty district who was shooting for the moon; but the ovation that same crowd gave Louis rang with sincerity, not partisanship. The line about Joe's being a credit to his race has become a tattered and patronizing cliché during his nine years as champion, but Jimmy Cannon, New York *Post* sports columnist, has switched

a fresh meaning into it. “Louis is accepted as a symbol of decency in sport,” Cannon wrote on the eve of the fight, “When I talked to him today I feel as I always do. That he is a credit to his race. Naturally, I mean the human race.”

The Soviet Dilemma

THE Gromyko proposal for atomic control is a bold attempt to escape the dilemma faced by a great power harboring a permanent—and probably increasing—suspicion of the designs of the Western nations. For the Soviet Union is unable to decide whether to place its trust in its own resources, its vast land areas, its great industrial potential, its scientific genius, its great army, its vassal states, or to rely upon the increasing authority of an international organization planned so as to give the maximum security to its member nations.

In terms of political and military strategy the atomic bomb is the one agent that places Russia temporarily at a disadvantage as over against the Western powers. It is not that the Russians have any immediate fears that it would be used in a preventive war; American opinion would not permit such action. It is rather that as long as American monopoly of the bomb exists, as long as bombs are being manufactured and atomic research is advancing, Russian cannot rely for its security upon its own resources. We should feel the same way if the positions were reversed and probably insist, as Gromyko insists, that a cessation of bomb manufacture and the destruction of existing bombs follow soon after an international agreement is reached barring their use in war. If, as the Baruch report is generally interpreted to mean, we keep right on making bombs until we are convinced the U. N. inspection system and controls are fully operative, then we are in effect, as Walter Lippmann and the *Daily Worker* have pointed out, holding a veto club over the Atomic Energy Commission to get *our* plan adopted.

Gromyko is therefore standing squarely in the Litvinov tradition when he insists that if we mean what we say about peace and security, we had better get rid of the weapons that will blast us sky-high, and definitely outlaw their use in any future war. But he quickly retires to what has become the fixed isolationist position of the Soviets when he goes on to discuss methods to insure that the treaty be observed. Whereas Litvinov came out embarrassingly for an air-tight, hole-proof collective-security system, Gromyko would rely upon national legislation of the contracting states to ban the manufacture and use of atomic weapons. The substitute for a supreme atomic authority as demanded in the Baruch proposal, with powers to control all atomic-energy development, carry out any inspection deemed necessary, conduct surveys to locate the existing supplies of uranium and thorium, and apply sanctions against a violation, would

apparently be two subcommittees whose recommendations would be subject to the usual veto. While the Russian proposal was probably prepared with no reference to the American, its specific insistence that "efforts to undermine the unanimity of the members of the Security Council are incompatible with the interests of the United Nations" is a direct answer to Baruch's insistence that the veto power must not apply in this field.

On this point it is fair to ask the U. S. S. R. to look at the international scene from the standpoint of the American Congress. If the United States is to divest itself of the monopoly of what today is a winning weapon and pass over the secret of its manufacture to an international body, it has a right and an obligation to insist that the international body in question be given sufficient authority to guarantee the security of the United States and all nations against possible aggression by any power which may—and in time is likely to—develop atomic weapons if left to its own devices. *In the modern world national armaments and national sovereignty give no guaranty of security—period.* It will be hard enough to persuade a Congress busily upping military appropriations, voting hundreds of millions for atomic research, and substituting military for civilian control of atomic development to pass over all our knowhow to a qualified international body. It will be impossible if such a body possesses only nominal powers.

We have a right to ask that Russia recognize this fact, in the interests of world security, in the interests of Russia's own security. The two reports provide the basis for a satisfactory and workable scheme of atomic-energy control which will not only insure us against devastating war but which, to quote the Soviet proposal, will render possible the release of atomic energy for peaceful uses "for the improvement of the conditions of life of the peoples of the whole world, the raising of their standard of welfare, and the further progress of human culture." The main obstacle to this consummation is isolationist nationalism, whether of American or Soviet variety.

Hunger Still Undeclared

SCRAPING the bottom of the grain bins, we have just managed to fulfil our export obligations in the crop year ending June 30. By July 10, the Department of Agriculture reports, the whole of the 5,500,000 tons of wheat promised during the first six months of 1946 will have been cleared for shipment. However, self-congratulations on this success should be tempered by consideration of the means through which it was achieved—means costly both in money and in economic disruption.

Nine months of the crop year had almost gone when Washington awoke to the fact that wheat, which should have been reserved for human consumption, was disappearing at a phenomenal rate into the feed troughs.

An American livestock population of record magnitude was competing with hungry Europe and Asia, thanks partly to the premature ending of meat rationing and partly to the fact that the ratio between grain and meat ceilings had been so fixed that there was every inducement to farmers to turn wheat into meat. The crisis was met by drastic set-aside orders, which disrupted distribution of grain products, and by the offer of a high premium to entice wheat from storage. These measures brought out the necessary grain, but they disgruntled those farmers who had heeded earlier appeals to sell and encouraged growers to hold on to the new crop in the hope of a higher price. Moreover, they involved a sharp reduction in the carry-over, which, it is estimated, will be no more than 80,000,000 bushels on June 30; 150,000,000 is generally regarded as the minimum required to keep the pipe lines from farm to kitchen filled.

Much of the dislocation, evidence of which is now provided in bread queues, might have been avoided if rationing and other controls had not been dropped so precipitously last fall and if a carefully planned program for allocation of supplies had been adopted. It is claimed, of course, that the extent of foreign need was not then foreseen, but while it is true that droughts in important producing areas aggravated the situation, the facts available nine months ago should have made it plain that near famine conditions were inevitable.

However, our object now is not to indulge in recriminations but to combat suggestions that the food crisis is over with the advent of the new harvest. It will be several months yet before it is known to what extent Europe will be self-supporting in 1946-47. Crop reports from some areas are encouraging, but in others weather conditions have been very unfavorable. And almost everywhere lack of fertilizer is producing subnormal yields. There seems little hope that the situation in India, where rations have fallen below 1,000 calories a day, will improve perceptibly for another year.

In this country another bumper crop, which may fall little short of last year's record, is being reaped. The Department of Agriculture, however, points out that the total supply will be less owing to the reduction in carry-over, and declares that not more than 250,000,000 bushels will be available for foreign countries compared with actual exports in 1945-46 of 400,000,000. The department also estimates world wheat needs at practically the same amount as in the year just ending. It is clear, therefore, that unless other exporting nations can increase their shipments, hunger will be intensified rather than diminished next winter.

Even the reduced export program forecast is threatened by the provisions in the OPA bill removing price ceilings on meat, eggs, and dairy products. It is generally agreed that if the bill becomes law, prices of these commodities will rise steeply, thus inducing a further diversion of grain to animal feeding. Alarmed by the possi-

bility, the State Department has joined with Mr. Bowles in urging Congress to remove this provision from the bill. Assistant Secretary of State Clayton even telephoned Herbert Hoover in Rio de Janeiro seeking his support. Evidently he thought he had secured it, but Mr. Hoover, on returning to this country, denied he had talked to anyone about the OPA bill. "In any event," he added piously, "the problems I have to deal with must not be mixed up with legislative quarrels." But by not speaking out against this iniquitous bill the ex-President is making certain that these problems will be still harder to solve. Like the majority of Congress, the "Great Humanitarian" appears to be playing politics with the standard of living of the American people and the empty stomachs of the world at large.

Progress in Paris

Paris, June 24

ALTHOUGH the crucial issue of Trieste was again put off, the first week of the second conference of the Foreign Ministers ended yesterday in a lighter atmosphere. Certain successes had been obtained in the six days of discussion, among them the agreement on the evacuation of Italy by the British and Americans and of Bulgaria by the Russians ninety days after the signature of the peace treaties. But it was especially the agreement reached on Thursday over the Italian colonies which put an end to the deadlock in which the Foreign Ministers had found themselves since May. It was only an agreement on postponement, and yet the mere fact that the four were ready to accept the separation of colonial problems from the main body of the treaty brightened the chances of further understanding.

Of course the Italians do not like it; the first reaction of the Rome press is very bitter, with headlines like this: "Fascism Gave Us a Pact of Steel; the Four Give Us a Steel Noose." But a cooler analysis will show them that it is not such a terrible blow. Colonies are very often more a question of prestige than of national advantage, and Italians should not forget that before the war their empire cost them a deficit of 250,000,000 lire. The decision adopted in Paris even leaves open, at least in theory, the possibility that if after one year the entire affair is turned over to the U. N. the Italians might administer their former colonies under U. N. surveillance.

On the question of reparations it was easy to perceive a more favorable disposition toward Italy on the part of the Russians. In itself, the \$300,000,000 Russia is asking for Greece, Yugoslavia, Abyssinia, and itself is not a fantastic figure. But Italy is very hard-pressed, and its industries have suffered heavily from a war waged for twenty months on Italian soil. The Russians are now taking these circumstances into consideration. The proclamation of the republic has given them a good opportunity to show a greater generosity. Indeed, as some London

papers have noted ironically, the Moscow press has begun to present the Soviet delegation as Italy's "defender" against the "excessive and enslaving" demands made on it by Britain and America and also as a champion of Italy's sovereignty and feeling of national self-esteem. But that only proves Russian diplomacy more agile than, let us say, British and American diplomacy in Spain.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that last month in his statement to the Soviet press Molotov said that Italy and the Soviet Union, if they were left to themselves, could easily settle the reparations question. The proclamation of the republic might mark the moment for a commercial rapprochement—Russia providing Italy with coal, wheat, and oil and in return placing big orders with Italian industry.

But while the questions of colonies and reparations are on the way to settlement, there remains Trieste. It is a problem full of political implications going far beyond the well-known desire of the Russians to give satisfaction to the Yugoslav government of Tito and the Anglo-French-American desire to fix an ethnic line that will not be unfair to the Italians. Inside Trieste itself, leaving aside all the conflicting big-power interests, there is enough uranium accumulated by years of Italian-Yugoslav rivalry to blow up any conference.

The only solution lies in the direction of internationalizing not only the port and city of Trieste but a still larger area, a thought that has been in the minds of the Foreign Ministers during the last week. Naturally, this solution would satisfy neither Italians nor Yugoslavs, but it would neutralize much explosive material and remove from the international scene one of the most troublesome spots. Should Trieste simply be handed over to the Italians, as originally the British and American delegations wanted, the temptation for the Yugoslavs to take the city by force as soon as the British and American troops left Italy could become irresistible—a new coup like D'Annunzio's in Fiume, but with much graver consequences.

Bidault's plan provides for, first, internationalization of port, town, and immediate neighborhood; second, a ten-year term for the international regime; third, at the end of this period a plebiscite among the local population, on the basis of which the four powers would decide whether Trieste was to go to Italy or Yugoslavia. The question of the exact regime for the international zone of Trieste would be left to the deputies with instructions to work out details before the Peace Conference opens.

The decision to meet twice daily this week justifies the hope that by Friday the five treaties will be acceptable to the Foreign Ministers and that the Peace Conference may be summoned for next month. This optimism was reflected in the words with which Secretary Byrnes last Saturday pressed for the calling of the conference. He said that the council had made progress and an agreement was closer. Among the Russians I found the same spirit of confidence.

A. DEL V.

Counter-Attack in Washington

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting Company

Washington, June 21

FOR days now both sides have been drawing up their heavy guns for the decisive battle on price control. Last-minute efforts to obtain an armistice have failed. The enemies of price control have dug in behind the bills passed by both the Senate and House. They are in daily communication with the fourteen men locked up in the Capitol to work out a bill. Of these fourteen committee members only four are aggressively and defiantly against weakening amendments. They are Senators Wagner and Downey and Representatives Spence and Barry.

Senator Barkley, the chairman, has one major concern—to produce a compromise bill that will not be savagely clawed by either side. He wants to get Congress off the hot seat of controversy by sending to the White House a bill that eliminates the most obviously crippling amendments. Barkley has earnestly advised President Truman not to use his veto power but to accept what comes out of the conference committee as the best possible solution.

Senator Taft leads a majority of committee members who want to keep just enough controls to avoid a rapid price zoom and the loud howls from the public that would surely follow.

Chester Bowles, the Economic Stabilization Director, has been lining up his forces for a counter-attack with boyish enthusiasm. His strategy has been to keep solid, heavy pressure on Congress and the White House. To this end he first rounded up every bit of support in Washington. The State Department was pulled in, and Acting Secretary Acheson told reporters that Senate amendments might destroy the relief-feeding program. Assistant Secretary Clayton, a Southerner with a lot of influence on Capitol Hill, was set to work. With Acheson he hammered at the amendment removing ceilings on meat, livestock, poultry, and dairy products and at the one diverting grain earmarked for world famine relief to dairy cattle and poultry in this country. The Department of Agriculture backed up Acheson and Clayton with statistics. Secretary of Commerce Wallace said there would be a "rocky future" for American business if "we let down our guard against inflation." Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach followed with: "Labor is entitled to assurance that the value of its earnings will not be reduced by continuous rises in the cost of food, rents, and clothing." W. W. Wirtz, chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board, said it would be necessary to

change the government's four-months-old wage policy before the end of July if price controls were abolished.

All these statements were intended as pressure not only on the conference committee but on President Truman as well. For the second point of the Bowles strategy was to get the White House to veto any weak price-control bill with a strong message, and force Congress into passing a joint resolution extending the existing law for several months.

The third step in the save-price-control campaign was to throw sops to the enemy by approving numerous price increases and de-control regulations. The OPA press room today is filled with mimeographed sheets of increases on everything from frozen sheep glands to high-chairs. These concessions also dramatize the danger of inflation by showing housewives how quickly prices can go up.

Bowles next sought to work out an agreement with the big union chiefs that there would be no strikes if the price line were held. The labor men were frankly skeptical of Bowles's success but met with him for the moral effect.

With Congress showing signs of closing some of the larger gaps in the anti-inflation line, Bowles held a press conference last Thursday. He used bold words: "The greatest danger at the moment lies in the fact that public attention has been so distracted by the obviously bad amendments that equally dangerous ones may go unnoticed. . . . These are booby-trap amendments. They look innocent enough, even desirable, unless they are studied closely. But in each case they would have but one clear result—to assure substantial and unnecessary increases in the prices Americans will have to pay after July 1." He read the riot act in specific detail on all the crippling amendments. He advocated a "firm and unequivocal veto by the President." As a parting shot in the printed statement, he said, "The road to inflation has always been paved with compromises. . . . In this case the cost of every compromise would come out of the savings and earnings of the 140,000,000 Americans."

In an easy flow of questions and answers Bowles outlined his philosophy. He said with a wistful smile, "The repercussions to a big rise in the cost of living would be dangerous. There would be a big rift in the country. Everyone would be searching for goats to blame. All this would be piled on top of all our other problems. We need our unity too badly now to risk the effects of inflation. I somehow think the end of price control would set us back more emotionally and politically than econom-

ically. That's why I'm so terrifically concerned about this." Would he resign? The answer, pleasantly iffy, made it pretty clear he would if Congress knocked out the legislative props from economic controls. They were almost the last bulwark against a rising cost of living.

President Truman and his advisers, John Snyder and John Steelman, make no secret of their irritation with Bowles. They share the small-town hope that if you just let things alone, everything will come out all right. Chester Bowles does not believe in letting things alone.

The Western Catholic Bloc

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, June 15

ON ASCENSION DAY Pope Pius XII, casting aside all pretense of neutrality, entered the battle against a Socialist Europe. I read every word of his memorable address; it is without doubt one of the most important documents of recent years. Although *The Nation* had anticipated that the Vatican would play a decisive role in preventing a people's peace—readers will recall with what insistence we returned to this subject time after time in the Political War Section—it was hard to believe that its intervention would come so quickly and so openly. The task called for a personality of unusual strength. After all, for several years the Vatican had had good reason to stay prudently in the background. Its moral authority was at low ebb. Its war record had been pitiful. It had followed the triumphal chariot of fascism until the German armies were stopped in Russia and the Anglo-Saxon democracies had mobilized the tremendous resources of their industrial power, which were later to assure the success of the European invasion. Many sincere Catholics were heartbroken by a capitulation of the Holy See which sealed the Pope's lips at the very moment when the duty of every spiritual leader was to condemn the Nazi atrocities and to denounce the Antichrist. Pope Pius had adopted an attitude of restraint contradicted only by an occasional indiscretion such as his famous Christmas message of 1944, in which he expressed "praise and gratitude for the generosity of the head of the state, the government, and the people of Spain," and for Rumania, Slovakia, and Hungary, all puppet governments in the service of Hitler.

On the whole, these were years in which the Pope said as little as possible. Then, three days before the French and Italian elections, he emerged from his long silence, speaking out in bold, clear tones. Too much was at stake: an absolute Socialist-Communist majority in France and a victory for the republic in Italy might ruin reaction's chances of a come-back. Encouraged by the failure of the Foreign Ministers' conference in Paris, by Churchill's recent speeches, by the growing wave of anti-Russian feeling in the United States, Pius XII

assumed command of all the reactionary forces which some people naively believed had gone down to everlasting defeat on V-E Day.

Thus the Catholic church has returned to the political struggle with the same aggressiveness it displayed in the last century—in 1830, 1848, and 1871, when the cause of the Pope-King fused with the cause of the other sovereigns of Europe who saw their thrones endangered. At the first sign of real estrangement between the West and the East the Vatican has resuscitated the idea of a Western Catholic bloc. When it was first discussed during the war, the necessity of keeping the Russian armies in the fight made the chancelleries adopt a somewhat indifferent attitude toward the suggestion of a Catholic combination that would have included the France of Pétain or Giraud (the latter's election as a deputy on the P. R. L. ticket makes it clear that there would have been little difference between the two), Franco Spain, Belgium, Italy, and the more fascist-minded republics of Latin America. Now, at least for the time being, the plan has been limited to Europe. But this in no way limits the ambitious ultimate goal, as certain French Catholic publications reveal: an article in *Témoignage Chrétien* declares that with its success in the elections the M. R. P. "takes its place in a general movement that affects all of Europe" and heralds the victory of "total Catholicism."

At the moment of liberation the Vatican believed that Europe was lost. A sweeping reorientation of its policy toward the Western Hemisphere, toward the thirty million Catholics of the United States and Canada and the millions more in the lands south from Mexico to Patagonia, culminated in the creation of "the American cardinals" with Francis Spellman at their head. But as relations between the Anglo-Saxons and the Russians worsened, and the British Labor government, whose rise to power had increased the panic in Rome, continued the Tory policy of backing the monarchy in Italy and Greece, and showed itself to be in no hurry to get rid of Franco, the Holy See soon became convinced that its fears were groundless. Europe could still be saved by building a West Wall against Russian infiltration, like the old wall of Pilsudski's Poland but this time



Bidault Gay Schumann
Courtesy Franc-Tireur (Paris)

Toward Anschluss

more solidly constructed and buttressed by two such strong powers as Great Britain and the United States.

The important thing was not to make any tactical mistakes at the outset. The left was too powerful to be provoked by Vatican support of openly fascist political formations; the aspirations of the masses for greater social equality and economic democracy would have to be taken into consideration. Obviously neither the P. R. L. in France nor the *Qualunquisti* in Italy could be used for the first assault; their methods and big-business ties were too reminiscent of the old fascist organizations. What the church needed was a more heterogeneous party, one calculated to confuse the people, having two wings that could foray both on the left and the right and, above all, draw votes away from the Marxist parties—in short, an organization that would sound progressive without being progressive, or at least not dangerously so. The name of the Christian Democrats in Italy was ideal; and the popular ring of the M. R. P., the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire*, also had its advantages.

The error of the French Gallup poll, which predicted an increase in the vote of the *Parti Républicain de la Liberté* at the expense of the M. R. P., stemmed from its failure to take into account the fact that a month earlier the Vatican had come out in favor of the M. R. P. Until this counter-order arrived from Rome, the majority of the French hierarchy were warmly sympathetic toward the P. R. L. With rare exceptions of clerical resisters, the bishops had all been on the side of Vichy. For Monseigneur Gerbeau, bishop of Nîmes, Pétain had been "the man of Providence"; for Monseigneur Delais, bishop of Marseille, "the star of Noël"; for His Eminence Archbishop Gerlier of Lyon, "the symbol of France"; for Monseigneur Rastouil, bishop of Limoges, "the father of all the French." The P. R. L. not only attracted these Vichyite bishops but gathered around it the sworn enemies of all progressive legislation. The M. R. P., on the other hand, had in its ranks people who

sincerely backed the nationalization of the banks, who believed themselves on the side of the common man, Catholics for whom the history of the church was not that of the conquest of temporal power but, to use Mauriac's phrase, "the history of grace in the world."

The Christian Democratic Party in Italy and the M. R. P. in France, which together with their brother parties in Belgium and Holland form the Western Catholic bloc—into which Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal will be incorporated at the proper time—have gone to the polls with invariable success in a strange costume, half-conservative, half-progressive. To counteract the hateful memory of the fascist bishops and win the vaguely democratic masses they have brought forward the names of respected leaders of the Christian Democratic school—Maritain, Don Sturzo, Blondel, Dawson—and resurrected the teachings of Leo XIII, adapting them to the political temperature of liberated Europe. All the old liberal pronouncements of the church have been served up in a *plat du jour* to neutralize the unpleasant taste of Pius XII's Christmas message cited above. The 1931 Encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno," is a favorite text; "The problem," comments *Témoignage Chrétien*, "is to translate into deeds the lesson of 'Quadragesimo Anno,' which has for too long been neglected." But even in this progressive encyclical, which the promoters of the Western Catholic bloc are putting to use today, we find the statement: "One cannot at the same time be a good Catholic and a true Socialist"—a persuasive argument by which to take votes from the Socialists and Communists.

But it will not be a walk-over for the Vatican. In France a sharp fight between the church and the left is already shaping up over the question of education. As I pointed out in an earlier article, the left is ready to compromise on certain constitutional issues; indeed, given the results of the elections, the Socialists and Communists will have to compromise. But they cannot go so far as to permit the priests to regain their control in schools. Albert Bayet states the issue very succinctly in *Franc-Tireur*:

Tripartism or quadripartism? Gouin or Gay? Auriol or Schumann? To these questions I reply, "I do not know." But if you pose the question, "Secularism or clericalism?" then my answer is, "Secularism." To compromise on secularism would be a betrayal.

But we need not go so far left for answers. In *La Dépêche* Edouard Herriot announces that he will oppose any attempt of the priests to take possession of the schools, and he speaks of the M. R. P. as a movement which "the church directs or keeps under surveillance." Here Herriot is in the Republican tradition of France. A Clemenceau could dislike the Socialists intensely, and were he alive today he would surely hate the Communists, but he hated still more the thought of the church ruling the country.

Though the left and the Christian Democrats will form the coalition governments of the immediate future in Western Europe, they must finally come into conflict over the policy of socialization. World capitalism is on the march; utilizing as its instrument the Christian parties, it hopes to become once more the master of Europe. Pius XI might deplore the fact that the church had lost the working class by passing over to the side of the rich. But Pius XII knows all too well that at a given moment the rich faction of the M. R. P. will reduce the pro-Socialist French Catholics of *Temps Présent* and *Esprit* to a minority; and the present Pope has shown clearly that he does not enjoy being on the losing side.

As time passes, the Western Catholic bloc will reveal its true character. For the moment, however, it will continue to speak of democracy and the Four Freedoms, leaving Cardinal Mindszenty to preach as a pure fascist in defense of Hungary's war-time rulers and the bishops of Slovakia to sabotage the authority of Eduard Benes by trying to force the acquittal of Tiso. In Eastern Europe, where it is a question of fighting the Russians on their own ground, direct action is justified. But not in the West. The Christian Democrats in Italy must continue to display the emblem of the Cross and the slogan *Libertas*, which call to mind the coat-of-arms of Bologna and other cities and give a liberal flavor. The M. R. P. in France must continue under the leadership of a Maurice Schumann and a Georges Bidault, who during the Spanish war were for the Republic. The Catholic Party in Holland must keep its left wing, which rejects, on political as well as religious grounds, an alliance with the Calvinists or with the extremely reac-

tionary Conservatives. The Christian Socialists in Belgium must continue to give the appearance of supporting higher standards for workers. It is this deceptive double policy underlying its entire present strategy which makes the Western Catholic bloc so dangerous.

But although the Catholic parties of France and Italy hold first place today, the combined votes of the Socialists and Communists still outnumber theirs by many millions. *The Nation's* earlier prognosis that Europe was going left remains valid. It is precisely for that reason that the church is trying to stop the historical process. The Vatican will succeed only if the left repeats its blunder of pre-war days by allowing internal divisions to sap its strength in the face of the enemy.

By its entrance into politics the church invites treatment as a belligerent. It cannot expect to discredit the counter-action of the other political forces by raising the cry of "anti-clericalism"; the old trick of denouncing as reds and agents of Moscow those who are not disposed to see the Vatican rule world politics no longer fools anyone. The last President of the Spanish Republic, Manuel Azaña, was certainly no red. But when Monsignor Tedeschi, the papal nuncio in Madrid, came to him one day before the Spanish war broke out to protest against an attack on a church, Azaña, who considered that church a jewel of Spanish architecture but who knew that from its bell-tower snipers had fired on a Republican demonstration, answered: "Your Eminence, surely you did not hope that in a political battle the teaching of Christ would prevail, that smitten on the one cheek we would turn the other. If the church does not wish to be hurt in the fight, it has only to stay out of it."

What Are Stassen's Chances?

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

Chief political writer for the Chicago Sun

NEBRASKA Republicans passed some powerful ammunition to shock troops of the G. O. P. Old Guard. By giving Governor Dwight Griswold a thumping defeat in the state primaries they seriously damaged the Presidential aspirations of Harold E. Stassen. And any setback for Stassen will be used to good advantage by the Republican right-wingers, who are determined that Minnesota's three-time former governor shall not get the nomination in 1948.

The stop-Stassen movement was well under way within the party long before the Nebraska primaries, in which Stassen elected to support Griswold actively against the arch-isolationist Hugh Butler. The forces that fought the late Wendell Willkie's 1944 bid for renomination have rallied again to turn back Harold

Stassen. Why are they so bitterly opposed to him? Can they succeed in stopping him? The answers to those questions are wrapped up in the personality and career of the man from Minnesota.

FARM BOY TO GOVERNOR

Harold Stassen is a country boy. He was raised on a small truck farm in Dakota County, Minnesota, owned by his parents. His ancestry is a mixture of Norse, Czech, and German. William Stassen, his father, rated a substantial farmer by his neighbors, had dabbled in politics, having served as mayor of West St. Paul and as a member of the district school board.

Young Harold worked his way through the University of Minnesota by clerking in a grocery store, operating an adding machine, greasing pans in a bakery, and,



finally, working as a Pullman conductor on the St. Paul-Chicago run of the Milwaukee Railroad. He graduated from law school in 1929, resisted the blandishments of Farmer-Labor Party chieftains who sought to enrol him in that ascendant movement, and went back to Dakota County to practice law. Within a year he had been elected county attorney on the Republican ticket, and he held that office through two four-year terms.

Those eight years were a time of great political turmoil in Minnesota, an era of agrarian revolt and labor unrest resulting from the unemployment of the early '30's. Elmer Benson, now a director of the National Citizens' P. A. C., had succeeded to the governorship after the death of the brilliant but sometimes erratic Floyd Olson. The teamsters' strike ran its violent course under the leadership of the Dunn brothers. The state administration, especially during Benson's regime, often showed what conservatives regarded as undue partiality toward labor.

A ROVING CENTRIST

Surveying this political scene, Stassen found himself equally at odds with the frequently extreme positions of the Farmer-Laborites and of the reactionary forces in control of Minnesota's Republican Party. He chose, therefore, to go down the center, and he has, in the main, stuck to that path ever since. A recurring phrase in his speeches is "the disruptive left and the reactionary right"—both of which he condemns with great vigor. Critics maintain that when Stassen became a candidate for governor in 1938 on this middle-of-the-road platform, he was merely opportunistic; that he had the political astuteness to realize that the voters had wearied of one extreme but were not ready to turn to another. Some make the same accusation in his present campaign.

Events proved that the course he chose was sound political strategy in Minnesota in 1938. It carried Harold Stassen into the governor's chair and kept him there until he left to become an officer in the navy in 1943. It may be equally sound strategy in 1948.

But to charge Stassen with opportunism is to challenge his sincerity; and it is hard to make a case against his sincerity when one considers his early and vigorous espousal of internationalism in the days when the Middle West, Minnesota included, was rampant in its isolationism. Such a cause was not one for an opportunist politician, riding one wave out and another in. Senators Vandenberg, Brooks, Nye, Shipstead, and others, none of whom can be considered unversed in the stratagems of politics, all stuck to isolationism as the safest course for a Midwestern politician to pursue in those days. Stassen chose to advocate international cooperation at the time of that doctrine's greatest unpopularity.

This writer, for one, is absolutely convinced that Stassen was sincere in his internationalism and that he is just as sincere in his other positions. There are some who disagree. But after fifteen years of following the doings of Midwestern politicians I am convinced that Harold Stassen is a sincere centrist: he believes that a middle course, or an area of agreement, can be found in most economic and social conflicts. He does not hew to any particular line. But if he is to be termed a centrist, it would be best to qualify the classification and call him a roving centrist.

His record as Governor of Minnesota is evidence of his middle-ground position. A case in point is Minnesota's Labor Relations Act, generally regarded as Stassen's own, with its "cooling-off" periods and its fact-finding features. The act does not go to the extreme of compulsory arbitration; neither does it allow industrial strife to proceed in a vacuum. It does not take away the right to strike, but it delays the exercise of that right while an attempt is made to determine the causes of the dispute and effect remedies.

Stassen has demonstrated undeniably that he is a capable executive and a competent politician. These two qualities certainly do not alienate the G. O. P. right wing. The Old Guard might even, as a matter of desperate expediency, accept his middle-of-the-road philosophy. There are other reasons for the determined opposition to Stassen.

For one thing, of course, there are conflicting ambitions. Men like Taft and Bricker, as well as almost any other Presidential possibility, would hamstring Stassen cheerfully at any moment—as, indeed, they would each other—simply because he is a threat to their own ambitions. Such a lack of sympathy with those who get in the way, incidentally, is by no means confined to the Republican right wing; it is discernible in liberal circles too. A second and more important consideration is that

the nationalist element in the party—a considerable element which includes Hugh Butler, whom Stassen failed to unseat in the primaries—is dead set against him.

Of prime importance, however, is the fact that Stassen, both as governor and since his return from the navy, has demonstrated an independence and an aloofness from the ruling oligarchy in the party that not only infuriates the oligarchs but makes them distrust him deeply. He is not their man. They fear that if he becomes President, he will do his own thinking. They fear that he would lead the party, not be led by it, and they don't like the direction in which he would steer—toward something more than lip service in the cause of world government and a progressive domestic program.

WILLKIE'S MANTLE, BUT HIS OWN TECHNIQUE

Will Taft and his cohorts succeed in blocking Stassen as they succeeded against Willkie two years ago? It is a hard question to answer. The odds of course are with them; the odds are always with the field against one horse. But the outcome is far from certain.

The Republican conservative element has sought, not without some measure of success, to put across the idea that Stassen is merely a 1948 edition of Willkie. This might be perfectly good tactics except for two things. First, Mr. Willkie was not altogether without followers in the G. O. P. ranks; so that while it may frighten some away from Stassen it also attracts others to him. And, second, the conservatives, in following the "Stassen is a new Willkie" strategy, are overlooking the fact that they alone did not defeat Willkie in his 1944 effort. He largely defeated himself, as anyone who followed Willkie in that campaign knows (I traveled with him extensively). The off-the-record speeches that he made in St. Louis and Milwaukee were bold, even magnificent. But they were not good politics. Although he was seeking delegates, Willkie virtually told the men who had a great deal to say about whether or not he would get the delegates that he wanted no part of them or their works. They took him at his word.

Stassen knows his way around in politics and probably will make no such error. He knows what Willkie so frequently seemed to forget, that the nomination goes to the candidate who obtains a majority of the delegates. He will never unnecessarily offend organization Republicans and will never attack them. He seeks to convert them. Failing in that, he attempts to force his acceptance on the organization by creating pro-Stassen sentiment among the rank and file—as witness his creation of the Republican forums and his constant public appearances and speeches. He may have inherited Willkie's mantle, but he has his own political technique. The Taft crowd, if they are going to stop Stassen, will have to come up with something better than labeling Stassen another

Willkie and sitting back and waiting for him to make Willkie's mistakes. He is most unlikely to do so.

It should not be forgotten that one of Willkie's biggest 1944 liabilities was his 1940 defeat. Defeated candidates seldom get a second chance, and that stigma will attach not to Stassen but to one of his chief opponents, Governor Dewey, who also has to get over a reelection hurdle in New York this fall. Nor does Stassen possess Willkie's unhappy penchant for making unnecessary political enemies. Willkie took risks recklessly and, judging by his Wisconsin fiasco, without counting the cost. Stassen has a high political courage, too, but the risks that he takes are calculated ones.

All in all, Stassen's advanced internationalism may be a more determining factor in the decision of the 1948 convention than all the efforts of the Taft clique. If the American people slide back into a narrow isolationism—and there is some indication of such a tendency—his Presidential stock will not be very high. But the reverse also holds true: it is equally possible that the course of world events may swing the country toward his way of thinking and lessen the chances of men like Bricker and Dewey, whose approach to international affairs has been, to say the least, timorous.

Some politicians, primarily those who habitually duck issues and avoid commitments, contend that Stassen has talked too much; they say that by getting into the race so early he has made his own elimination inevitable. Such reasoning is predicated on the assumption that national political conventions prefer a pig in a poke as a candidate to one who has opinions and convictions.

Stassen has made his views known quite vigorously, and he made those views one of the stakes in the Nebraska primary. He asked that Griswold be nominated so that a Senate nucleus might be formed to pave the way for liberal control of the Republican Party in 1948. The sound beating that Griswold took was the strongest check yet received by Stassen's campaign. It was not a fatal one, however, as was Willkie's defeat in Wisconsin in 1944. On July 8 he will have a second chance, this time in his home state of Minnesota. He is actively supporting Governor Edward J. Thye in his battle to retire the veteran Senator Henrik Shipstead, and the issues in that contest are very similar to those in Nebraska's. He would be hard put to survive a second such defeat.

Stassen, politically adroit, indefatigable, and neither so far left nor so far right as to antagonize the middle classes, may be stopped by fast-changing events in a chaotic world. He may be stopped by the hold of the conservatives on the G. O. P. machinery. But at the moment he has captured the imagination of many Americans, and the Gallup poll of May 18 showed that he is popular in the country at large. He is definitely the candidate of the center in a nation where many had concluded that the only alternatives were left and right.



finally, working as a Pullman conductor on the St. Paul-Chicago run of the Milwaukee Railroad. He graduated from law school in 1929, resisted the blandishments of Farmer-Labor Party chieftains who sought to enrol him in that ascendant movement, and went back to Dakota County to practice law. Within a year he had been elected county attorney on the Republican ticket, and he held that office through two four-year terms.

Those eight years were a time of great political turmoil in Minnesota, an era of agrarian revolt and labor unrest resulting from the unemployment of the early '30's. Elmer Benson, now a director of the National Citizens' P. A. C., had succeeded to the governorship after the death of the brilliant but sometimes erratic Floyd Olson. The teamsters' strike ran its violent course under the leadership of the Dunn brothers. The state administration, especially during Benson's regime, often showed what conservatives regarded as undue partiality toward labor.

A ROVING CENTRIST

Surveying this political scene, Stassen found himself equally at odds with the frequently extreme positions of the Farmer-Laborites and of the reactionary forces in control of Minnesota's Republican Party. He chose, therefore, to go down the center, and he has, in the main, stuck to that path ever since. A recurring phrase in his speeches is "the disruptive left and the reactionary right"—both of which he condemns with great vigor. Critics maintain that when Stassen became a candidate for governor in 1938 on this middle-of-the-road platform, he was merely opportunistic; that he had the political astuteness to realize that the voters had wearied of one extreme but were not ready to turn to another. Some make the same accusation in his present campaign.

Events proved that the course he chose was sound political strategy in Minnesota in 1938. It carried Harold Stassen into the governor's chair and kept him there until he left to become an officer in the navy in 1943. It may be equally sound strategy in 1948.

But to charge Stassen with opportunism is to challenge his sincerity; and it is hard to make a case against his sincerity when one considers his early and vigorous espousal of internationalism in the days when the Middle West, Minnesota included, was rampant in its isolationism. Such a cause was not one for an opportunist politician, riding one wave out and another in. Senators Vandenberg, Brooks, Nye, Shipstead, and others, none of whom can be considered unversed in the stratagems of politics, all stuck to isolationism as the safest course for a Midwestern politician to pursue in those days. Stassen chose to advocate international cooperation at the time of that doctrine's greatest unpopularity.

This writer, for one, is absolutely convinced that Stassen was sincere in his internationalism and that he is just as sincere in his other positions. There are some who disagree. But after fifteen years of following the doings of Midwestern politicians I am convinced that Harold Stassen is a sincere centrist: he believes that a middle course, or an area of agreement, can be found in most economic and social conflicts. He does not hew to any particular line. But if he is to be termed a centrist, it would be best to qualify the classification and call him a roving centrist.

His record as Governor of Minnesota is evidence of his middle-ground position. A case in point is Minnesota's Labor Relations Act, generally regarded as Stassen's own, with its "cooling-off" periods and its fact-finding features. The act does not go to the extreme of compulsory arbitration; neither does it allow industrial strife to proceed in a vacuum. It does not take away the right to strike, but it delays the exercise of that right while an attempt is made to determine the causes of the dispute and effect remedies.

Stassen has demonstrated undeniably that he is a capable executive and a competent politician. These two qualities certainly do not alienate the G. O. P. right wing. The Old Guard might even, as a matter of desperate expediency, accept his middle-of-the-road philosophy. There are other reasons for the determined opposition to Stassen.

For one thing, of course, there are conflicting ambitions. Men like Taft and Bricker, as well as almost any other Presidential possibility, would hamstring Stassen cheerfully at any moment—as, indeed, they would each other—simply because he is a threat to their own ambitions. Such a lack of sympathy with those who get in the way, incidentally, is by no means confined to the Republican right wing; it is discernible in liberal circles too. A second and more important consideration is that

the nationalist element in the party—a considerable element which includes Hugh Butler, whom Stassen failed to unseat in the primaries—is dead set against him.

Of prime importance, however, is the fact that Stassen, both as governor and since his return from the navy, has demonstrated an independence and an aloofness from the ruling oligarchy in the party that not only infuriates the oligarchs but makes them distrust him deeply. He is not their man. They fear that if he becomes President, he will do his own thinking. They fear that he would lead the party, not be led by it, and they don't like the direction in which he would steer—toward something more than lip service in the cause of world government and a progressive domestic program.

WILLKIE'S MANTLE, BUT HIS OWN TECHNIQUE

Will Taft and his cohorts succeed in blocking Stassen as they succeeded against Willkie two years ago? It is a hard question to answer. The odds of course are with them; the odds are always with the field against one horse. But the outcome is far from certain.

The Republican conservative element has sought, not without some measure of success, to put across the idea that Stassen is merely a 1948 edition of Willkie. This might be perfectly good tactics except for two things. First, Mr. Willkie was not altogether without followers in the G. O. P. ranks; so that while it may frighten some away from Stassen it also attracts others to him. And, second, the conservatives, in following the "Stassen is a new Willkie" strategy, are overlooking the fact that they alone did not defeat Willkie in his 1944 effort. He largely defeated himself, as anyone who followed Willkie in that campaign knows (I traveled with him extensively). The off-the-record speeches that he made in St. Louis and Milwaukee were bold, even magnificent. But they were not good politics. Although he was seeking delegates, Willkie virtually told the men who had a great deal to say about whether or not he would get the delegates that he wanted no part of them or their works. They took him at his word.

Stassen knows his way around in politics and probably will make no such error. He knows what Willkie so frequently seemed to forget, that the nomination goes to the candidate who obtains a majority of the delegates. He will never unnecessarily offend organization Republicans and will never attack them. He seeks to convert them. Failing in that, he attempts to force his acceptance on the organization by creating pro-Stassen sentiment among the rank and file—as witness his creation of the Republican forums and his constant public appearances and speeches. He may have inherited Willkie's mantle, but he has his own political technique. The Taft crowd, if they are going to stop Stassen, will have to come up with something better than labeling Stassen another

Willkie and sitting back and waiting for him to make Willkie's mistakes. He is most unlikely to do so.

It should not be forgotten that one of Willkie's biggest 1944 liabilities was his 1940 defeat. Defeated candidates seldom get a second chance, and that stigma will attach not to Stassen but to one of his chief opponents, Governor Dewey, who also has to get over a reelection hurdle in New York this fall. Nor does Stassen possess Willkie's unhappy penchant for making unnecessary political enemies. Willkie took risks recklessly and, judging by his Wisconsin fiasco, without counting the cost. Stassen has a high political courage, too, but the risks that he takes are calculated ones.

All in all, Stassen's advanced internationalism may be a more determining factor in the decision of the 1948 convention than all the efforts of the Taft clique. If the American people slide back into a narrow isolationism—and there is some indication of such a tendency—his Presidential stock will not be very high. But the reverse also holds true: it is equally possible that the course of world events may swing the country toward his way of thinking and lessen the chances of men like Bricker and Dewey, whose approach to international affairs has been, to say the least, timorous.

Some politicians, primarily those who habitually duck issues and avoid commitments, contend that Stassen has talked too much; they say that by getting into the race so early he has made his own elimination inevitable. Such reasoning is predicated on the assumption that national political conventions prefer a pig in a poke as a candidate to one who has opinions and convictions.

Stassen has made his views known quite vigorously, and he made those views one of the stakes in the Nebraska primary. He asked that Griswold be nominated so that a Senate nucleus might be formed to pave the way for liberal control of the Republican Party in 1948. The sound beating that Griswold took was the strongest check yet received by Stassen's campaign. It was not a fatal one, however, as was Willkie's defeat in Wisconsin in 1944. On July 8 he will have a second chance, this time in his home state of Minnesota. He is actively supporting Governor Edward J. Thye in his battle to retire the veteran Senator Henrik Shipstead, and the issues in that contest are very similar to those in Nebraska's. He would be hard put to survive a second such defeat.

Stassen, politically adroit, indefatigable, and neither so far left nor so far right as to antagonize the middle classes, may be stopped by fast-changing events in a chaotic world. He may be stopped by the hold of the conservatives on the G. O. P. machinery. But at the moment he has captured the imagination of many Americans, and the Gallup poll of May 18 showed that he is popular in the country at large. He is definitely the candidate of the center in a nation where many had concluded that the only alternatives were left and right.

Revolution in Denver

BY ROSCOE FLEMING

After many years with the Scripps-Howard press in Washington and other cities Mr. Fleming is living in Denver and contributing articles on regional and national subjects to various magazines

Denver, June 18

EMPLOYEES of the *Denver Post*, which once proclaimed itself the "Best Newspaper in the U. S. A." but does so no longer, can't decide which of the recent miracles that have astounded them is the greatest. One is that the doors have been put back on the toilets. Fred G. Bonfils, the original publisher, had them removed many years ago so that no guilty hireling might steal an extra five minutes of the time for which Bonfils was paying.

Another is that E. Palmer Hoyt, the present publisher, has hired Roy Takeno, former editor of the *Rocky Shimpō*, a Japanese-language weekly published in Denver during the war for "relocated" persons of Japanese blood. The *Rocky Shimpō's* chief purpose was to put up a defense against the onslaughts of the *Denver Post*, then published by W. C. Shepherd, which was urging incessantly, "Send all the yellow rats back to Japan." Shepherd, though shorn of power, remains around the *Post* newsroom to grunt at the doings of his successor, and to peek apprehensively over his shoulder at Takeno. Since guilty conscience was never an occupational disease of Bonfils trainees, Shep probably suffers merely from the feeling that the world must have gone mad if ordinary decency can be practiced openly in the very newsroom of the *Post*.

Here is a newspaper which from the standpoint of either ethics or professional proficiency has been for years perhaps the worst paper published in any large city in the United States; yet it has regularly made from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000 a year, ranks as the richest in its size-field, and has almost saturation circulation. Of late years no one has paid much attention to its news or opinions, which were inextricably mingled in a dreadful make-up and printed on pink paper that made it look like a bloody omelet. The *Post* was invariably against the best men and the most constructive projects, local or national. It always chose to support the cause of reaction. People opened its pages as a Roman citizen might go down to the city gate during a political purge, to see who was being crucified now.

Bonfils died in 1933 and was succeeded as publisher by Shepherd. Bonfils's rascality was occasionally on the grand scale, but under Shepherd the *Post* entered a grumbling dotage and displayed a small, mean sadism. People who once tried to get along with the paper because they knew it capable of any revenge have realized

for years that it was as toothless as an aging hyena.

Apparently Mrs. Helen Bonfils Somnes and E. Ray Campbell, trustee for the estate of H. H. Tammen, who was Bonfils's partner in the *Post*, decided that something drastic must be done to rehabilitate the paper's reputation. Both are *Post* directors. They certainly shocked the town into attention when they brought in E. Palmer Hoyt as publisher, for Hoyt, no radical, had won a reputation with the *Portland Oregonian*, which he had made into a good, likable, humane newspaper, willing to present all sides of an issue. In contrast to Shepherd, Hoyt seems sincere in everything he does and to have a genuine liking for people. Campbell has said that he was selected after a survey of all the abler newspapermen in the country. The terms on which he consented to come are said to include a five-year contract, exclusive management powers, and a salary of \$50,000 a year. He is also a director, succeeding Shepherd. It is already evident that he was a good choice and a good investment.

At his first staff meeting Hoyt held up his wrist watch and said, "From this moment the *Post* ain't mad at nobody." He has been as good as his word. He has applied unguents to all the wounds he has been able to reach and ended many *Post* feuds. But even so, he has shocked some Denverites to the core of their being.

The old *Post* was, naturally, dead against any extension of the TVA principle to other river basins and portrayed a Missouri Valley Authority as a form of "totalitarianism." The chief foe of the MVA in the region formerly advised the *Post* on questions of water policy. He called upon Hoyt to continue the paper's attacks on the project, but Hoyt firmly insisted he could not. Going farther, he sent one of his best men to the Tennessee Valley to describe what the TVA was really like. This report was the first fair account of the valley-authority issue Denver had had.

Hoyt is not expected to be satisfied, either, with the state's Congressional representation, which is made up of the most reactionary politicians of both parties.

Hoyt has not entirely discarded the old Bonfils ballyhoo, but he has made it less of an insult to readers. (It used to be remarked that all the *Post* needed was the greeting "Hello suckers!" under the masthead.) For Bonfils's back-page slogan, "Dedicated in perpetuity to the service of the people, that no good cause shall lack a champion, and that evil shall not thrive unopposed," Hoyt substituted simply, "The Voice of the Rocky

Mountain Empire." Later he used the old slogan on the new editorial page he installed.

The "Rocky Mountain Empire," by the way, shows signs of being indefinitely extensible. Among cities listed in recent *Post* news stories as included in it are Omaha, Kansas City, Houston, Austin, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, and Wichita. A Denver columnist has said that he is waiting for Hoyt to annex Chicago and thus come face to face with Colonel McCormick.

Denverites have always had to choose between the *Post* and the morning Scripps-Howard *Rocky Mountain News*, a much decenter and quieter paper than the *Post*,

with a circulation, perhaps for that reason, about one-third as large. Some observers give the new *Post* two years to absorb the *News* and thus add Denver to the list of monopoly newspaper towns. Certainly Roy Howard will have to loosen his purse-strings to keep up with the aggressive administration and enlarged budget of the *Post* today.

However, if you have been raised on a paper like the old *Post*, your taste may be spoiled for anything better. Hoyt reported to journalism students at the University of Colorado that he had received many letters asking him not to change either the *Post's* format or its policies.

Inside German Politics

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

Author of "Experiment in Germany: The Story of an American Intelligence Officer"

II. The Western Social Democrats

GERMAN Social Democracy is going through a crisis that may ultimately have an effect on all Europe. In any account of it two facts should be noted at the outset. First, the Social Democrats form one of the few sectors of the population that are not poisoned with fascism; whatever their faults, they are the people on whom the Western powers must mainly rely if they wish to reconstruct Germany along democratic lines. Second, the Social Democrats, like the members of other political parties, are not entirely independent agents but are influenced directly and indirectly by the military occupying authorities.

In the Russian zone the Social Democrats seem to be following the lead of the Communists, who, it is reasonable to assume, are not insensitive to the wishes of the Kremlin. The two left-wing parties share administrative power in the committees and anti-fascist groups which the Russian Military Government has set up. Such cooperation, in view of Communist discipline and purposiveness, is bound to leave its mark on the Social Democrats and seriously affect their will to independence. Otto Grotewohl, chairman of the S. P. D. Central Committee in the Russian zone, is a strong supporter of the merger between his party and the Communists. He has admitted that Moscow favored a union of the two parties as the "surest guaranty against the emergence of forces in Germany that might again attack Russia."

Western Social Democrats, while disagreeing with Grotewohl, believe him to be a sincere anti-fascist idealist and not a mere mouthpiece of Moscow. They recall that even before 1933 he had advocated a united left-wing labor party. At the Berlin meeting at which the

Social Democrats overwhelmingly voted down the merger, Grotewohl went out of his way to defend the Communists. He said in effect (I quote from a summary report): "I realize that the Communist Party is accused of taking orders from Moscow. This has to be proved in every instance. Charges have also been made that eastern collective thinking is hostile to personal liberty. But what about the west? There individual freedom is the product of a capitalist system that harbors monarchical parties and permits secret fascist organizations."

In the British and American zones the Social Democrats display greater independence in action and less realism in analysis. The British, of course, do not interfere with them as bluntly as the Russians. (Russian tactlessness and roughness are often self-defeating; the "shot-gun" marriage between the Communists and the Socialists only infuriated the Socialists.) But it is generally believed that Kurt Schumacher, S. P. D. leader in the British zone and acknowledged chief of the western Social Democrats, is susceptible to the voice of London as is Grotewohl to that of Moscow. It would, indeed, be strange if this were not so. Schumacher is said to be unhandicapped by the lack of transportation since he can fly in British planes to scattered political meetings. (The Russians, too, put transportation and villas at the disposal of favored Germans.)

In the American zone the small number of Military Government officers who understand German politics are not noticeably inimical to Social Democrats, especially those of the conservative variety. Wilhelm Knothe, the right-wing S. P. D. leader, told me that he thought M. G. personnel were "wonderful, fine people." We do not, however, meddle unduly with the non-Nazi political parties. On the important question of the Socialist-

Communist merger, for example, General Clay ordered "hands off." He did not care what the outcome was so long as it was the decision of the majority.

Apart from the question of the merger, the western Social Democrats oppose the Communists and their S. P. D. supporters in the Russian zone on three fundamental matters. The most important is Marxism and its keystone, the class struggle. Prominent figures among the Social Democrats are repudiating the trappings of the Marxist faith and advocating an intimate alliance with the middle classes. They want to broaden the party's base and to transform it from a working-class party into a bourgeois movement with a liberal outlook not unlike that of the Roosevelt New Deal. By turning itself into a moderate center party, the S. P. D. hopes to win Germany's conservative middle classes away from the right-wing parties and thereby make itself the dominant political power in the Reich.

The second point on which the two groups differ is federalism. The Communists favor a strong central government with autocratic powers; the western Social Democrats are friendly to the idea of a decentralized Germany made up of various *Länder* (provinces) enjoying more autonomy than they had under Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm, Hindenburg, or Hitler. In this respect, Dr. Wilhelm Högner, the Social Democratic Prime Minister of Bavaria, has gone farther than the wishes of his party. Recognizing the separatist feeling and distrust of the Prussians always latent in Bavaria, Högner has favored a larger degree of autonomy than is palatable to most of the S. P. D. On the whole, German Social Democrats are good nationalists who desire a moderately strong central government but would like a few "states' rights" as a check on the federal *Beamtentum*. It is doubtful whether they would support the British and American plan for encouraging the division of Germany into eleven or twelve loosely federated and virtually autonomous states.

Thirdly, the S. P. D. and the K. P. D. have split on the idea of collective guilt which is now agitating those Germans of the pre-Hitler generation who are still burdened with an old-fashioned conscience. For reasons that are not entirely clear the Communists have accepted the thesis of the Allies and of Martin Niemöller that the whole German nation—not just the Nazi Party—is morally guilty of the war and the atrocities. The Communists say that the German workers, who labored faithfully in Hitler's war plants, must share the blame with the rest of the nation. This undoubtedly makes the party unpopular. The Social Democrats, on the other hand, deny with a good deal of temper that all Germans are equally to blame for the crimes of Hitlerism. Although they offered little active resistance to Nazism, particularly during the war, they point to their record and resent being placed on a par with Nazis and fascists.

They argue that the Allies, especially Britain and France, aided Hitler's rise to power and did nothing to moderate the fury of his dictatorship. When Socialists and liberals of the Weimar Republic were sent to concentration camps, they recall, the statesmen of London, Paris, and Washington pretended that what was happening inside Germany was none of their business.

There is, of course, some truth in this argument, but also a considerable dose of self-righteousness. The Social Democrats of the Weimar Republic, it should be remembered, were strongly nationalistic: they cradled the *Wehrmacht*; they permitted the General Staff to rebuild itself; they treated Hitler and his paid hoodlums with an astonishing degree of judicial tenderness. Nor ought one to forget that neither the Social Democrats nor the Communists lifted a finger to defend the republic when Hitler seized it. However, whatever the moral strength of the Social Democratic position, its immediate result is to strengthen the reactionary nationalistic elements—and, incidentally, to win votes. As Pastor Niemöller has learned by lecturing in various parts of the Reich, Germans do not like to be reminded of the crimes of their government and of their own passivity in the face of them. The quickest and cheapest way to win popularity in Germany today is to challenge the world's accusation of collective moral guilt.

The tone of the S. P. D.'s polemics and politics is determined to a large extent by two of its leading figures—Kurt Schumacher in British Hanover and Wilhelm Knothe in American Frankfurt. Schumacher, a middle-aged lawyer, was a Social Democratic member of the Weimar Parliament and is said to be a persuasive orator. He spent many years in Dachau, but he does not seem to have emerged with any fundamental change in outlook. A German radical who knew Schumacher well in Dachau told me two things about him: first, even in the concentration camp he could not forget his hatred for the Communists; second, he vowed that once free again he would oppose any conflict with the K. P. D.

I have read Schumacher's utterances and have had long talks with some of his intimate collaborators. I gather that he rejects Marxist socialism and ascribes the failure of the Weimar Republic to the fact that it did not win over the middle classes. He believes in a non-Socialist democratic polity along conventional Western European lines. In a recent conversation with an acquaintance of mine, Schumacher accused the Communists of being hypocritical in their claims to democracy and doubted the durability of the present peace. A Third World War, he said, was both inevitable and imminent, and he was planning to side with Britain against Russia. When my friend said there would be no war, he burst out laughing.

Wilhelm Knothe's official position is that of president of the Social Democratic Party of Greater Hesse and

Frankfurt, which received the largest number of votes, 44 per cent of the total, in the local elections there. Knothe is in his forties, a vigorous, stocky individual with a voice like a foghorn. Before Hitler he was a professional youth-movement organizer for the Social Democrats in Hesse-Nassau. The Nazis kept him in prison for nearly three years; when he got out in 1937 he gave up politics and took a job with a business firm.

Knothe is devoted to a set of clichés which he utters with machine-gun rapidity. He smacks his fist into his palm and says with great emphasis: "We're democrats. We don't believe in dictatorship. We're strong. We can smash the Nazis. We're positive. We'll show 'em." His sense of political realism can be judged by his statement to me that "Germany today is not only denazified but also free of militarism and economic reaction." In his opinion the Nazi youth can be easily reeducated—"just leave them to us, my dear sir"—and the German people are ready for democracy. The Weimar Republic, he asserted, broke down because it employed reactionaries and because the Communists misled the workers. As for a foreign policy for Germany today, he said that it must be along "European-democratic" lines, frankly designed against Russia.

These leaders are probably typical of the traditional Social Democrats, men over forty who were members of the party before Hitler. This age-group makes up the bulk of the membership. Military Government has restricted recruiting among youth by banning all youth organizations; less than 10 per cent of the party members are under twenty-five. In general the Socialist youth, what there is of it, is inclined to be more left than the leaders and deplores their anti-Communist and anti-Russian attitude.

It appears now that the German Social Democrats will split three ways. Those in the Russian zone will lose their identity in a single Socialist Unity Party. In the west, as the right wing's moderation is bolstered by the accretion of middle-class elements, the left wing will probably break off and join the Communists.

In my opinion the present policy of the western S. P. D. is based upon two questionable assumptions: (1) that it is possible to unite German labor with the German bourgeoisie—ultimately against the Soviet Union; and (2) that the German middle class is interested in or prepared to support a democratic system. I think that the first is psychologically and economically unrealistic, and the second untrue. The fact is—and Social Democrats themselves frequently admit it—that Germans for the most part are still either actively Nazi or authoritarian and racist-minded; I do not believe that such people can in the long run be reliable supporters of Social Democracy. Some day the S. P. D. will find itself sold down the river by another Brüning or Papen.

It seems to me that Germany is one country where it

is absolutely necessary for the Socialists and Communists to cooperate for the eradication of Nazi-fascism. There are simply not enough other anti-fascist Germans able and willing to do the job. If the two left-wing parties do not work together toward this common goal, then I venture to predict that Germany will neither be cleansed of Nazi-fascism nor democratized. American and British bayonets will not be there forever.

[Part I of this article was in the issue of June 8.]

In the Wind

THESE TROUBLED TIMES: "Have you ever watched helplessly while a cork in a bottle of fine Moselle '27 crumbled sullenly in the neck of the bottle? Have you ever taken pieces of cork out of your teeth after drinking red wine, or even white? Then you too will be interested to know that for the first time a scientific study has been made of the problem of removing the cork from the bottle with a minimum of effort and a maximum of efficiency. The May, 1946, issue of *Modern Packaging Magazine* carries a complete analysis of this problem." (From a *Modern Packaging* press release.)

IN CUBA the Sugar Workers' Federation has complained to the island Labor Ministry that sugar workers in Campezucla were promised a 10 per cent wage increase by their bosses as soon as 60,000 sacks of sugar had been harvested. After the work was well under way, the federation claims, it was announced that the harvest for that area would be limited to exactly 59,000 sacks.

THE WOMEN OF WESTMINSTER and the Married Women's Association held a joint conference in London, went on record as declaring: "We loathe housework," and demanded "monetary recognition" of their household labors.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK: An anonymous high-school principal in a letter to H. C. L. Jackson's column in the *Detroit News*: "Teaching what is known as citizenship to high-school pupils these days is largely a matter of teaching them not to act like adults."

AMERICA, I LOVE YOU! The University of Rochester this June gave honorary degrees to Lise Meitner, nuclear physicist, and Branch Rickey, president of the Brooklyn Dodgers.

THE GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA, NEWS included this item in a roundup of a week's activities in court: "Judge Martin imposed a sentence of twenty-five years on Sylvester Pendergrass, Negro man, who pleaded guilty to assault with intent to ravish, with recommendation to the mercy of the court. . . . Roscoe Bagwell, white man, indicted on a charge of assault with intent to ravish, pleaded guilty to assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature. He was sentenced to serve three years, suspended during good behavior, and placed on probation for three years.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]



Small-Town America

BY ALDEN STEVENS

III. Monteagle, Tennessee

IS THIS th' Highlander Folk School?" drawled a gawky mountain boy with a straw in his mouth.

Myles Horton, director of the school, who speaks with a definite twang himself, admitted that it was.

"Ah want to go to school here."

"Well, this is a labor-union school, you know. Are you in a union?"

"Yeah, ah come from Sherwood, down back o' th' mount'n. We got a little union down there in th' lime works."

"You'll have to be properly accredited by your union or we can't accept you. How about that?"

The boy scratched his head and shifted from one foot to the other. Finally he said, "Ah guess ah'll have to go back an' ask 'em about that."

"Generally the school is for union officers and organizers. Are you an officer?"

"Ah'm what they call the pres-ee-dent."

This conversation took place several years ago. The gawky mountain lad was J. D. Bradford, now an organizer and vice-president of the Lime, Cement, and Gypsum Workers of America and one of the men responsible for the remarkable growth in union membership which has taken place in the South in the past five years.

Highlander is on a 200-acre tract given for the purpose in 1932 by Dr. Lilian W. Johnson of Memphis, a leader in the cooperative movement in this country and now an active and agreeable lady of eighty-two. The school is cooperatively owned by its staff of eight and has no endowment. It is financed by contributions from individuals, including Mrs. Roosevelt, from unions, and from foundations. It is short of money and desperately short of space, for more students come every year and the buildings are overcrowded and old. A drive for \$65,000 for a new building is now under way.

Myles Horton was born and raised in the little town of Savannah on the Tennessee River, where General Grant had his headquarters before the Battle of Shiloh. Horton saw his first movie on the Cotton Blossom, the showboat Edna Ferber made famous. He got book-learnin' at Union Theological Seminary, the University of Chicago, and in Denmark, but he is still a Tennessean who believes in his state and its people.

The school's early days were hard. Monteagle is a

small town, the home of the Monteagle Sunday School Assembly, an early branch of the New York Chautauqua. It was not friendly, and neither were most of the Tennessee newspapers. The Southern labor movement was weak and poor and had been plagued with failure, but as it gained strength the school gained support. Now both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. indorse it.

The school is now so well established, in fact, that Horton has turned over the active direction to Catharine Winston and is concentrating on bringing industrial workers and farmers closer together in Tennessee. As state representative of the Farmers' Union, he has organized a number of locals. The traditional conservatism of the small Southern farmer, he says, stems from lack of information about labor, industry, and unions.

Highlander does not offer regular year-round courses, does not give degrees, and pays no attention to previous educational records. Its courses are tailored to the needs of Southern unions at the moment and are rarely twice alike. They are given by the school staff and by labor leaders, labor editors, and union workers invited in from all over the South. In addition to conducting classes, Highlander sends workers to other places for extension courses. Periodically it offers a writers' work session for reporters and editors on the rapidly growing labor press.

On May 6 last, Texas oil workers, shipyard and hosiery workers from Alabama, Tennessee textile and Georgia furniture workers, together with many others, gathered at Highlander for the third C. I. O. leadership school. Through discussion and practice they studied public speaking, parliamentary law, labor history, organizing methods, and collective bargaining, acquiring tools to use in their own locals.

Nowhere else in America today, with all the good city-bound labor schools, is there any place like this backwoods Southern school, which brings together the city industrial worker and the farmer in a continuous, active program. It opens its doors to whites and Negroes, experienced and inexperienced workers, old and young unionists, and trains them to be leaders in their locals, their communities, and the nation. Monteagle is a focal point for the new labor forces gathering in the South.

[Mr. Stevens has been making a fifteen-thousand-mile motor trip through the United States gathering material for this series of articles. He is the author of "Arms and the People."]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

The Rub in Rubber

BEFORE the war the United States accounted for about half the world consumption of raw rubber but controlled only a minute fraction of the production. It was an irksome situation both for manufacturers of rubber goods, who felt they were at the mercy of the plantation owners' cartel sponsored by the British, Dutch, and French governments, and for the military authorities concerned about supplies of a vital strategic material. Today the story is very different: since 1940 a synthetic-rubber industry has been built up in this country with a capacity more than equal to consumption in any pre-war year, and any repetition of the kind of hold-up engineered by the plantation owners in the twenties is out of the question.

Nevertheless, raw rubber continues to present a problem to the industries and governments concerned and one for which a permanent solution is not yet in sight. The great question is what will be the future relationship between the natural and the synthetic article? For some purposes synthetic is equal, or even superior, to natural rubber, but for tires, which account for 70 per cent of the consumption in this country, manufacturers agree that the latter is more satisfactory.

At present there is no free market in rubber of any kind, and prices are purely artificial. Synthetic is sold by the Rubber Reserve Company, a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, at 18 cents a pound, which provides an ample margin for the most efficient plants—said to have reduced costs to as low as 12 cents a pound—but means a loss for the least efficient. By agreement with the British, French, and Dutch governments natural rubber has been held at a ceiling of 20¼ cents, free on board Asiatic ports, and sold to American manufacturers at 22½ cents.

A new agreement has just been announced by which the Far Eastern price is raised to 23½ cents, which is the equivalent of 24¼ cents in the United States. The increase is necessitated, according to a State Department release, both by the continued shortage of natural rubber in relation to demand and by present exceptionally high costs of production. At the new price natural rubber will be about 30 per cent more expensive than before the war, which represents a comparatively modest advance considering the peaks to which other raw materials have risen. American cotton, for instance, is up 140 per cent and tobacco 110 per cent.

In the light of such comparisons it is probable that many plantation owners will consider they are being harshly treated. Many of them, forgetting their pre-war record of restrictionism, have been talking of the benefits of a free market. With manufacturers the world over still finding their allotments of rubber far below requirements, a free market probably would send prices soaring and produce bonanza profits to compensate for the lean years. But it is

certain that the aftermath would be bitter, for runaway prices would stimulate new production and make the long-term problem of equating supply and demand even more difficult. As it is, the potential world supply of rubber, natural and synthetic, is estimated at 3,000,000 tons, compared to potential normal demand of about 1,500,000 tons.

Writing shortly after V-J Day, the London *Economist* issued a solemn warning to the rubber interests against yielding to the temptation to make a killing. "The only rational policy," it continued, "is one designed to reduce costs to the lowest possible level. Natural rubber has lost its former monopoly; in future the proportions in which natural and synthetic rubber will be demanded by consumers is largely a matter of price and technical fitness for purpose." Undoubtedly there is considerable scope for increasing efficiency and lowering costs in rubber-growing. The practice of bud-grafting, employed now in only a small number of plantations, has been found to double and triple output. Bulk shipment of the product in liquid latex form offers an important possibility for cheaper handling. Concentration of estates and, particularly, concentration of their financial management could appreciably reduce overhead expenses. If advantage were taken of the present sellers' market to cut costs by these and other methods, it might eventually be possible, the *Economist* suggested, for the industry to prosper with prices at 6 to 8 cents a pound.

Supposing such a target is achieved—and the pressure of over-supply will prove a powerful force pushing prices to that level or lower—what will be the effect on the American synthetic industry? In its interim report last March the Inter-Agency Policy Committee on Rubber, headed by William L. Batt, urged that the United States should retain in continuous operation, "regardless of costs," enough general-purpose synthetic-rubber capacity to provide 250,000 tons a year, roughly one-third of estimated normal consumption. In addition, plants with a capacity of 350,000 tons should be maintained by the government in stand-by condition for use in emergencies.

Practically the whole of the synthetic-rubber industry was built by and is now owned by the government. The Batt committee, however, proposed that the plants which were to be kept in production should be sold to private owners, and in the last few days the War Assets Administration has issued a disposal plan. But there is no indication of a rush by private capital to buy, and that is easily understandable in view of the probability that before long natural rubber will be in a position to undercut the product of the most efficient synthetic plants. The maintenance of the industry is going to cost money, and the unsettled question is: whose money? Are the consumers to pay through a tariff which would have to be a steep one, or is the burden to be provided by the taxpayers in the form of subsidies? Leaders of the rubber industry, like P. W. Litchfield, chairman of Goodyear, think that the only answer is public ownership: they want the synthetic plants kept in production, but they don't want to undertake the risk themselves. Space forbids the drawing of a moral from this interesting development, but I feel confident that my readers can do that for themselves.

KEITH HUTCHISON

BOOKS and the ARTS

A Classic Book on Hungary

HUNGARY—TO BE OR NOT TO BE. By Rustem Vambery. Frederick Ungar Publishing Company. \$2.50.

FOR every student of European problems, Professor Vambery's last book should be "must" reading. Not only will the reader find in its 200 pages an irrefutable reply to the official propaganda of past Hungarian regimes, but through the author's pertinent analysis of his country's social, economic, and political structure he will get a better understanding of the whole Central European problem; he will grasp the paramount fact that the *morbus latifundii*—so named by the author's great friend, Professor Oscar Iaszi—was the fatal disease not only of caste-ruled Hungary, properly called a squirearchy by the author, but also of most neighboring countries. Only by realizing this will people understand the usefulness of the present revolution in Central Europe.

It took a man of Dr. Vambery's deep patriotism to apply to the traditional Hungarian chauvinism the same remedy Thomas Masaryk used against Czech chauvinistic tendencies (the late Czechoslovak President proved that the popular Zelenohorsky and Kralovedvorsky manuscripts were forgeries): "The political existence of a nation must not be backed by lies." Following this precept the author makes a sharp distinction between the true Hungarian liberalism of the early nineteenth century and the pseudo-liberalism, much propagandized abroad, of later days. He is rightly proud of men like the two Szechenyis, Francis Deak, Nicholas Wesselenyi, and many other statesmen, scientists, writers, poets, and artists who have acquired a place of honor for their country in the international community; but he points out that "the heyday of Hungarian nationalism, the period of Francis Joseph I, which shortsighted observers have praised as the golden age of Hungary, was in fact the period of decay." He also mentions the fact, little known in the United States, that Kossuth admitted in his exile the mistake he had made by not recognizing the legitimate aspirations of the non-Magyar national groups when he was fighting against Hapsburg domination. (Incidentally, this proves how strong the Hungarian idiosyncrasy of "racial superiority" could be, if even a man of Kossuth's stature was subject to it.)

Dr. Vambery shows the absurdity of "historical" claims as against the ethnic right of self-determination when he reminds us of the map, inlaid with marble in various colors, erected by Mussolini on the Via del Impero in Rome to show the extent of the Roman Empire. Such features, many historical epigrams, and quotations from great writers lighten this description of the Hungarian drama, written in an easy and accomplished style. We are reminded of how Sir Walter Raleigh tore up the manuscript of his History of the Romans because he could not get from several guardsmen the same version of a brawl that had happened in the courtyard of the Tower two days before. The Hungarian anti-Semitism, "tempered by corruption," is compared to the "czarist ab-

solutism tempered by assassination." To describe Horthy's predicament after his revisionism had thrown him into Hitler's arms, the words of Goethe's "apprentice sorcerer" are quoted: "I cannot rid myself of the spirits I called."

But Horthy's alliance with Nazi Germany was not accidental. It was for Hungary the last link of a long chain.

It was this German influence, coupled with the shortsighted and selfish policy of the ruling caste, which ultimately brought Hungary to disaster. This disaster did not start, as propagandists of the Horthy regime want to make us believe, in March, 1944, when the German "ally" insisted on a more reliable Nazi-minded government, or in October, 1944, when the Magyar Nazis took over. Nor did it begin with the dismemberment of Hungary in 1920, nor even with Hungary's joining Germany in World War I. Although apologists and press agents of the former Hungarian ruling caste will scarcely admit it, the germs of the disease which finally produced an apparently hopeless situation in the Hungarian state can be traced back to that period in which the ruling classes, forgetful of their European-minded leaders of the previous century, became the willing slaves of their Hapsburg and German overlords in order to gain or retain independence in handling the lower classes, including the national minorities.

It was this bargain which brought them to the brink of the abyss. No doubt the composition of the ruling caste changed with the lapse of time, but its mentality, its bellicose propensity, its feeling of superiority remained essentially unaltered. In this case, too, the old adage proved to be true that *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. Not one link is missing in that sequence of events which led Hungary from the tragedy of Mohacs via Trianon to the disaster at the end of the last war. The victim, too, was always the same—the Hungarian people, who had to suffer for the shortsighted lust for power, the love of ease and luxury, and the errors of their betters.

So much for the tragic past, sealed by the present revolutionary transformation of Hungary. "Desperate gamblers," trying to "undo history" and to restore the realm of St. Stephen, will hardly have a chance in the future. But "there is no such thing as a republic without republicans or a democracy without a democratic spirit. No democratic form of government—for that matter no permanent government—can be imposed by the victors on the vanquished."

Thus the author seems to conceive of two stages for the organization of Hungary as a democratic state. A first period would take care of the democratic education of the masses and of the economic reorganization. "Whether we like it or not, post-war emergencies sometimes necessitate authoritarian measures. Whether we like it or not, a revolution is going on in Hungary as elsewhere, even if the wishful thinking of the victors prefers to call it law and order." This brings to one's mind Mr. Vishinsky's "dictatorial democracy."

Only later will the second, literally democratic period start, for an educated and conscious nation to which democracy would have come, "as the history of Western countries

proves, in the wake of industrialization." Then it will not be merely the "affixing of the signboard of democracy to the political stage, as scenery was changed in the Shakespearean theater."

Of course, all this pertains mainly to the domestic problem of Hungary. As for the international problem, the author points out that "it depends much more on that iron curtain which may divide Europe. Not only the existence of an independent Hungarian state but the future welfare of mankind hangs on averting the schism of which Winston Churchill has so emphatically warned the world." And, as if whistling in the dark, Dr. Vambery repeats the question of his friend Iaszi: "Why should Stalin return in Hungary to the policy of militant communism or revolutionary mysticism which he has abandoned at home?"

Two years ago Professor Vambery and I, lecturing together at a college, had to disappoint our audience in its expectation of a "spirited" discussion: we could not find a single point of disagreement. Straws in the wind? Shall we find, when we return to Danubia, that the lesson of history has been understood at last?

In Dr. Vambery's words, "For Hungary and the whole Danubian region fairness is identical with the federative idea." But "two years ago the Soviet Union opposed any Southeastern European federation lest it turn into a *cordon sanitaire* of the Western powers against Russia, and discussions of the plan were therefore discontinued."

Today the second Paris conference is in session. The stalemate cannot continue. Peace treaties must be signed and a constructive solution found for Danubia. Why not a U. N. advisory commission to help reorganize the region economically and prepare its federation?

But, to quote Dr. Vambery's final sentence, can defeated countries "afford the luxury of doubting the wisdom of the victors?"

CHARLES A. DAVILA

BRIEFER COMMENT

Vichy, House of the Dead

"AGE OF ASSASSINS," by Philippe Soupault (Knopf, \$3), is the record of the author's six months' imprisonment in 1942 as a political suspect in a Tunis jail. "Assassin" may not be the *mot juste* for our epoch of official police terror, torture, and mass deception, but there can be no question that the age, whatever its name, is documented here. M. Soupault tells us that he does not wish to make "literature" but only to tell the truth—"the stupid truth stupidly, the dull truth dully, the sad truth sadly." But this is too narrow a view of literature, especially when it is clear that only a literary man—who happens in this case to be a gifted novelist and poet, and also the author of a very interesting little book on Joyce—could produce so direct, unassuming, and straightforward a piece of writing as this book. Usually it is the "non-literary" who fall into inflated bathos and bombast—into "literature" in the pejorative sense—when they attempt to get their experience down on paper.

In view of his self-imposed limitations, and in spite of the character of his experience itself, M. Soupault has scarcely produced anything to stand beside Dostoevski's "House of

the Dead," or even anything which has the dramatic and journalistic impact of Arthur Koestler's two books on imprisonment. But there are a number of extraordinary observations of prisoners and guards, and the author's struggle to be honest, transparently honest, about his experience itself makes the book worth reading. If he has refrained from generalization, that does not prevent our generalizing for ourselves from his experience. In the history of our totalitarian epoch Vichy has already shrunk to a small and sordid incident: But what this book shows is that all the first signs and shoots—the salutes, the shirt-wearing, the passion to submerge the individual will in that of a leader who "is always right"—had begun to push up their heads among the French, whose traditions of liberty and the rights of man are as strong and long as our own. Perhaps "Age of the Escape from Freedom" would be a better name for our period. Not all the foci of infection have yet disappeared: there are still too many in the world who are consumed by totalitarian longings—however they may disguise these under one rationalization or another.

WILLIAM BARRETT

Militarism and Policemen

THAT IT IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE for an ingenious person to build a complete political theory upon a single aspect of society is once again demonstrated by "Government Against the People," by Asher Brynes (Dodd, Mead, \$3). The author has discovered that there is a connection between the nature of police systems within states and the propensity and ability of those states for war. Upon that partial truth he has built his book, as curious an example of plausible rhetoric and confused ingenuity as I have read since inquiring into bimetallicism.

The central idea of the book is that only those countries which possess democratically controlled police systems can be peaceful states. Of these there are only two in the world, Britain and the United States. Sometimes, however, the causal relationship is reversed. Only secure states can develop a democratic police. America has less reason to fear war than other countries; therefore we have evolved a police that must cooperate with the people. Russia has no defensible frontiers; hence it is a police state. It costs Mr. Brynes an eighty-page outline of Russian social history to establish this lopsided exaggeration.

The rest of Europe is dismissed with the same impertinence. "Consequently there can be no question in Europe of relying on cooperation between police and public and public and police. Law and order are aggressively imposed on Continentals, and with military precision."

The result of this dismissal is to isolate three countries—Russia, Britain, and the United States. The first is a police state and, by implication, cannot possibly be peaceful. The United States should base its foreign relations on this fact, Mr. Brynes argues in his final chapter. We should not even

MARTINSON'S

"LOVE THAT COFFEE"

give post-war aid to police states—that is, not to any country in Europe except Britain. One sees that it all boils down to a familiar conception. The difference is that Mr. Brynes has achieved a conservative position without the necessity of raising basic social problems at all, thus queering the liberal and revolutionary pitch very nicely. One could, of course, take the contrary position—that we should work for international security as a means of liberalizing the police systems of the world. Or one could simply describe Mr. Brynes as an ill-informed traffic cop aspiring to be a divisional inspector and ignore his directions at the next block.

RALPH BATES

Science and Democratic Values

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS we have grown more and more concerned about the role of scientists in determining policy. What are scientists actually doing now? Within the broad framework of democratic values, what ought to be their role? These questions are discussed in a dozen or so papers in "Science for Democracy," edited by Jerome Nathanson (King's Crown Press, \$2.50), the provocative third annual volume of the Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith. The contributors, drawing upon wide experience, cite many specific examples of the ways in which monopolistic corporations abuse the patent laws and otherwise block and confine vital research for their own narrow purposes. Such facts, though not essentially new, cannot be too often repeated. The discussion of remedial measures, however, is less satisfactory. Paul B. Sears, for instance, having shown that science could be used far more effectively for the conservation of natural resources, locates the trouble naively by saying that the people in power are ignorant. Yet his own account shows clearly that natural resources are being depleted by men who know quite well what they are doing. Other contributors are more critical and offer suggestions that go beyond the safe plea for more education. These suggestions, however, though doubtless full of insight, are too often merely *ad hoc*. Scientists are part of a system of social relationships that includes executives, stockholders, professors, and others. Within a framework of beliefs and more or less recognized standards these men are pursuing various interests and mobilizing power of various kinds. The interplay of such forces in any social system yields multiple results, some "good" and some "bad." Only methodical analysis of the system as a whole can show how to minimize the bad results without jeopardizing the good ones.

On this question of applying scientific method to the solution of social problems the best points in the report would be more cogent and clear if they were brought together out of the scattered and diverse contributions of Jerome Frank, John A. P. Millet, Morris Opler, and Ernest Nagel. One function of the scientist is to diagnose the social situation in order to uncover the needs to be met. Some of the needs

will not be obvious, because the observer comes perhaps from a different social group; other needs are unconscious and hidden behind fine rationalizations. Having made a diagnosis, the scientist must, before recommending practical steps, try to estimate the probable consequences of alternative courses of action. Among the consequences that must be anticipated, as far as possible, are the reactions of various interested groups, some of which will be pleased and others plagued by any induced change.

There has been too much talk of late to the effect that scientists ought to be in control of things. Actually, no course of action can be wholly scientific. The function of deciding policy is an executive function, performed under democratic safeguards. The indispensable role of the scientist, as this brief but rich volume suggests, should be limited to helping the executive in the process of narrowing down the range of choice.

HARRY M. JOHNSON

Stilwell in Burma

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WAR were never reflected adequately by the communiqués or by day-to-day reporting. One was the internal conflict among the Allies over questions of military and political strategy; another the manner in which important military leaders influenced developments. On both accounts Fred Eldridge's "Wrath in Burma" (Doubleday, \$3) sheds considerable light on a little-known sector of the Far Eastern war. The author, who was Stilwell's public-relations officer, shared his overriding interest in quick victory and his utter disdain for the British concern for empire and Chungking's desire to hoard material for the post-war civil war. As a result of this partisanship the book is likely to provoke the same sort of controversy as Ralph Ingersoll's "Top Secret," but for this reader it was particularly enjoyable as an effective portrait of a man who is both a great democrat and a remarkable military leader.

ANDREW ROTH

FICTION IN REVIEW

HAVING been told that William Saroyan's "The Adventures of Wesley Jackson" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.75) was the first anti-war novel of World War II, I ignored the warning of nausea induced by its opening sentence—"My name is Wesley Jackson, I'm nineteen years old, and my favorite song is 'Valencia'"—and followed it through the whole of its maudlin length. It is a form of punishment distinctly not recommended to friends of this column. Even the most masochistic reader should be content with a lightning tour of Mr. Saroyan's chapter headings—Wesley Makes an Astrological Bargain, Sees a Star, and Learns a Secret; Wesley Escapes a Life of Lying and Dreams a Terrible Dream; Wesley Witnesses a Strange Sight, Receives a Number of Letters Addressed to the People of the World, and Is Visited by His Father; Wesley Is Banished to Ohio and Has a Farewell Drink with the Modern Woman; Wesley Tries to Tell Joe Foxhall What He's Gotten Hep to, and Pop Tries to Tell Wesley Something He Can't Remember; Wesley Goes A. W. O. L. Looking for Pop and Finds a Woman Singing


MARTINSON'S
"LOVE THAT COFFEE"

"Valencia" in the Snow; Wesley and Jill Cleave Together for a Son if It Is the Will of God, etc., etc. There are seventy-six such titles.

That Mr. Saroyan's novel adds up to some kind of anti-war position there is no question. Neither Wesley Jackson nor anyone else his author trusts wished to be drafted; no one Mr. Saroyan respects has any conviction of what he is fighting, or finds any joy or intelligence in army life. And conceivably it took a certain courage for Mr. Saroyan to proclaim his strong sentiments against war so soon after the termination of hostilities. As to his specific indictments of army organization, temper, and procedure, while of course no civilian is equipped to support or refute them, the most non-military reader must recognize the thread of illogic that runs through them. One notes, for instance, that whereas the unwillingness to go overseas and be killed is presented as proof of the virtue of Wesley and his friends, the same distaste for danger and death is proof among the officers only of their cowardice. One observes that when the higher-ups have recourse to "influence" Mr. Saroyan offers this as evidence of their venality, but when the Wesleys of the army use influence Mr. Saroyan offers it as evidence of the brotherhood of man. One need be little a moral absolutist to hold judgment in reserve before such an easy and quite unconscious relativism.

The brotherhood of man has of course always been Mr. Saroyan's Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Ocean Charter. But what is freshly interesting about "The Adventures of Wesley Jackson" is the further insight it gives us into the kind of man with whom Mr. Saroyan feels such strong brotherly con-

nection, its data on the structure of the society he opts for. The people with whom he would make a fellowship are vagrants, half-criminals, the insane, prostitutes, drunkards—all the rootless elements of the population who, if only because they do not fit comfortably into our present system, Mr. Saroyan believes to have some special secret of happiness. His social ideal has nothing in common with a socialist ideal. He has no bias in favor of the proletariat; indeed, his society gives a particularly warm welcome to millionaires, provided they are of a sufficient eccentricity. His Utopia, like John Steinbeck's, is a state of irresponsibility. And in relation to his society of irresponsibles, the Writer—the capitals are Mr. Saroyan's own—has two functions: he is its promotion manager, its Official Propagandist; he also writes its popular songs.

Naturally, the songs are songs of love. Mr. Saroyan himself sings in praise of the love of man for man, of man for woman, of parents for children (especially of fathers for their unborn sons), of children for parents. He sings of our love for God, of our love for our friends who are called our enemies, of everything, in fact, except our love for our enemies who are called our friends: these he hates with un-Christian fervor. For the aggression of war Mr. Saroyan offers the substitute of the aggression of love. Not, obviously, that he himself recognizes his pious emotions as even a weapon of self-defense, let alone a counter-attack. But I can scarcely imagine the reader who at the end of 285 pages of Mr. Saroyan's suffocating affection would not choose to face a machine-gun sooner than be loved to death by Wesley Jackson.

Red Army will Collapse in 3 Months!

That's what we were told in June 1941. That misconception was one of the products of the greatest conspiracy of modern times. That conspiracy helped bring about Fascism and World War II. The conspiracy is still going on. *This time it can bring the world down around our ears.*

The Great Conspiracy against Russia bares the whole record of international intrigue against Soviet Russia from the Revolution of 1917 up to the present minute. It is crammed with fact, thoroughly documented. It is a sensational story involving spies, saboteurs and assassins told with the lightning pace of a thrilling novel.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY AGAINST RUSSIA

by MICHAEL SAYERS and ALBERT KAHN

Authors of "Sabotage" and "The Plot against the Peace"

With a special introduction by Senator CLAUDE PEPPER

Senator CLAUDE PEPPER says: "The most important book of the day. It should have the widest possible distribution. It is required reading for every American and British statesman, and, for that matter, for every citizen of both countries."

"A strange and frightening story, backed up with a vast array of documented evidence, intrigue, sabotage, terror."

—Newsweek

\$1.00
WHEREVER
BOOKS
ARE SOLD

NOW IN A DOLLAR EDITION!

Read it yourself, of course! But don't stop there! This is a book to give to your friends. It is a weapon for peace!

BONI
&
GAER

15 E. 40th St., New York 16, N. Y.

Charles Scribner's Sons

announce the publication of

A Little Treasury of Modern Poetry

Edited, with an Introduction, by
OSCAR WILLIAMS

THIS AUTHORITATIVE COLLECTION of the best poems written during the past fifty years at last enables the general reader to have, in one convenient and readable volume, the poetry that has made the literary history of our time. It contains over four hundred poems, a richly complete representation of the major English and American poetry of the Twentieth Century, from the publication of A. E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad* to the distinguished poetry published at the close of World War II. The great figures of modern poetry are well represented with fifteen poems by Gerard Manley Hopkins, fourteen by Robert Frost, twelve by W. H. Auden, twelve by W. B. Yeats, and ten by T. S. Eliot, including "The Waste Land," which Mr. Eliot has permitted to be used in a general anthology for the first time in twenty-five years. The finest short lyrics and well-known favorites by many other important poets, including the younger living poets, will also be found here. This variety and this inclusiveness of representation make the book indeed a treasury.

Attractive features include: a spirited light verse section and a portrait section of the poets, 64 portraits in all. Mr. Williams' Introduction alone would give the reader a genuine critical understanding of modern poetry, yet, like the entire contents of this rich little volume, it is pleasantly easy to read. Here is a book, for the living room, the library, and for your vacation. Double buckram cover, gold top, reading ribbon, 672 pages, with index. \$2.75

Among the Contributing Poets:

Conrad Aiken	D. H. Lawrence
W. H. Auden	Vachel Lindsay
Louise Bogan	Archibald MacLeish
Robert Bridges	John Masefield
Rupert Brooke	Edna St. V. Millay
Hart Crane	Ogden Nash
E. E. Cummings	Wilfred Owen
Walter de la Mare	E. A. Robinson
Emily Dickinson	Marianne Moore
T. S. Eliot	Edith Sitwell
Robert Frost	Stephen Spender
Robert Graves	Wallace Stevens
G. M. Hopkins	Sara Teasdale
A. E. Housman	Elinor Wylie
Thomas Hardy	W. B. Yeats
Robinson Jeffers	and others

at all bookstores

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

There is perhaps one further point worth calling attention to in Mr. Saroyan's book—the curious anatomy of its sexual emotions. The naughty imaginings of a little boy—all a matter of tearing off women's clothes (chiefly older women than Wesley, by the way), of "sporting around" to the tunes of Brahms and Tchaikowsky, and of getting for nothing what other men pay for—combine with ambitions of such purity and exaltation that they can be rendered only in the Biblical language of cleaving and begetting. Although Wesley Jackson occupies his army leaves very efficiently and entirely gratis between the Modern Woman and the madam of an expensive house, these amorous adventures are shown to be merely affectionate interludes in the serious business of searching for a girl-wife. Eventually he finds "darling Jill" and marries her: he holds her in his arms until morning and "it was the same many nights." And when Jill is finally allowed "to take unto herself his heart's delight in her... to see if their smiling together might be, by the grace of God, themselves together in their own æon," Wesley records the happy consummation in the family Bible.

After the viscous experience of Mr. Saroyan, almost anything, even Somerset Maugham's "Then and Now" (Double-day, \$2.50), would come as a breath of free air. In its own fashion, however, Mr. Maugham's new book too is something to cause the spirits to fail. A re-creation of Machiavelli's life in the years that preceded the writing of "The Prince" and "Mandrágola," "Then and Now" alternates between a textbook dryness of historical outline and an embarrassingly primitive effort to liven things up. "He had not spared his wit and wisdom to teach him the ways of the world, how to make friends and influence people. And this was his reward, to have his girl snatched away from him under his very nose." This, for instance, is Mr. Maugham's idiom for the working of Machiavelli's mind. Perhaps not every page can equal in vulgarity this sample of Mr. Maugham's method, but very few pages fail to proclaim, by their deadness or coyness or simpleness, his lamentable inadequacy to the historical subject he has chosen to fictionalize. The single section of "Then and Now" which at all reveals the practiced hand of the craftsman for which its author is renowned is the passage in which Machiavelli starts giving a literary form to an adventure he has just passed through; Mr. Maugham's version of the transmutation into drama of actual events is engaging. But even here our pleasure at watching fact being alchemized into fiction is shadowed by the realization of how little "Then and Now" itself commands this sorcerer's art.

DIANA TRILLING

MARTINSON'S
"LOVE THAT COFFEE"

STAGE PLAY

"A SMASH HIT!"—*Life Magazine*
RICHARD RODGERS and OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd Present

ETHEL MERMAN in

"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN"

Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY MIDDLETON
Directed by JOSEPH LAMON
IMPERIAL THEA., 45th St. W. of Bway. Mats. Wed. & Sat. Air-Cond.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
89th ST.
92nd ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

RIKO NOW

"Entertainment at its subtle best!"

—N. Y. World-Telegram.

DARRYL F. ZANUCK Presents

GENE TIERNEY • VINCENT PRICE

'DRAGONWYCK'

From ANYA SETON'S Novel

— AND —

'DING DONG WILLIAMS'

MARCY McGUIRE • GLENN VERNON

"Tender drama of the Bronte Family."

—N. Y. Sun

IDA LUPINO • PAUL HENREID

OLIVIA SYDNEY
De HAVILLAND • GREENSTREET

'Devotion'

— AND —

'FALCON'S ALIBI' TOM CONWAY HITA CORDAY

MOTION PICTURES

HAL WALLIS

The producer of "Casablanca,"
"Love Letters" and "Saratoga
Trunk" now brings you

ROBERT YOUNG
SYLVIA SYDNEY
ANN RICHARDS

in "THE

Searching Wind"

From the Successful
Broadway Play by

LILLIAN HELLMAN

with

DUDLEY DIGGES

and introducing

DOUGLAS DICK

a HAL WALLIS Production

Directed by

William Dieterle

Screenplay by

Lillian Hellman

A Paramount Picture

Midnight Feature Nightly

NOW **PARAMOUNT**

★
— In Person —
The Singing
Sensation of 1946

ANDY
RUSSELL

PLUS

ALEN

CARNEY

JACK

WILLIAMS

THE PIED PIPERS

Extra Added
Attraction

RAYMOND

SCOTT

and His Thrilling

NEW

1946 BAND



TIMES
SQUARE

WILL JAMES'

'SMOKY'

IN THRILLING TECHNICOLOR

STARRING

FRED MACMURRAY

with ANNE BAXTER And introducing the
Singing Troubadour
A 20th CENTURY-FOX PICTURE

— ON STAGE! —

DONALD O'CONNOR

with PATSY O'CONNOR

THE THREE SWIFTS

EXTRA! BUSTER SHAVER

COOL

Now
Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at
50th Street

STAGE PLAY

"A smash hit of
enormous pro-
portions." —
Ward More-
house, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40, Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40. AIR-COND.

★ Buy Bonds—To Keep ★

EUGENE O'NEILL says:
"The finest picture I have ever seen. I enjoyed it so much
I went a second time... and I am going to see it again."

The THEATRE GUILD presents

LAURENCE OLIVIER
in William Shakespeare's

"HENRY V"

IN TECHNICOLOR • Released Thru United Artists

PRICES: Evns. (at 8:30) \$2.40, \$1.80 Mats. daily (at 2:30) \$1.80, \$1.70

ALL SEATS RESERVED

NOW! N. Y. CITY CENTER 131 West
55th St.

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
THE MUSICAL HIT

CAROUSEL

Musio by Richard Rodgers Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d Directed by Harold Koel Dances by Jean Darling
Erie Mattson • Christine Johnson • Jean Caste
AIR-MAJESTIC Theatre 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evns. 8:30
COND. Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
Musio by Richard Rodgers Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d Directed by Harold Koel Dances by Jack Killy
Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
AIR-ST. JAMES Theatre 44th St. W. of Broadway, Evns. 8:30
COND. Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

Coming!

LOUIS FISCHER'S

"REPORT ON THE WORLD"

will appear in the

PROGRESSIVE

The Liberal News Weekly

Famed correspondent and commentator Louis Fischer is off to India to re-visit and interview Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru. Then he goes to

- Arabia
- Palestine
- Egypt
- Germany
- Poland
- Italy
- France
- England

to interview leaders in these lands. From previous visits Mr. Fischer knows the countries and many of their leaders personally. His "Report On the World" will make some of the year's most important reading. Be sure you read it in THE PROGRESSIVE.

Also Coming—

OTHER FEATURE WRITERS ON VITAL TOPICS

Stuart Chase, Dorothy Thompson, Carleton Beals, Kenneth Crawford, Milton Mayer, John Haynes Holmes, John Chamberlain, James Wechsler, Fred Rodell, Wilson Wyatt, Wayne Morse, Richard L. Neuberger.

Special Introductory Offer
22 Weeks for \$1.00
THE PROGRESSIVE
Dept. N, Madison 2, Wisconsin

Enclosed is \$1.00. Send the next 22 issues of the PROGRESSIVE to:

Name.....

Street.....

City, State.....

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

OUR natural and even urgent curiosity as to the developments in French painting since 1940 has been but meagerly satisfied by a few portfolios of reproductions and, in the last month, by a dozen or so oils shown at the Matisse Gallery: three paintings apiece by Matisse, Jean Dubuffet, and André Marchand, two by Rouault, and one apiece by Picasso and Bonnard.

The School of Paris remains still the creative fountainhead of modern art, and its every move is decisive for advanced artists everywhere else—who are advanced precisely because they show the capacity to absorb and extend the preoccupations of that nerve-center and farthest nerve-end of the modern consciousness which is French art. Other places—Berlin under the Weimar Republic, for instance—may have manifested greater sensitivity to immediate history, but Paris has during the last hundred years revealed the most faithful understanding of the changing historical essence of our society.

The concern of French painting since Delacroix and Courbet with the "physical" or technical has reflected, more integrally perhaps than any contemporary phase of any other art, the conscious or unconscious positivism that forms the core of the bourgeois-industrialist ethos. It did not matter that the individual artist was a professing Catholic or a mystic or an anti-Dreyfusard—in spite of himself, his art spoke positivism or materialism: its essence lay in the immediate sensation, and it operated under the most drastic possible reduction of the visual act. It is exactly because Picasso is one of the most literary and super-structural of all painters in intention, and therefore incomparably sensitive to his age and milieu, that he was forced to produce cubism, the latest and most radical of all forms of positive art. His very genius—which involved this hypersensitivity to the fundamental moods of an age that expressed itself much more sincerely in its techniques and methods than in its conscious ideologies—made it too difficult for him to devote himself *ambitiously* to anything but the "physical."

After 1920 the School of Paris's positivism, which had been carried by the essentially optimistic assumption that infinite prospects of "technical" advance lay before it, began to lose faith in itself.

At the same time that the suspicion arose that capitalism itself no longer commanded perspectives of infinite expansion, it began to be suspected that "physical" art was likewise faced with limits beyond which it could not go. Mondrian seemed the handwriting on the wall. But artists like Matisse and Picasso also appear to have felt that unless painting proceeded, at least during our time, in its exploration of the physical, it would stop advancing altogether—that to turn to the literary would be to retreat and repeat; whether the physical was exhausted or not, there was no ambitious alternative. All this—the despair of the physical and the doubt whether anything but the physical remained—is dramatically mirrored in the painting Picasso has done since 1927.

Materialism and positivism when they become pessimistic turn into hedonism, usually. And the path-breakers of the School of Paris, Matisse and Picasso, and Miró, too—no less than the surrealists and the neo-romantics, whose pessimism rests on cynicism rather than on despair—began during the twenties to emphasize more than ever the pleasure element in their art. The School of Paris no longer sought to *discover* pleasure but to *provide* it. But whereas the surrealists and the neo-romantics conceived of pleasure in terms of sentimental subject matter, Matisse, Picasso, and those who followed them saw it principally in luscious color, rich surfaces, decoratively infected design.

In Matisse's hands this hedonism signifies at times something quite other than the decadence many people think to see in it. From reproductions one gathers that during the war he returned to "luxury" painting, after having in the several years previous shown increasing tendencies toward almost abstract simplification. The return to "luxury" seems to have resulted in a great gain—if not in his figure and conversation pieces, which seem casual and thin, then certainly in his new still lifes, which, benefiting at last by post-cubism, mark one more peak of Matisse's art. Their controlled sensuality, their careful sumptuousness prove that the flesh is as capable of virtue as the soul and can enjoy itself with equal rigor.

Picasso seems to have renounced hedonism at the time of the Spanish civil war. And his still life at the Matisse Gallery, for all its connection with the School of Paris's recent consumer's preoccupation with food and intimate objects, strives for the same *terribilità* as his figure pieces. This picture fails as

sadly as does all of Picasso's recent work that I have seen in reproduction. He insists on representation in order to answer our time with an art equally explicit as to violence and horror, but at the same time the inherent logic of his genius and his period still pushes him toward the abstract. In my opinion it is Picasso's temperamental resistance to the abstract that has landed him in the impasse in which he now finds himself. It seems to be a case of split personality, which is rather shockingly reflected in the helpless and almost vulgar way in which he has painted the pitcher in the still life at Matisse's.

Bonnard's recent landscape at the same gallery is even more delivered up unto color and color texture than Monet's lily-pad paintings, with contour and definition so summary as to verge on abstract art. It is a fair picture, but not of the same high order as most of the recent work of Bonnard's I have seen in reproduction—which I presume to be adequately faithful.

Rouault's recent work likewise shows an intensification of sensuous qualities, difficult as that would seem in his case. Otherwise it adds nothing to what we already know about his art.

André Marchand is presented as one of the best of the younger generation of Parisian painters. In him the pleasure principle according to the physical tradition is revealed nakedly and decadently. Marchand's drawing owes almost everything to Picasso, while his color has absorbed all that has been rich and juicy in French painting since Renoir and boiled it down to slick, fatty tones through which shine brilliant and exquisite but meaningless intensities of hue. Not all Marchand's tact, *expertise*, and taste can save his art from being confectionery.

Jean Dubuffet—in distinction from Marchand, Gischia, Lepicque, Pigneron, Esteve, and the other younger artists of the School of Paris who pay homage to the physical by crossing Picasso's drawing with Matisse's color and yet arrive at little more than confectionery—reveals literary leanings. But the literature, I must admit, is of a superior order. Dubuffet is the only French painter who, to my knowledge, has consulted Klee, but he has made of Klee's influence something monumental and far more physical, and he has taken advantage of the license won by Klee's whimsy and by children's art for the purpose of a savage attack on the human image. Of Dubuffet's three paintings shown at Matisse's, only one is

successful—"Promeneuse au parapluie," a powerful picture into whose thick, tarry surface a heroic graffito has been scratched. From a distance Dubuffet seems the most original painter to have come out of the School of Paris since Miró, and it is curious that he, like so many lesser American artists, should have followed Klee in order to find an escape from the physical into "poetry." It is too early to tell anything definite—and Klee is a deceptive support in the long run—but if Dubuffet's art consolidates itself on the level indicated by these three pictures of his, then easel painting with *explicit* subject matter will have won a new lease on life.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

NOW and then I am made aware of the curious notions that most people have about criticism. Recently, for example, I received in an envelope my record-column of May 25 with *Records* crossed out and *Likes and Dislikes* substituted at the top, and with each statement that I liked or disliked something underlined throughout the article. As though criticism properly is something more than personal likes and dislikes, and as though such likes and dislikes are mere whims. Actually criticism is as personal as the art it deals with; it begins with the critic's experience of, and response to, the work of art with his particular resources for the purpose; and it ends with his formulation of his judgment—a reasoned statement of like or dislike. My reader underlined my dislike of Brahms's Violin Concerto and again of Szigeti's performance; but he paid no attention to the subsequent statement that "music as pretentious as the first movement, as saccharine as the second, should not be played with fussy, tremulous inflection that exaggerates its faults," which made it clear that the dislike was not mere whim but reasoned judgment of my experience of the work and the performance. But those who like Brahms or Puccini can account for my dislike only on the assumption that it represents not experience but prejudice—that, literally, I judge without knowledge of the music; and when I reply that I do know it very well they contend that I cannot have heard it performed properly.

This is the contention of a reader who has written to "take strong exception to the calling of Puccini's music tripe" in

my column of May 4; but in addition he asks: "Do you actually mean to say that Puccini's music, which has thrilled thousands the world over, is bad?" I might ask in return whether Hollywood's products, which have thrilled millions the world over, are therefore good. But the right answer is Bernard Shaw's statement in one of his dramatic reviews fifty years ago: "It is the business of the critic to educate these dunces, not to echo them." Or as I once put it in this column, a magazine doesn't hire a critic to genuflect before the limited perceptions of the multitude but to give its readers the benefit of the greater perceptions he is presumed to have.

A few of Columbia's June releases that were delayed have straggled in. One is a volume of Negro spirituals sung by Paul Robeson (Set 610; \$3.75). The volume offers "Go Down, Moses," "Balm in Gilead," "By an' By," "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child," "John Henry," "Water Boy," "Nobody Knows de Trouble I've Seen," and "Joshua Fit de Battle of Jericho," which Robeson sings with magnificence of vocal sound that is the medium of impressive emotional force. Lawrence Brown's piano accompaniments seem to me to lack the commensurate force they should have.

On a single (12321-D; \$1) is Elsa's Dream from "Lohengrin," sung by Trau-

YOUR HAIR AND ITS CARE

By O. L. Levin, M.D. and H. T. Behrman, M.D.

NEW, REVISED, EXPANDED EDITION—NOW READY!
If you want healthy hair, lovely hair, then you need the expert advice in this book.


Two medical specialists have here pooled their knowledge to give you in plain language the up-to-date scientific facts now available about hair. They tell you what to do to save and beautify your hair, stimulate healthier hair growth, and deal with many problems, common and uncommon, as:

Dandruff—gray hair—thinning hair—care of the scalp—baldness—abnormal types of hair—excessive oiliness—brittle dryness—hair falling out—infestation—parasites—hair hygiene, etc., etc.

Medical science is better equipped than ever before, to prevent hair trouble; or, if it already exists, to deal effectively with it.

"A worthwhile book full of important information."
—Ohio State Medical Journal.

Price \$2.00, incl. postage, 5-day-Money-Back Guarantee
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 635-D, 151 W. 19th Street, New York 11



BOOKS FOUND FREE!

WHAT BOOKS DO YOU WANT?

We quote lowest market prices. No charge for locating. Hard-to-Find and Out-of-Print Books. All books. OLD or NEW, mailed POST-FREE.

SEARCHLIGHT BOOK REPORTS
21 East 17th Street, New York City

bel with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony under Rodzinski. One is pleasantly surprised at the beginning of the performance by the steadiness and agreeable quality of Traubel's tones, both the soft low tones and the powerful high ones; but later they become tremolo-ridden and acidulous—though not as bad as in the recent Bridal Chamber Duet. The orchestral part is well-performed; and voice and orchestra are well-reproduced.

Why Reiner should record the Waitz from "Carousel" with the Pittsburgh Symphony (12322-D; \$1) is a mystery not explained by the quality of the music. The performance and recording are good. And another mystery is Victor's recordings of performances by Harold Bauer—this time affected performances of Greig's Albumblatt Opus 28 No. 3 and Berceuse Opus 38 No. 1 (10-1217; \$.75). Recording is good enough.

BOOKS

OUT-OF-PRINT and hard-to-find books located free of charge. Send list of wants to J. Thompson, 1 Hillside Ave., Pelham, N. Y.

"STAGEFRIGHT, Its Cause and Cure." Booklet \$1.00. Goodhue Studio, 56 Fayerweather Street, Cambridge, Mass.

WE SPECIALIZE in supplying out-of-print books. Catalogues sent on request. University Book Reserve, 12 Hewins St., Dorchester 21, Mass.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE to all your favorite magazines and newspapers with one order. One bill to pay after orders or renewals are accepted. Catalog free. John Crehore, Post-box 2329-N, Washington 13, D. C.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.40 per carton, postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0936. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

LANGUAGES

ALL LANGUAGES easily and quickly learned by phonograph records. LIN-GUAPHONE, other makes. New, used—rented. A. Alin, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17. MU. 3-1093.

There are more than 42,539 readers of The Nation doing what you are doing—reading this advertisement. If you have something of interest to offer them—call The Nation Advertising Department for particulars as to space, cost and closing date of next issue.

THE NATION

20 Vesey St., N. Y. C. 7 BAday 7-1066

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Report from China

[The following excerpts are from a letter written by an American UNRRA worker stationed in Tsingtao, China, to a friend of The Nation, who suggests that we pass on the information to our readers.]

Dear Friends: . . . I am in Shantung Province. The Communists have taken over 95 per cent of the province, and 36,000,000 people out of a population of 38,000,000 are in their territory. . . . The Nationalists have been clever enough to get Kiser, the UNRRA director, to give them carte blanche in the allocation of UNRRA supplies; so that they have been able to prevent any supplies going to the 36,000,000 in the Communist area and have given 87 per cent of the supplies for the whole province to the 2,000,000 in their own territory. . . . There are seven qualified Chinese doctors for the entire population of Shantung. There is a terrific amount of Kala Azar among the children and relapsing fever among the adults and tuberculosis among everybody. Infant mortality is 50 per cent, because of tetanus. . . .

In Shanghai the Red Cross Hospital and the Children's Hospital were nightmares: patients in dirty clothes lying on filthy mattresses or straw pallets—no sheets, but dirty, ragged quilts brought from home. After my visit I had dinner with ten Chinese doctors—twenty-four courses with six different soups. One dish was a hot orange soup with rose leaves, another was duck tongues and mushrooms. The cost of the dinner would have bought sheets or sleeping garments for all the fifty patients in the Children's Hospital. The next day Dr. Jean Ching at UNRRA told me that the Shanghai medical group is one of the most reactionary groups in the country.

In this province even the distribution of flour has become more or less of a racket. In a village twelve miles from here the people who register for flour have to return part of it as a "kickback."

If the Chiang Kai-shek set remains in power without the competition of another party, the masses will never have a chance. . . .

In the children's orphanages at the refugee schools here in Tsingtao the children get two meals a day, each consisting of a mixture of flour and pota-

toes made into a steamed ball about the size of an orange, and water. . . .

It is a tragedy in view of the need and the indescribable poverty and misery that the money spent by UNRRA isn't in the hands of men who are 100 per cent honest and 100 per cent sincere. There are too many Americans and Englishmen in this organization for what they can get out of it—people who don't give a damn about the Chinese and who are willing to play ball with the Nationalists in CNRRA who are using relief supplies for political ends. Also it is difficult to do an honest-to-God job in view of this asinine agreement of Kiser's whereby CNRRA can do anything they please with the supplies and we have no power to force an accounting. . . .

Anyone who has worn out or faded children's clothing or sweaters and who can send them to me air freight will be giving a big lift. Address them to me, marked personal. Clothes no child in the New York slums would wear I can use with many thanks.

DR. CATHARINE D. LEALTAD

U. S. P. H. S., 5154, c/o UNRRA, Tsingtao, China. Third Marine Brigade, F. P. O., San Francisco

France's Senators

Dear Sirs: George Slocombe's article is France Swinging to the Right? is excellent. But when he says that "each department of France elected two senators irrespective of its size or population," he must have mistaken the Channel for the Atlantic. The number of senators was roughly proportional to the population. Representation was heavily weighted in favor of the rural districts, but by less obvious means.

ALBERT GUERARD

Palo Alto, Cal., May 22

Lost Generation

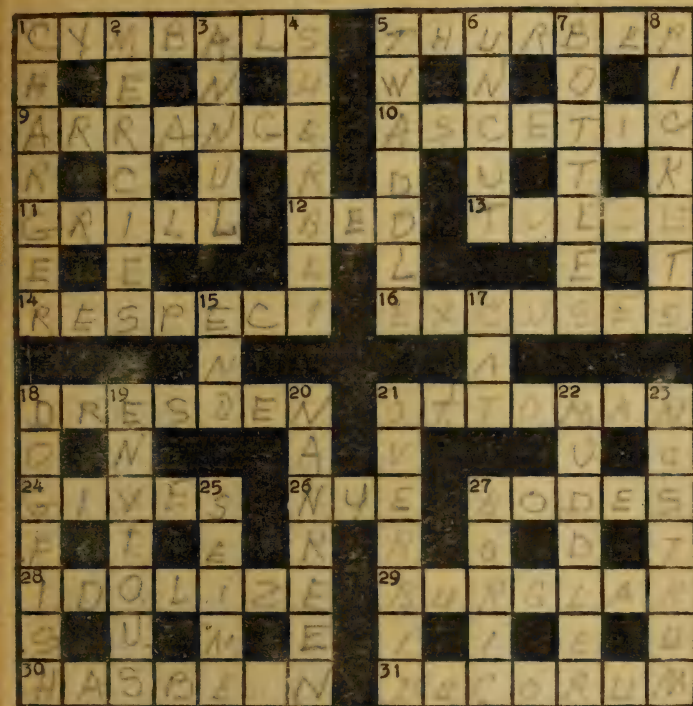
Dear Sirs: Very informative political forecast, your Guide to the Primaries (The Nation, June 1). But, alas for accuracy, in your Massachusetts paragraph you put the present Henry Cabot Lodge into the wrong generation. He is a grandson, not son, of the villain of the Woodrow Wilson movie. His father was George Cabot Lodge, poet, who died young.

F. W. COBURN

Lowell, Mass., June 1

Crossword Puzzle No. 167

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 They produce striking music between them
- 5 Contemporary American author
- 9 Put in order
- 10 Bed and board are synonymous to him
- 11 Hot iron
- 12 Go to it
- 13 Delicate silk dress fabric
- 14 Honor
- 16 Alibis
- 18 Germany's only link with China, and that a pretty fragile one
- 21 Turkey's soft spot
- 24 Is present indicative
- 26 American humorist of an earlier day
- 27 Foreshows
- 28 Treat like a god
- 29 A thief in the night
- 30 A thing of the past
- 31 Decency

- 7 Of glass, leather or hay
- 11 The Germans call it "English disease"
- 15 Wind up
- 17 "Popped on its drawers and ran off," in the Spoonerism
- 18 No connection with barks sailing the sea
- 19 Covetous
- 20 Chinese cotton cloth
- 21 Overcalled one's hand
- 22 Sounds a fruitful busybody
- 23 Quack remedy
- 25 Fishing-net for at least one river
- 27 The right acid for eyewash

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 166

ACROSS:—1 HERO; 4 COTES; 7 PURE; 9 ORMOLU; 10 MONEY; 12 ELMO; 13 STEM; 15 SALERNO; 17 SCORES; 18 TAHITI; 19 SEA; 21 FIDELIO; 23 LACOSTE; 24 PIP; 26 EDITOR; 28 SKIPPY; 31 NOMINEE; 32 YOKI; 35 MEAL; 36 PSALM; 37 LASSIE; 38 ENDS; 39 LOSER; 40 SEDAN.

DOWN:—1 HERO; 2 VIOLAS; 3 SQUEEZE; 4 CEMENT; 5 TANS; 6 SKYE; 7 PIERS; 8 ROMEO; 11 ETHICS; 14 MAIZE; 15 SEALION; 18 OATCAKE; 19 SOP; 20 ALP; 21 FIERY; 22 DRINKS; 25 ICICLES; 27 ROAMER; 28 SENSED; 29 PREEN; 30 YOLKS; 33 OPAL; 34 EARS; 35 MIEN.

POSITIONS WANTED

WILL TYPE and/or PROOFREAD manuscripts, reports, documents. Accurate, intelligent, speedy homework. Moderate fee. Box 1622, c/o The Nation.

TYPING SERVICE—Novel-length manuscripts a specialty. Carbon copy. Neat; prompt; work proofread. 55¢ per thousand words. ADCO, Station P, Box 131, Brooklyn 12, N. Y.

INSTITUTION DIRECTOR, including food service. Special work with Latin Americans. Experienced colleges, hotels, hospitals. Graduate research. Protestant. Box 1623, c/o The Nation.

SOUTHERN COLORED DOMESTIC and Hotel Workers Desire Jobs. Write today, Quality Employment Service Assn., 214 Clay St., Richmond 19, Va.

GIRL FRIDAY intensely interested public relations. Much ability; varied experience. Will travel. Box 1626, c/o The Nation.

GUIDANCE

DEPENDABLE evaluation of character, personality, aptitudes and counseling for career, education, human relations. By appointment or by mail. For information write Alfred Reiss, Ph.D., 680 Fort Washington Avenue, New York 33.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

40 MILE VIEW; one acre garden; six-room house with new cellar; new white paint; freshly plastered walls; 16 miles Tanglewood; electricity; well. Asking \$3,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, Chatham, N. Y.

SUMMER CABINS

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults. Swimming, boating, fishing, good food. Private baths. June 27th to September 16th. From \$80.00 weekly double. American plan. Box 77, Munsonville, N. H.

Buy Your Books through THE NATION

• Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
THE NATION
20 VESEY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.

DOWN

- 1 Dish of horse
- 2 Undeserved blessings
- 3 Wipe out
- 4 A water ice
- 5 Talk mostly as ducks walk
- 6 Why you may be unable to turn over a new leaf

RESORTS



The Friendly Adult Camp

OPENING JUNE 21st

Gayly Informal
All Sports Facilities
FRANK ROTH'S ORCHESTRA
Broadway Stage Stars
GEORGE MARVIN, M. C.

Comfortable Cabins and Lodges
Excellent American-Jewish Cuisine

WOPOWOG LODGE
on Lake Salmon, East Hampton, Conn.
Write for Booklet to

200 5th Ave. N.Y.C. GRam. 7-1177

Managing Director: Dr. Maxwell Kaye
Associate Directors:
Sammy Kay Johnny Swedlin

★STAR LAKE CAMP★

In the Glorious Adirondacks

Between Thousand Islands and Ausable Chasm. A marvelous pleasure playground, 1,800 feet elevation and right on the lake with plenty of gorgeous woodlands, Bungalows and lodges with hot and cold running water and modern conveniences. Tennis Courts, Canoeing, Swimming, Handball, Baseball, Ping Pong, Fishing, Saddle Horses, Golf, Cards, Dancing, etc. Interesting one-day trips arranged. Delicious wholesome meals. Dietary Laws. Rates: \$45, \$50, \$55 per person.

Send for Booklet — New York Office

320 BROADWAY Room 906 CO 7-2667
Sundays, Evenings, Holidays — PR 4-1390

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477
Delightful...Boating and swimming in our private lake.
Different...The colonial atmosphere.
Delicious...Our unexcelled cuisine.
Diversing...Recordings for listening & dancing.
All this only 53 miles from New York City
A Resort for Adults Only



Gloucester, Mass.
ABRAM RESNICK
Director

This Adult Camp...

Sheltered cove near picturesque Gloucester. Salt water swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premises. Dancing, tennis, trips and all sports.

Write for booklet and rates.

MAPLE GROVE MT. HOUSE

■ Ideal Vacation Spot ■ Modern Accommodations
■ All Adult Sports ■ Informal Atmosphere
■ Excellent Cuisine ■ Dietary Laws
RATES: \$37.50 • \$40.00 • \$42.50

Kerkhousen 8004M; 3641
Accord, New York

RESORTS

45 Miles from New York City Zindorest

★ **Park** Monroe
N. Y.

Telephone 4421

A Resort for Adults Only

Exclusive location. 150 acres of unusual beauty. All sports. Lake and Pool on premises. Delicious food, relaxing atmosphere, dancing, horseback riding on premises, modern accommodations.

Greyhound, Adirondack Trailway and Short Line Buses stop at our Entrance. ★

RELAX, REJOICE with SPRING at

Lakecrest

On Hunn's Lake • Stanfordsville, N. Y.

88 miles from N. Y. Ideal location in the heart of DUTCHESS COUNTY. Excellent accommodations. Cordial hospitality. Recordings. Library. All seasonal sports. Via N.Y.C.R.R. to Amenia, N.Y. Open all year

WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS
EVA BERG, Director Stanfordsville 2528

Your private
The country estate
while you are
our guest.

Glenmere

In the Ramapos
CHESTER, N. Y.

51 Miles from New York City

Your private lake with beautiful white sand beach. Your private golf course. We offer you excellent accommodations, superb cuisine and every facility for your entertainment. Glenmere is a glorious place for your vacation.

N. Y. Office: RE. 2-5047

HUNNS LAKE HOUSE

STANFORDVILLE NEW YORK
Charming Lake and countryside, rustic, restful. Directly lake, sailing, boating, fishing and other sports. Beautiful walks on own grounds. Excellent American cuisine. Ideal for weekends and vacations. Adults only. Rates: \$45.00 week; \$7.00 day.

POPPER & McNAMEE Phone
(Formerly Shadybrook, Mahopac) Stanfordsville 2931



Private Beach, Boats, Golf, Outdoor Activities, Fine Food

T. H. Flaum

Stonegate LODGE

ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
NEW ADULT RESORT IN THE ADIRONDACKS
Limited Accommodations. Rates \$65 to \$85.

Open in September
GEORGE KLEINSINGER, Musical Activities Director
Fishing • Motor Boating • Tennis • Golf
New York Office: 150 Nassau Street, W.O. 2-2900
LOUIS A. BOTH, Director

RESORTS

ROSS COUNTRY CLUB MONROE, New York

A PALATIAL ESTATE
in a setting of Scenic Splendor
SWIMMING POOL IN A PINE TREE
SETTING — LAKE ON PREMISES
ROWING — EXCELLENT COCKTAIL LOUNGE —
DANCING
WALTER SAMUELS, Manager
N. Y. Phone: MU. 4-3803 — Monroe 6161
Location: 5 miles above Monroe, Rt. 208

Only 50 miles
from New York



Yours for Vacation Enjoyment

HILLTOP LODGE

On beautiful Sylvan Lake
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.

65 mi. from N. Y. C. • R. R. Station Pawling, N. Y.
Every conceivable Sport and Recreation
with intimate, congenial people

Many improved features for the new season!

Open from May thru October

New York Office: 277 BROADWAY
SOL ROTHHAUSER
Cortlandt 7-3558

INVITATION TO RELAX

Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous countryside, outdoor activities, delicious food — and fun. Only 55 miles from New York! MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY

plum point
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N.Y. Tel: Newburgh 4276

CASA MANOR

On Beautiful LAKE COSSAYUNA
COSSAYUNA, NEW YORK

Only 20 miles from famed Saratoga. 50-guest limit to preserve comfortable, restful, informal atmosphere. Excellent cuisine. Swimming, boating, fishing, table tennis, etc. From July First. Write or call.

JACOB M. OLSHANSKY
93 State Street, Albany, New York. Phone: 5-0953

The Fieldstone

On Round Island Lake

A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York.

ALL SPORTS — OPEN ALL YEAR
MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7965



AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
LIMITED TO 100

OPEN FOR THE SEASON

**ALL SPORTS • PRIVATE LAKE
DANCING • LECTURES • CONCERTS**
N. Y. OFFICE: 33 W. 42nd St. Longacre 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

SACKS FARM

Saugerties, N. Y. Tel. 590-J

Unusually beautiful countryside, pine woods, good, homey Jewish-American cooking. All conveniences. Intimate and restful. Swimming, horseback, tennis and other sports. Adults. Booklet.

